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AND AFTER

1877 1931

Founded by JAMES KNOWLES

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A MONTHLY REVIEW

FOUNDED BY JAMES KNOWLES

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THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
AND AFTER

No. DCXLVII—JANUARY 1931

AN UNPUBLISHED SONNET BY GEORGE MEREDITH

To
P. A. LABOUCHERE ESQ[RE]

Oft have I looked on France with envy vain,
Not of her vines, nor of her sunny land,
Nor of her glory ; but of that bright band,
The Wits by whom huge Dulness has been slain ;
Who seem'd another Saturn in his reign,
And with his Titans dared a mortal hand
To find his headpiece vulnerably plann'd :—
Transfix'd is he by arrows of the brain !

Of these keen archers, Molière and Montaigne
To me are dearest : for these two combine
Wisdom and laughter : these I am full fain
To call most precious countrymen of mine :
They bridge the Channel waters once again,
And add a proof that Genius is divine.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

The Old House,
Mickleham,
Friday 29[th] 1865.[1]

THESE lines are found in the collection of autographs bequeathed by the addressee to the Municipal Library of his native town,

[1] The month is omitted : we should probably supply ' December ' ; Meredith and his young wife apparently had come to Mickleham a few months after the birth of their son, to spend Christmas in the home of her parents, as they had done the year before (*cf.* René Galland, *George Meredith : les cinquantes premières années*, Les Presses Françaises, Paris, 1923, p. 283).

Nantes. They are written in blue ink on a sheet of white note-paper embossed 'Vellum' in the top left-hand corner (watermark: 'Johnson First Choice').

Pierre-Antoine Labouchere (1807–1873) was the son of a wealthy shipowner of Nantes. The family—a numerous tribe of convinced Protestants—had scattered in various parts of Europe when persecutions were rife in France, and there was from the very beginning an international atmosphere about the career of Pierre-Antoine. His mother was a Norwegian. He was educated with an elder brother partly in Germany and partly in England. He was little more than a boy when he went to America in 1827, as secretary to Mr. Joshua Bates, the director of the great banking firm of Hope, and later the founder of the fine Public Library of Boston, Mass. Business, however, had small attractions for him. Residence in Antwerp and Rome, and an acquaintance with the semi-romantic painter Paul Delaroche, finally drew him to the brush; his pictures were many, and by no means unsuccessful at the exhibitions, where almost year after year, from 1843 to 1869, they could be seen. Most of them had for their subjects scenes illustrating Protestant life and history. Labouchere had married—most happily—in 1839: he could afford to travel a good deal; indeed, his tastes remained of a varied and dilettante kind. After taking some small part in the events of 1848, he lived, under Napoleon III., a retired and studious life in his country seat at Jouy en Josas, near Versailles; there the war of 1870 saddened his last years, and there he died.

Pierre-Antoine Labouchere was first cousin to Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton. His interest in English history and literature is abundantly attested by the large number of communications which, in the latter period of his life, he sent over his initials to *Notes and Queries:* for these the famous English periodical was grateful enough, and when their faithful correspondent died, a notice of nearly two pages, written by his son, was published by the editors (May 17, 1873, pp. 399–400). From this notice, and from other accounts in Haag's *La France Protestante* (1849–1857) and in Hoefer's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (1861), the facts adduced above, and others, may easily be derived.

As to M. Labouchere's definite relations with Meredith, research is perhaps more difficult. I hope more will some day or other be known. The gift of a sonnet must have been accompanied by some interchange of letters between the English poet and the French painter. But the family connexion of George Meredith and Pierre-Antoine Labouchere is quite sufficient to explain their acquaintance, if not their friendship. M. Labouchere was the father of Emilie and Marie Labouchere, who respectively

married Edouard and Justin Vulliamy, both being brothers of Meredith's second wife.[2] Students of Meredith will remember that the three Vulliamy brothers owned spinning mills at Nonancourt, in Normandy, where the novelist spent many a happy hour, and that Justin Vulliamy was chosen by him in 1882 to be, conjointly with John Morley, executor of his will.[3]

Any lengthy commentary of the sonnet would be superfluous: its style speaks for itself; indeed, there is an obvious air of kinship between this pæan on the victory of the Wits over Dulness and the encouragement given two years later to John Morley in another sonnet—which perhaps it is specially appropriate to quote in this period of the world's history:

> . . . whether Earth's great offspring, by decree,
> Must rot if they abjure rapacity,
> Not argument but effort shall decide.
> They number many heads in that hard flock:
> Trim swordsmen they push forth; yet try thy steel.
> Thou, fighting for poor humankind, wilt feel
> The strength of Roland in thy wrist to hew
> A chasm sheer into the barrier rock
> And bring the army of the faithful through.

Even the slightly rhetorical flourish at the end of our sonnet is not uncharacteristic of Meredith's vein, when he wanted to do homage at the shrine of great writers: one might compare the conclusion of his poem on Milton. And of course, that Molière and Montaigne should stand here in the forefront of Meredith's gallery of representative Frenchmen of genius, is quite in accordance with his firmly established custom: the same names head the list given as late as 1899.[4]

Altogether a French reader may be allowed to rejoice that such a magnificent eulogy of the essential spirit of his country should have found its permanent resting-place in France.

A. KOSZUL.

[2] For information on this point I am indebted to the kindness of Captain Pierre de Labouchere, of Lunéville and Paris. I have also to thank for help given in various ways M. A. E. Labouchere, of Peyrieu, Ablis and Paris; Lady Lucie Gregory, of Gomshall, Surrey; and Mr. William Meredith.

[3] Mary Sturge Gretton, *The Writings and Life of George Meredith* (Oxford University Press, 1926).

[4] *Cf.* the passage quoted in the admirable study of M. René Galland, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

ELECTORAL REFORM

After the last General Election it was widely recognised that the composition of the new House of Commons was not a true reflection of the wishes of the nation. In almost all sections of the Press this view found expression. It was admitted, in particular, that it was unfair that the Liberal Party, which had secured the support of nearly one-fourth of the electorate, should have obtained less than one-tenth of the representation in Parliament. There were other glaring anomalies. The Conservatives, who had secured over a quarter of a million more votes than the Labour Party, had thirty-two fewer seats. As an instance of local inequalities, in Glamorgan 320,000 Labour voters had obtained a monopoly of the sixteen seats in the county, and 280,000 Liberal and Conservative voters had secured no representation at all. On the other hand, in Surrey and Sussex 500,000 votes given to candidates who were supporters of the Conservative Government had returned twenty-one members, and 400,000 votes given to candidates who were its opponents had returned none. A great many other examples could be given.

From the first days of the new Parliament the Liberals, whose grievance was the most acute, pressed for a Three-Party Conference to examine the whole question of electoral reform. After some delay this was conceded. A Conference was constituted upon the basis of one representative for each million of votes cast at the recent election; there were eight Labour representatives, eight Conservative, and five Liberal, the present writer being one of these. The acceptance of the chairmanship by Lord Ullswater, the former Speaker of the House of Commons, was welcome to all sections.

The Choice of Methods

At weekly intervals over a period of some months the Conference met. We made a thorough inquiry into the possible and practicable alternatives to the present system It was soon agreed that they might be reduced to two—Proportional Representation and the Alternative Vote. For the sake of those who may not be familiar with the subject, I will explain briefly what these methods are.

There are various systems of Proportional Representation—or P.R., as it is called in the current jargon of politics. The system which would no doubt be adopted here, if any, is that which is advocated by the P.R. Society, and is in operation in the Irish Free State. Under this plan it is necessary that each parliamentary constituency should return not less than three members; that is to say, three, four, or five of the present divisions—possibly six or seven in some cases—would be combined into one constituency, returning to Parliament a corresponding number of members. In such a constituency each party would nominate whatever number of candidates it thought proper; independent candidates, who secured the ordinary number of nominators, could also stand. On the ballot-paper, which would contain perhaps six or eight names or more, the elector would mark his preferences by putting numbers against the names of such candidates as he wished to support. Against the name of the candidate he would most desire to see elected he would write the number 1, against his next choice, the number 2, and so on, voting for as many candidates as he wished in whatever order of preference he chose. The voter's duty would end there, and it is an obviously simple one. When the votes came to be counted the process would be more complicated. It is unnecessary for me here to describe in detail the method of allocating the preferences. Let it suffice to say that the system does in fact fulfil the primary purpose in view. It does secure a very close correspondence between the voting and the representation. If in a five-membered constituency, for example, two-fifths of the electors had given first and second preferences to Conservative candidates, two-fifths to Labour candidates, and one-fifth to Liberal, it would be found, when the allocation had been made, that two Conservative members and two Labour and one Liberal would in fact be elected. And the national result would correspond equally with the national polling

There is this further great advantage in the P.R. system. Each elector, with the exception of those forming part of very small minorities, would be represented in Parliament by some member in whose views he had confidence and for whom he himself had voted. At present, if the party to which an elector belongs is not the largest in the division where he lives, he cannot secure a direct representation of his opinions; he has to be content with representation by members of his own political faith sent to Parliament by other constituencies.

But P.R. has its disadvantages also. Many of those who have a close practical knowledge of the working of our political system object strongly to the very large constituencies which the system requires It is conceded that it would not be practicable in any

case to apply P.R. to the most thinly populated rural areas. If in the North of Scotland or in North Wales three of the present divisions were combined into one, the area would be too vast for any candidate or member to cover. But even if these exceptional districts were left as they were, it is held by many that county areas at least three times as large as the present, and urban electorates often of a quarter of a million voters, would make it hard for a member to preserve any sufficient contact with his constituents.

On the other hand, it is answered to this objection that the larger areas would only be a reversion to the custom which prevailed for many centuries, when a whole county formed one constituency—and that in days when locomotion was far more difficult than now. Nor is it an advantage in all respects that there should be a close personal contact between a member and his constituents. Representation, it is urged, should depend upon character and opinion and public service, and not upon individual favour.

P.R. is attended by another difficulty—with regard to by-elections. It would clearly be a misfortune to eliminate by-elections altogether. They are useful as a guide to the movement of public opinion between one General Election and another. They help also to keep alive a keen political interest during the interval. Without them particular constituencies would be disfranchised by the death or resignation of their member, and possibly for long periods. On the other hand, to contest a by-election in a constituency three, four, or five times as large as an existing division would be exceedingly costly. If the former member had represented a minority, the by-election would mean the certain loss of the seat to his party, and would give no comparable result as a test of current opinion. This difficulty as to by-elections might be overcome, however, by retaining the boundaries of the existing divisions, and allocating, by certain rules, each of the members elected in the larger P.R. constituency to one of these sub-divisions; in the event of his death or resignation that area only would be polled. But the application of this method would be somewhat artificial and arbitrary.

Other objections are raised against P.R. But whatever they may be, and whatever validity may attach to them, very many of those who have given close attention to the subject are convinced that they are far outweighed by the advantages, and particularly the supreme advantage that the system does accomplish what any method of election should seek to accomplish; it does secure a Legislature that accurately reflects in its composition the opinions expressed by the people.

THE ALTERNATIVE VOTE

The other system, the Alternative Vote—now beginning to be known as 'A.V.'—leaves the existing single-member constituencies unchanged. Where only two candidates present themselves at an election, the method of voting remains as now. Where there are more than two candidates, the voter marks his *ballot-paper with the number 1 against the name of the candidate* whom he desires to see elected; he can also if he wishes—but he need not do so if he does not wish—cast an alternative vote by placing the number 2 against his second choice. Should there happen to be four candidates, he can give a further alternative vote, if he so desires, to one of the others. When the ballot-papers come to be counted, the first step is to divide them according to the first preferences only. No attention is paid at this stage to the 2's or 3's marked on the papers. If one of the candidates is found to have more than half the first preferences which have been recorded, he has an absolute majority of the votes and is declared elected. If not, the candidate who is at the bottom of the poll at this stage is eliminated. His ballot-papers are examined and the second preferences of his supporters are counted; the totals of such second preferences are then added to the first preferences already given to the other candidates. The final totals give the result of the election. For example, assume that there are three candidates, A., B., and C. In first preferences A. has 20,000 votes, B. 16,000 and C. 10,000. No candidate has an absolute majority. C. is then eliminated; the second preferences of his supporters are ascertained. We may suppose that 2000 are found to have given second preferences to A. and 7000 to B.; the remaining 1000 did not record any alternative to their vote for C.; 2000 votes are therefore added to A.'s previous poll and 7000 to B.'s. It is thus found that 22,000 electors have supported A. by first or second votes and 23,000 have supported B.; the latter is declared elected. If there had been four candidates or more, the same method would be applied, the candidate lowest on the poll being eliminated at each stage and the preferences of his supporters transferred to the other candidates to whom they had been given.

The system of the alternative vote has the plain advantage of enabling the voter to do what he wants to do. He may be a Liberal who recognises that a Liberal candidate will be likely to be at the bottom of the poll in the constituency in which he lives. He may be very anxious that a Protectionist should not be returned, or very anxious that a Socialist should not be returned. What is he to do in such circumstances? Is he to desert the candidate of his own party, expose him to an ignominious defeat,

and cast his vote for one of the other two candidates who is more likely than the Liberal to defeat the party to which he is strongly opposed? Or should he stand by the candidate with whose views he is in agreement, 'waste his vote,' as the canvassers of the other parties tell him that he will do, and run the risk of seeing his constituency help to swell in the House of Commons the party to which he is in strong antipathy? The same dilemma faces Conservative voters and Labour voters in divisions where experience shows that candidates of their own party cannot secure election. It is a very real dilemma. It presents itself quite definitely to some millions of our fellow-citizens at every general election. The voters have to guess as best they can whether their own candidate is likely to be at the bottom of the poll, and if they think he is they have to make a difficult choice in deciding which way their duty lies. From this dilemma the alternative vote relieves them. They can give their first preference to their own candidate, and transfer it, in the event of his failure, to one of the other two.

To this plan also objection is raised. It is said that it confers a special privilege on the smallest of the three parties in a constituency. They, and they alone, have the privilege of a second choice. It is even asserted that it is they who decide the issue of the election. I suggest that the objection is misconceived. In the example that has been given, when the final result is ascertained and B. is declared to have 23,000 votes to A.'s 22,000, it is obvious that the original supporters of B. and A. have just as much weight, voter for voter, in those totals as those who were supporters of C. and whose votes have been transferred. The second preferences of C.'s supporters can decide nothing by themselves. It is the first preferences given to A. and to B. which have the main part in determining the result.

It is as though the election were held in two separate stages. In the first the electors decide which of several candidates are to be finally submitted for their choice. In the second only two candidates are nominated (as was usually the custom in Great Britain during a long period of our recent history). When the second stage is reached, it may be assumed that the supporters of those two candidates who had voted for them in the first stage would vote for them again. Why should they not? Under A.V. their previous votes are therefore carried forward. To them are added any votes which the supporters of the candidates now eliminated might have cared to give for one or other of the candidates who remain in the field. The totals express the decision of the whole electorate as between the two candidates who command the most support. Instead, however, of these two stages, involving two separate polls on different days, with all

the attendant trouble and expense, under A.V. the two processes are concentrated into a single election.

The system is simple, and its principle, I think, is sound. True that it is possible to imagine an exceptional case in which the result under A.V. will not truly reflect the wishes of the majority of a constituency. In the instance given it is possible that almost all A.'s voters may have objected very strongly to B., and had recorded their second preferences for C. If C. had not been eliminated on the first count, he might have secured a larger total of first and second preferences than either of the others, and would have represented more truly the mind of the constituency. Yet B. is in fact elected. The objection is valid. But such circumstances are not likely to occur in more than a handful of the constituencies in a general election ; the grievance that arises from the present system occurs in a very large proportion of them.

Various ingenious devices have been suggested to obviate this particular difficulty. To discuss them would involve too detailed an examination. For my own part I am convinced that none of them are practicable.

The Attitude of the Parties

When the Ullswater Conference came to close quarters with these two proposals it was not long before clear divisions of opinion between the political parties became manifest. These were ultimately crystallised in the following way. The Conservative representatives did not agree that a change in the present system of election had been shown to be necessary, but they held unanimously that, if any change were made, it should be on the lines of P.R. They expressed strong objection to A.V.

The Labour representatives also did not definitely admit the necessity for a change ; but they held that, if there was to be a change, it might perhaps be on the lines of A.V. They expressed strong opposition to P.R. They also held that any measure to be passed by Parliament ought not to be limited to reforms in the method of election, but should include other changes necessary in order to secure a fully democratic system ; they advocated, in particular, the abolition of the plural voting that is still authorised by the law, the abolition of special University representation, and a reduction in the cost of elections.

The Liberal representatives laid stress on the urgent need for a reform in the present system. They unanimously urged that P.R. was the most desirable method. They agreed that in a certain number of thinly populated districts single-member constituencies should remain ; in them they advocated the adoption of A.V. If, however, Parliament should not be prepared

to favour Proportional Representation, the Liberals urged the general application of the Alternative Vote as being greatly to be preferred to the continuance of the present system. With regard to the other proposals of the Labour Party, they expressed their concurrence in general.

It was found impossible to reconcile these definite divergences of view. The chairman was of opinion that no useful purpose could be served by presenting resolutions passed by majority votes in the face of definite opposition, and the Conference came to an end without making any recommendations. None the less, on the reassembling of Parliament the Government included in the King's Speech the mention of a measure of Electoral Reform to be presented during this session. It may be anticipated that the Bill will follow lines that are consistent with the attitude adopted by the representatives of the Labour Party at the Ullswater Conference.

I feel convinced that it is of urgent national importance that a change in our electoral system should be enacted. The present situation contains within itself the seeds of a formidable danger A great issue may arise in which a majority of the people may decide in one direction and nevertheless a Parliament be elected which will take action in the opposite direction. The jury may return a verdict of Not Guilty, and, nevertheless, the judge may register a conviction and pass sentence.

Indeed, the signs of the times show that this very situation may be close at hand. There is now a great issue before the people—whether this country shall enact a general tariff on imported foreign goods and become a protectionist country. The Conservative Party supports the policy ; the Liberal and Labour Parties oppose it. At the last General Election the Conservatives were in a minority of 5,000,000 votes. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that at the next election they gain greatly and that both their opponents recede ; suppose that they improve their position on balance by no less than 3,000,000 votes. They would still be in a minority of 2,000,000. But, under the present system of election, a poll of that character might give them, probably would give them, a majority of 100 seats or more over all parties in the House of Commons. The outcome might be very convenient for the Conservatives. Those who hold that Conservative government is essential for the welfare of the nation may welcome such an eventuality, whether it is consistent with the rules of self-government or not. But let them cease then to speak of our Constitution being 'broad-based upon the people's will,' let them cease to render lip-service to the principles of democracy.

A by-election took place recently in the Shipley Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire. The leading issue was the policy

of Safeguarding. There were three candidates. The Conservative strongly advocated that policy; the Liberal and Labour candidates both definitely repudiated it. No one will question that those were the facts of the situation. Every elector who went to the poll was aware that if he wished to support safeguarding he must vote for the Conservative candidate; if he voted for one of the others he would be opposing it. The poll showed 15,000 votes for the Conservative, who won the seat, and 26,000 votes divided between his Labour and Liberal opponents. Yet the chairman of the Conservative Party, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, writing to the successful candidate after the declaration of the poll, said, 'Your victory has made it plain that the workers of the country are determined to have safeguarding'—although a majority of 11,000 votes had been cast against it!

If such a result as this were repeated—as it probably would be repeated—in a large proportion of the constituencies throughout the country, and if a poll cast against Protection were to result in the election of a House of Commons in favour of it, what moral authority would such a House possess to apply, possibly for a long period of time, a policy which the majority of the electorate had repudiated? I would venture to urge upon all thoughtful citizens, irrespective of party predilections, that it would place an intolerable strain upon the working of our Constitution if, in a great national issue, the 'sovereign people' said one thing and the Parliament used its power to do the opposite.

Protection may be the issue to-day. Perhaps some fundamental measure of Socialism might be the issue to-morrow. The same considerations would hold. This is the principal reason why a reform in the electoral system is necessary and urgent. Whatever minor defects might attach to the method that is chosen, this major danger, of minority representation in the constituencies and minority rule in Parliament, would at all events be precluded.

The Existence of Three Parties

It may be said that the right solution is the disappearance of one of the three parties—the smallest of the three—and a return to a two-party system. It is a solution which is not likely to prevail. Three national parties have been in the field during the last twenty years, and will probably remain. They represent three distinct points of view. So long as the Conservative Party is Protectionist, and so long as the Labour Party is Socialist, there must be an organisation representing the vast mass of citizens who are neither the one nor the other. The Liberal Party, with large constructive policies and great traditions of its own, is such

an organisation, and it has not the slightest intention of quitting the arena.

Nor, I submit, would such an eventuality be desirable in the national interest. Unless one party is to rule continuously, the consequence would be an alternation of Protectionist and Socialist Governments; each in its turn would possess an absolute majority in the House of Commons, but neither, I believe, might represent the real desires of the nation. If at any time the country definitely favoured the one policy or the other, under a system of P.R. or of A.V. its wishes would become effective.

The continued existence of three parties must necessarily have one important effect, however, upon the working of the Constitution. The practice of regarding almost any vote in the House of Commons adverse to a proposal of the Government of the day as equivalent to a Vote of Censure, and involving resignation or dissolution, was quite a modern innovation. There was no such convention during all the earlier centuries of our parliamentary history. It was only in recent times that the House of Commons had lost the effective use of its powers, because, by a strange paradox, the consequence of using those powers had become too formidable. The new practice of regarding the Executive as so completely subordinate to the Legislature that any small difference of opinion between them meant that the Government of the day must resign its office or appeal to the country had the effect that the Legislature had become completely subordinate to the Executive. In theory the House of Commons was supreme in all things; in fact, in the ordinary conduct of affairs, it has been helpless.

From this position the existence of three parties may bring a rescue. The present Parliament is slowly, and often painfully, feeling its way towards a new constitutional convention. The Bills introduced during these last two sessions have been modified, under pressure of the opinion of the House, to a far greater degree than has been customary for a long time past. The character of the Bills presented has also been profoundly affected by their probable reception. New factors have to be taken into account when the House no longer consists only of a Government party, which may be relied upon to support with loyalty almost anything that the Cabinet may propose, and an opposition party, whose hostility may be expected in advance, and may be ignored on account of the harmlessness of its voting strength. In this Parliament the House of Commons is more of a reality. It is no longer a mere adjunct to the Ministry of the day. It is again becoming a live and effective organ of the State.

But the consequence of this must be that a Government should no longer be expected to resign office or appeal to the

country if any of their proposals, large or small, do not receive the approval of the House of Commons. When, indeed, a measure which is an essential part of the general policy they consider to be necessary is rejected, or when a vote of no confidence is carried against them, then obviously there is such a divergence between Ministry and Parliament that a new alignment must be sought. Short of that, the old practice of the Constitution will need to be re-established, and decisions of the House be accepted by the Ministry.

It is sometimes said that the adoption of the alternative vote will lead to all kinds of political manœuvres, to all kinds of permutations and combinations among parties. Those who say this underestimate the independence of view of the individual voter. Party leaders may advise their followers as to the use of their second preferences, but unless there are good reasons for the advice, and unless the followers are convinced of its soundness, the advice will not be taken. In any case, a large and probably increasing proportion of the electorate are not bound by party ties at all. The electors, when they go to the poll, will act as they themselves think right, and leaders cannot rely, and will not expect to rely, upon the marching and counter-marching of disciplined battalions.

The present electoral system hinders and thwarts the expression of national opinion, and may at times altogether reverse its application in the conduct of public affairs. The only safe rule is to give free scope to the individual citizens to declare their wishes, and frankly to entrust the destinies of the nation to the good sense of the nation itself.

HERBERT SAMUEL.

THE KING IN THE OVERSEAS EMPIRE

CONSIDERABLE attention has been given recently, both in the Press of this country and of Australia, to the question of the appointment of an Australian citizen as Governor-General of the Commonwealth. As a matter of fact, suggestions have been put forward in Australia from time to time during the last twenty years in regard to the appointment of local residents to State Governorships, but until the announcement of the appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs, the Chief Justice of the Commonwealth and ex-Attorney-General in the Deakin Ministry of 1906, in succession to Lord Stonehaven, no suggestion had been made that a resident of Australia should be appointed to the office of Governor-General of that Dominion

Widespread protests have always surrounded any movement to appoint local residents as Governors of the States constituting the Commonwealth, and the recent announcement in regard to the Governor-Generalship has met with the same reception, not against the new holder of the office personally, but in opposition to the principle.[1]

It was not until 1925 that the suggestion to appoint local residents to State Governorships assumed the practical form of statements by the Premiers of the States of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, transmitted to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. A counteracting statement by the Premier of the remaining State of Victoria, as well as memorials signed by almost half the members of the Lower Houses of four out of the five States asking for the change, and resolutions passed by the Upper Houses of Tasmania, Western Australia, and Southern Australia, all strongly urged that the old system be retained. All these documents, together with protests and resolutions recorded by societies, organisations, etc., throughout Australia against the appointment of local residents as State Governors, and the replies also of the Secretaries of State

[1] I should like also to make clear that any statements made in this article in connexion with the office of Governor-General have no reference to Sir Isaac Isaacs personally.—O. C.

in previous instances, are embodied in a White Paper,[1] also containing the reply of the then Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (Mr. Amery), which was upon similar lines to those of his predecessors—namely, that before any action was taken there should be no doubt that Australian opinion generally was in favour of it; and it would appear that the decision of the Imperial Conference in regard to Governors-General will not apply to the Governors of Australian States or of 'responsible government' Colonies.

The suggestion to appoint a local resident to the Governor-Generalship is not a new one in some of the other Dominions, but it is only in Australia that it has been brought into actual effect. In dealing with the subject it is data from Australia, therefore, which furnish the fullest information on the subject.

The Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930[2] have conferred a new status upon the office of Governor-General of a Dominion, as follows:

The Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference of 1926 declared that the Governor-General of a Dominion is now the 'representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain, and that he is not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain or of any department of that Government.'

The Report did not, however, contain any recommendation as to the procedure to be adopted henceforward in the appointment of a Governor-General, and the Conference felt it necessary to give some consideration to this question. Having considered the question of the procedure to be observed in the appointment of a Governor-General of a Dominion in the light of the alteration in his position resulting from the Resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1926, the Conference came to the conclusion that the following statements in regard thereto would seem to flow naturally from the new position of the Governor-General as representative of His Majesty only.

1. The parties interested in the appointment of a Governor-General of a Dominion are His Majesty the King, whose representative he is, and the Dominion concerned.

2. The constitutional practice that His Majesty acts on the advice of responsible Ministers applies also in this instance.

3. The Ministers who tender and are responsible for such advice are His Majesty's Ministers in the Dominion concerned.

4. The Ministers concerned tender their formal advice after informal consultation with His Majesty.

5. The channel of communication between His Majesty and the Government of any Dominion is a matter solely concerning His Majesty and such Government. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have expressed their willingness to continue to act in relation

[1] Cmd. 2683 (1926).

[2] Cmd. 2768 (1926), 3479 (1929), and 3717 (1930).

to any of His Majesty's Governments in any manner in which that Government may desire.

6. The manner in which the instrument containing the Governor-General's appointment should reflect the principles set forth above is a matter in regard to which His Majesty is advised by His Ministers in the Dominion concerned.

This change has therefore considerably increased the status and importance of the position, for, in future, the Governor-General will virtually be in the constitutional position of the King in England, in regard to the Dominion over which he is appointed by His Majesty to rule in the Royal name and authority.

In the early years of Colonial history, when our overseas plantations and settlements were first established, the King's Deputy was vested with considerable power; and, indeed, the difficulties of communication and all that attended the early stages of colonisation scarcely admitted of it being otherwise. As the settlement developed and 'Crown Colony' gave way in turn to 'representative' and 'responsible' government Constitutions, the individual powers of the King's Deputy were correspondingly reduced, and even under many of the 'Crown Colony' governments to-day the Legislative Council has been leavened by an unofficial element. But, under that form of Constitution, the Governor need not accept the advice of his councillors, and he still has power to go his own way, subject, of course, to the Royal Instructions issued to him by the Imperial Government. This system of advance along the path of full constitutional government has worked well and is a sound method in the development of Colonial government.

Throughout all these constitutional stages the greatest care is taken in selecting persons to fill the office of King's Deputy, who are usually (especially in the Crown Colonies) senior Colonial Service officials, long trained in the art of administration, or distinguished sailors, soldiers, or statesmen from the United Kingdom; but, in all cases, they have been men entirely new to the Colony to which they have been appointed, and always dissociated from its local affairs and interests. In fact, the occupants of this office have been held very strictly to their instructions to keep aloof from local entanglements, such as the ownership of land, acquisition of local interests, etc. They are even abjured from taking part in the life of their communities in any way which may render themselves open to any suspicion of self-interest or favouritism.

In the early days perhaps sufficient care was not always taken in the selection of men for these positions, and, even not so long ago, the appointing authorities in the Motherland may not always have been unmindful of the convenience to them of transferring

a politician to a remoter sphere, with possibly the additional advantage of providing office for another ardent political supporter in the place thus rendered vacant. In recent years, however, there have been instances where members of the Royal Family have occupied the King's Deputyship of a Dominion, thus securing the services of those who have never been connected with political life, even in England. Unfortunately, for reasons which can be understood, it has not been found possible to extend this principle frequently, but it has its advantages, nevertheless.

Before going any further it will be necessary briefly to review the position as to the King's Deputyships in the overseas Dominions, for it is to them that attention is now directed. The question of the Lieutenant-Governors and the Administrators of the Provinces of Canada and of the Union of South Africa respectively need not be gone into here, as they are not comparable with those of Governor-General or Governor. The only Dominion, therefore, in which there is a double gubernatorial condition is Australia, which is the antithesis of Canada and the Union, for there is a Governor-General in respect of Federal Government jurisdiction and also a Governor in each of the six States, which are virtually 'sovereign,' with reserved powers. When the Australian States founded the Commonwealth they conferred legislative power upon the Federal Government in regard to certain delegated subjects. Except in regard to those subjects, the States still enjoy unrestricted legislative jurisdiction and control of their own affairs. The Commonwealth Government, therefore, has no say in the selection of candidates for appointment of Governors of the States, of their Ministries, or in the summoning, proroguing or dissolution of their Parliaments. The position of the Governor of a State in respect of his domain is the same as that of the Governor-General in relation to the Federal Government.

Although Australia in her history may not have experienced the strong party feelings nurtured by the racial distinctions in Canada and the Union, yet she has not altogether escaped her own constitutional troubles and differences, for there have been many parliamentary deadlocks caused by inter-cameral disputes in practically every State, and in New South Wales and Queensland, where the policy of the Labour Party has been more advanced than in the other States, these disputes have created situations which have not arisen in regard to the Governorships of any of the other States. The Labour Governments in these two States, in order to carry their more extreme measures, have come into conflict with the Upper House, whose abolition they have urged, and in Queensland actually effected. It is in the Labour Parties of these two States that the movement for

the appointment of local residents as Governors has been most active. In both States the Upper Houses were life-nominated without any limit to their membership; in fact, the number of members of the New South Wales Upper House exceeds that of the Lower House, owing to additional nominations.

Under both Constitutions the Government of the day recommended to the Governor appointments to fill vacancies. Until the Queensland Labour Party came into power in 1915 no Government attempted to increase the number then existing. The Labour Government, however, found the Upper House a great hindrance to them in their more extreme legislation, and they then held a referendum for its abolition, which was, however, rejected by a large number of votes. The Government thereupon put forward its own nominees to the Upper House, and the Governor, in the absence of any constitutionally defined number, agreed to appointments much in excess of those made hitherto, but finally he refused to make any further appointments, leaving the Government still short of its objective. However, during the absence, on leave in England, of the Governor, prior to retirement, the Government secured the appointment of the Labour Speaker of the Lower House as Lieutenant-Governor, although the Chief Justice was holding the position of Deputy-Governor; but his position was overridden, with the result that, within a few days of Speaker Lennox's appointment, about twenty more Labour nominees were appointed, thus giving the Government the requisite control of the Upper House also. The Lower House then passed a Bill to abolish the Second Chamber, which that House then duly concurred in. To-day, however, a non-Labour Government is in power in Queensland, and amongst the planks of its party programme is the proposal for a referendum as to whether the Upper House shall be reconstituted. Space does not admit of the details of this controversy being given here, but there are some details connected with the situation which are unusually interesting.

In New South Wales more recently a situation arose on the same grounds. In this case the Governor first acceded to the recommendation of the Labour Premier to increase the membership of the Upper House by that party's nominees, with the distinct understanding in writing that the addition of these new members would in no way be used to alter the constitution of the Upper House; but when they had taken their seats they were unwilling to vote for their own abolition, whereupon the Premier went to the Governor for more nominations. The Governor, however, refused to accede to the Premier's request without an appeal to the electorate, and so there the matter rested. The same Government was not returned at the subsequent general

election, but at the one held this year the Labour Party has come back to power with the same Premier at the head of the Government, and a Bill is now before the State Parliament to abolish the Upper House. In Queensland the position as to the Governor reverted to the old practice in 1927, and a non-resident of Australia has also been appointed in New South Wales upon the expiry of the late Governor's term of office.

When the Premiers of the five States submitted their statement as above mentioned they especially omitted from their recommendations the Governor-Generalship of the Commonwealth; in fact, they emphasised the fact that this office was Imperially appointed as an argument for a change in the system of appointments to State Governorships. As has been already mentioned, the State of Victoria did not associate itself in the movement for a change in the system of the appointment of State Governors, and the Premier, in a statement to the Imperial Government already referred to, attached a powerful memorandum by his Attorney-General, many arguments from which will be made use of in this article and, together with others, put forward to substantiate the principle of preserving the reflection of kingship in the office of the King's Deputy in overseas Dominions and in 'self-governing' Colonies.

Let us now view, from its several aspects, the question of the appointment of a local person as Governor of an Australian State, or of a self-governing Colony, or as Governor-General of an overseas Dominion, and its possible effect upon the territory over which he officiates in the King's name and authority. What are his powers and duties, and what is the nature of his office? He represents that which binds the Empire together—the Imperial Crown. He performs the ceremonial connected with the office, in itself a very onerous, painstaking and useful duty, which often smooths the way for the Premier in power. He presides in the Executive Council, which meets frequently to pass administrative and statutory resolutions, but has no connexion with what is known as the Cabinet. He therefore knows all the official executive actions of the Government, its financial policy, and the financial negotiations which may ensue. He summons, prorogues, and dissolves Parliament. He calls upon party leaders to form Ministries. He has the right to refuse dissolutions recommended by his Prime Minister. Moreover, it should be remembered that the application for a dissolution, especially in the overseas Dominions, is often of a political nature—the more so under a three-party system, which is becoming a more common condition in many parts of the Empire. He is the confidant of his Prime Minister, and, now that his position in the Dominions has been made by the Imperial Conference to

correspond as closely as possible with that of the King in England, his duties as the Royal representative will be all the more important and detached. In regard to the position of the Sovereign in England under the Constitution, a letter appeared in *The Times* of November 7, 1930, by the Right Hon. Sir Evelyn Cecil, who was one of the Secretaries of Lord Salisbury when he was Prime Minister of England, quoting the following extracts from a speech delivered by that statesman in the House of Lords on January 25, 1901, upon the death of 'Victoria the Good,' which brings out with great forcefulness the position and powers of a constitutional Sovereign (and consequently also of the Governors-General of the future in their respective Dominions), as then understood and acted on. Lord Salisbury on that occasion said:

> The position of a constitutional Sovereign is not an easy one. Duties have to be reconciled which sometimes seem far apart. Much has to be accepted which it may not be always pleasant to accept; but she showed a wonderful power, on the one hand, of observing with the most absolute strictness the limits to her action which the Constitution draws, and, on the other hand, of maintaining a steady and persistent influence on the action of her Ministers in the course of legislation and government which no one could mistake. She was able to accept some things of which, perhaps, she did not entirely approve, but which she thought it her duty in her position to accept. She always maintained and practised a rigorous supervision over public affairs, giving to her Ministers the benefit of her advice and warning them of danger if she saw there was danger ahead; and she certainly impressed many of us with a profound sense of the penetration, almost intuition, with which she saw the perils with which we might be threatened in any course it was thought expedient to adopt.
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> She left upon my mind . . . the conviction that it was always a dangerous matter to press on her any course of the expediency of which she was not thoroughly convinced, and . . . I may say with confidence that no Minister in her long reign ever disregarded her advice, or pressed her to disregard it, without afterwards feeling that he had incurred a dangerous responsibility. . . . Yet she never adhered to her own conception obstinately. On the contrary, she was full of concession and consideration; and she spared no effort—I might almost say she shrank from no sacrifice—to make the task of conducting this difficult Government more easy to her advisers than it would otherwise have been.[4]

The following are some of the main arguments which have been used in Australia by statesmen, public men, societies, and in the Press in favour of the continuance of the present system, both in regard to the State Governorships and to the office of Governor-General: A person from Great Britain comes with a fresh mind unaffected by current local political feeling and consequently a neutrality, which is a distinct advantage, for it disarms criticism

[4] *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. lxxxix., cols. 7–9.

of his acts, and in addition relieves the State from a number of difficulties and problems. His appointment is effected by legal means, independent of political forces and attachments that agitate the country over which he presides. The succession of appointments to these offices is effected without any undue disturbance. The abolition of the practice of appointing persons from Great Britain would remove from Australia men of great international experience whose public utterances are necessarily influenced by their knowledge of affairs. The present system promotes, rather than limits, responsible government. A man from Great Britain goes back well informed as to Australian life and conditions; very frequently he enters the Lords or the Commons, where he can be of great service to the country in which he has officiated. The appointment of Governors from Great Britain is an institution deeply rooted and maintains a peculiar bond with the Empire which finds its symbol in the Sovereign, and is not therefore to be set lightly aside. It enables constitutional practice to be operated as nearly as possible to that of Great Britain, where the King is placed above party. The benefits from the present system are incalculable; therefore, why abandon it?

Now let us take some of the other arguments used against the proposed change. The King's Deputy is, in fact, in a very knowledgable position. A local resident, with local interests, local property and local associations, even if he be of the highest reputation and character, would certainly find his position at times very embarrassing in the preservation of a strict neutrality in regard to all matters in connexion with his territory. He would virtually be appointed by the political party of the moment. In fact, his appointment would in all probability be the result of a party caucus meeting, which, especially in the overseas Dominions, often decides upon many of the higher public appointments, especially under a Labour Government. His office is for a fixed term, which does not necessarily synchronise with a change of Government; therefore a new Government coming into power may find in the King's Deputyship a person who has been the nominee of another political party and indebted to them for his appointment. Judge, then, how anxious the new Prime Minister may, quite justifiably, feel in confiding in the kingship (as in England) upon the affairs of State and preserving in the Constitution that useful factor the continuity of the Crown. One has only to turn to history to see how great the assistance of such an institution can be to any Premier—not to speak of the knowledge in statecraft which persons occupying positions of kingship often possess in a marked degree.

As a party nominee, a local resident in the position of King's

Deputy would never be able to dissociate himself from the passions and prejudices of an election, and in any case the people would never credit him with doing so. In fact, rivalry might arise between himself and the Prime Minister, and he might resign and return to the political field to contest the Minister's return to power. Bernard Shaw has made a wonderful use of this point in his play *The Apple Cart,* which is a vivid lesson upon the position of the Crown under our form of Constitution. Even were the local Government to leave the selection of the Governor to the Imperial Government, the latter would have no first-hand knowledge of the candidates or the personnel available for the office. Such Government could not take the responsibility of the appointment of a local man upon their own motion without information. All the effects of a bad or distasteful appointment would therefore be visited upon the Imperial Government. The overseas Government would be the only channel through which the British Government could obtain its information. The British Government would therefore be compelled to act upon its representation and upon information received from such sources, or, if only one name was put forward, to make the appointment. In any case, the appointment could not be regarded other than as a political one.

In referring to the rumour of the appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs to the Governor-Generalship of Australia, Sir William Irvine, Chief Justice of Victoria, is reported [5] to have said in Melbourne, on May 25 last,

> that if the suggested transfer has taken place the appointment of a Governor-General comes at once within the arena of party conflict in a Dominions Parliament, and the holder of the office, while nominally the King's representative, must look to the Ministry of the day as his real master.

The Attorney-General of Victoria, the Hon. F. W. Eggleston, referring to the appointment of Australians to State Governorships in his memorandum already referred to, made use of the following words:

> The appointment of a Governor locally can never be effective, because while that Government remains in power he is identified with it. If a claim is made that there should be a change of Government, a local Governor cannot properly function, because even if he were sufficiently disinterested to make the proper decision yet he would not get credit for that judicial impartiality, and the authority of the Government installed in office would be impaired.

The Hon. E. G. Theodore (then Premier of Queensland) is quoted

[5] *The Times*, May 26, 1930.

by the *Round Table*, vol. x., p. 907, as having remarked, in defence of the appointment of Speaker Lennox to the Lieutenant-Governorship:

> If we are to have Lieutenant-Governors, or Governors, locally appointed it may be a difficult matter to get a man who, because of his standing in the community, has some claim to the appointment and who at the same time is dissociated from politics or political views. I go so far as to say that it would be impossible to get such a man.

Another suggestion which has been put forward in Australia is that the Governor-General should also act as Governor of the six States. This recommendation, however, at once disposes of itself on account of the difficulty of one man being in seven capitals, scattered over a gigantic continent, simultaneously. In any case, how could he perform his duties upon a crisis arising simultaneously in respect of two Parliaments, or serve seven different countries at the same time ? Distance, therefore, alone renders such an absurd proposition impossible.

Another proposal has been that the appointment of Governors of Australian States should be made by the King upon the advice of the Federal Government ; but the same arguments would apply as those which have been used against the appointment of local residents to these positions. It is doubtful, also, whether the States themselves would agree to such an inroad upon their status, of which they are all very jealous.

Now, to come to the last proposition (and no one can say that the Australian brain is either barren or inert upon this subject) which has been put forward in regard to the appointment both of Governor-General and of State Governor—namely, that these positions should be given to an ex-judge, or to the Chief Justice in conjunction with his other duties, thus, in the latter case, saving a large salary. In many of our overseas Constitutions provision is made for the Chief Justice to act as the 'officer administering the government' during the absence of the King's Deputy from the seat of government, or from the territory. Such provision, however, usually only operates during a parliamentary recess, when no political crisis is likely to arise.

First, take the appointment of an ex-judge as Governor-General or State Governor. In addition to the arguments already used in the case of the selection of a local resident, there are, in the case of ex-judges, also still further objections. For it is one of the fundamental principles ingrained in the people of the British Empire that the judicial bench should be above suspicion. In fact, every overseas Dominion and Colony has always taken the greatest care in the appointment of its judges, which have rarely, if ever, been made upon political grounds. The Constitution of

the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope made provision for the Chief Justice to be *ex officio* the President (Speaker) of the Upper House of Parliament, and throughout almost the entire life of that Constitution a dignitary presided who was not only a high-minded man but a very distinguished judge.[6] Yet, when the four South African Colonies unified themselves into a Dominion at a National Convention presided over by that self-same judge, it was unanimously decided that it was unwise to associate with the judicial bench even the Speakership of the Upper House.

When a barrister is elevated to the bench his appointment is made upon his reputation at the bar. His capacity for any other than judicial duties does not come into the question. Should the selection of the Chief Justice for the position of King's Deputy develop into a practice, qualification for gubernatorial office will become a contributory factor in his elevation to the judicial bench. This will operate against the selection of a person as a judge entirely upon his judicial qualifications.

Now, to take the latter part of the proposal—namely, that the Chief Justice should also act as Governor-General or State Governor and thus save a large salary. In addition to the arguments used against the appointment of an ex judge as King's Deputy, there is the danger of bringing the duties of the two offices into conflict—for instance, in the case of the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. Moreover, if the Chief Justice has, as King's Deputy, to act in the case of a dissolution of a Parliament, or the summoning of a politician to form a Ministry, he may render himself chargeable, as to political tendency, by one party or another, and thereby give a political complexion to the office of Chief Justice and thus introduce a complex unknown to the judicial bench throughout the British Empire. Another effect of such an appointment would be to degrade judicial decisions and shake the confidence of the public in the administration of justice. Even were the proposal a possible one, the economical factor of the saving of one large salary is too great a price to pay for such a dangerous inroad upon our rights and liberties. The suggestion that the Chief Justice should also act as Governor-General or State Governor, or that an ex-judge should be eligible as a candidate for these offices, or that a judge should vacate the bench to assume office as King's Deputy, is, it is submitted, a highly reprehensible one, from whatever aspect it may be viewed, because it introduces a principle alien to our ideal of the maintenance of a judicial bench independent alike of the Executive Government and of Parliament. Therefore, from whatever standpoint one views the question of the appointment of a local resident

[6] Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) de Villiers, later Chief Justice of the Union.

to the position of King's Deputy, be it as Governor-General or as State Governor or as Governor of a 'responsible government' Colony, it is clear that the proposal bristles with dangerous difficulties, the full extent of which it is impossible to foresee. What is more, when once such a system is put into practice it will be difficult to go back upon.

Since the Imperial Conference just concluded the position of Governor-General of a Dominion is made much more responsible and independent; therefore it behoves the appointing authorities more than ever to ensure that a person selected for such office shall have been dissociated from the life of the Dominion over which he presides, and from ever having had any connexion with its political parties or financial interests. It will be more than ever important that no breath of political association could be attributable to him. In fact, the atmosphere surrounding the office of King's representative should be beyond any sort of criticism. The only way to obtain the reflection of kingship in its overseas representative is to select for the appointment only one who is neutral in every respect, and fresh to the Dominion in which he is to exercise the duties of his office. A King's representative must enjoy the confidence and respect of all sections of his people and of any of their Governments, and his performance of the duties of the office should be looked upon according to the conditions prevailing in Great Britain, where the King is enshrined beyond the suspicion of political influences or associations. In view of the new status of Governors-General, there is a strong argument for extension of the term of office, thus ensuring to a greater extent than is the case at present the continuity of the Crown, which has proved such a useful and important factor in the constitutional system of the United Kingdom. Otherwise, there will be introduced into the overseas Dominions a system of quinquennial kingships. The King's Deputy should be a person of distinction, of unimpeachable record, of high attainments, as well as one who is versed in the history of statesmanship of other countries, and especially of that of the United Kingdom—which affords so many valuable precedents in statecraft—and of that of the various overseas Dominions. It is also important that he should soon acquire a complete familiarity with the history, and especially the parliamentary and constitutional history, of the Dominion over which he is to hold office. In view of the international nature of many political problems of to-day, he should be a man who has never been associated with politics in any part of the British Empire, of which, naturally, he must be a citizen. Moreover, persons to be considered for appointment by His Majesty the King to these offices should undoubtedly be presented in person

to His Majesty before their definite appointment, as in the case of our ambassadors.

There is no greater fallacy than the notion that, since the Imperial Conference, the office of Governor-General of a Dominion has become 'a mere rubber stamp.' The Governor-General will no longer be able to look to Whitehall for counsel or instruction, but he will have in future, even in times of political crises, to act upon his own judgment and initiative. What is more, particular responsibility will rest upon those overseas Governors-General now in office, for, in the exercise of their duties, it will be they who will be creating the earliest precedents in the unwritten procedure of their office, under the new status, in relation to the system of government. Therefore, far from the office of Governor-General becoming a mere formality, its new status will call for the exercise of the greatest care and capability by the Governor-General, as well as for the services of highly trained and experienced senior members of his staff. Should proper attention not be given to these matters, the office of the Crown in our overseas Empire will fail in the fulfilment of its functions, and, accordingly, the wheels of the constitutional machinery will not be performing their allotted tasks.

It is upon the Crown that the future of the Empire depends; let, therefore, the greatest care be taken and the most thorough investigation be made before any changes are established in the old system of appointments to the position of the King's representative. But there is no reason why the selection for such appointment should not be extended to include persons from the Dominions possessing the qualifications already indicated—provided that, in consideration of the new status conferred upon the office of Governor-General by the Imperial Conference, ex-politicians are excluded, and also that, in no instance, candidates for these positions shall ever have been resident in the Dominion or territory over which they are appointed to deputise for His Majesty the King.

OWEN CLOUGH.

INDIA AND FEDERATION

THE Round Table Conference on India continues its labours, and the provision of a federal system of government becomes more and more the central object of its endeavour. In the meantime the Congress, the most powerfully organised party of Indian thought, also continues its activities, and its resistance to the idea of any connexion with a 'Satanic' Government. With the development of the discussions of the Conference the difficulties which lie before us will come into view. In the meantime, theorists and idealists raise their voices in the Press and on the platform, and the radical facts, which lie beyond, remain submerged, or partly submerged.

But the difficulties are there and will emerge, and it is necessary for us to know them in advance. The danger of acting on mere idealism, without an understanding of facts, has been abundantly demonstrated to us in Palestine. Our rulers, carried away by the obvious justice of the idea of the Jews returning to their country, evolved the magnificent gesture of a Jewish National Home; an equal piece of justice demanded that the Arabs, who lived in Palestine, and have lived there for centuries, should not be ejected from their country; hence the decision that the inhabitants of the country should in no way be prejudiced. The inevitable result was riot, and the Prime Minister had recently to state that we had made impossible and contradictory promises.

Are we in process of repeating the mistake in India? The idealist says No. The man who has spent his life in the East says Yes, and the result in India is likely to be fatal to our existence as an Empire. The average man in England knows little about the question, and does not, as yet, understand how vitally he is affected by it; but it is essential that, before he makes the decision regarding India, which ultimately he will have to make, he should have a knowledge of the conditions which have led up to the present situation, and the principles which lie behind the discussions of the Conference.

To explain these it is necessary to give a brief *résumé* of some Indian history.

India originally belonged to the people now referred to as aboriginals. They were dispossessed of their land, some 3500 years ago, by an invasion of Aryans from the north. The invaders, first cousins of our own, were the ancestors of the Hindus whom we know. They drove the aboriginals into the centre and the south of India, into the forests and hills where they exist to this day in their millions. The Hindu system of life is well known to everyone, but its main facts cannot be repeated too often. The race consists of four main divisions—the Brahmins, the priestly caste similar to the Levis of Jewish Law; the Kshattriyas or warriors; the Vaishyas, or merchants; and, lastly, the Sudras, among whom are counted all the menial classes and also, though incorrectly, the aboriginals who, strictly speaking, are not Hindus but animists. Among the Sudras are the untouchables, men whose touch is so impure to the Brahman, or to the upper castes, that they are not permitted even to drink water from the same tap, their children cannot enter the same school, and they themselves may not enter the temple. It will no doubt be somewhat of a shock to the City Guild of Leathersellers and to our bootmakers to know that, if they were in India, they would not be allowed into the equivalent of a church, nor could they drink water from the same tap as the draper next door. Indeed, they would probably not be allowed to live next door to him; while if they accidentally touched a priest, the latter would have to go through a service of purification; if they touched his food, he would necessarily throw it away.

The Hindus, having conquered India, ruled it till they themselves were conquered by the Mohammedans at about the same time that William the Conqueror came to England. The Mohammedan invasions came in a succession of waves, each wave penetrating farther, until Delhi the capital was taken in 1206. With it fell Hindustan and Rajputana. The Mohammedans were now lords of India, and their conquests were pushed south and west till the whole continent came under their sway. The Afghan dynasties continued for some 500 years, till they in turn were finally defeated by another great Mohammedan power, that of the Mongols, the descendants of Tamerlane. The Mongols, or Moghuls, were the emperors when the first British traders established themselves in India at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and it was under the royal firman that we were permitted to engage in commerce.

For nearly 150 years the East India Company continued its commerce, with no other thought than that of trade and of profit, moderately secure amid disturbed conditions under the protection of the sipahis, or troops under British officers, whom

they were allowed to raise for the guarding of their factories and their houses, and who were supported by a few British soldiers. But trading was no sinecure in those days. The Portuguese, the French, and the Dutch were all engaged in similar enterprises, and the wars between them in Europe were reflected in the East. Every ship which sailed with merchandise from Bombay for the Persian Gulf sailed equipped as a man-of-war, ready to defend itself and its goods against attack. Meanwhile the great Moghul Empire was slowly tottering to its ruin. When Aurungzeb died in 1707, his ignoble descendants, weak and dissolute, were unable to hold the sceptre with the firmness essential in an Eastern country—especially in a continent filled with opposing races and religions.

Slowly the effects of the weakness of the central Government reached to its farthest posts and—*absit omen*—rebellion raised its ugly head. As previously, the decay of the central authority had formed the kingdoms of Golconda, Bijapur, and the other Mohammedan states, so once again Nawab, Nizam, and Raja alike raised the standard of independence and formed separate autocracies. Chief fought chief and ruler fought ruler, each intent upon increasing his power and his territory, while the Mahratta generals, from the western fastnesses of Bombay, sweeping the country with their raiding hordes, reached even to the walls of Calcutta. In 1738 Nadir Shah from Persia sacked Delhi, and all of the great peninsula west of the Indus was lost to the Empire.

India was a ripe fruit ready to fall into the possession of the strongest hand.

In 1745 war broke out between England and France in Europe. In the following year Madras was attacked and taken by the French, and though the local Nawab marched to the assistance of the British with 10,000 men, he was defeated by the French with only 400 men and two guns. The ease of his victory raised dreams of a French Empire in the mind of Dupleix, the French Governor, who thereupon placed his own nominees upon the thrones of Hyderabad and Arcot.

The situation appeared hopeless. But there was in the employ of John Company a young writer named Clive, and his military genius not only saved the situation, but gave to the British the reputation of the greatest military power in the south. The British alliance was eagerly sought, and in the resultant victories territory was acquired by the Company. So through no aggression, but out of self-defence, and self-defence alone, rose the first beginnings of the British Empire in India. The affair of the Black Hole of Calcutta and the subsequent defeat of Suraj ed Douleh at Plassey laid the foundations of the Bengal Presidency.

But though the British were now the chief power in India,

the unhappy continent was still the scene of the clash of the rival ambitions of the leaders who were carving themselves kingdoms from the carcase of the dying empire. The Rajput prince in vain produced the 'sanad' of the weakling at Delhi, to whom he looked for protection, while the Mahratta general, marching his army through his lands and feeding his troops upon his fields, demanded the 'chouth' or tribute which had become his right.

The British Governor-Generals had by this time realised that there was only one hope for peace—that the British should become the paramount power in India. In pursuance of this policy the Mahrattas were attacked and defeated, and with the third Mahratta War the power of England became recognised. Treaties of alliance were made with the Mahratta generals, and peace at last brought rest to the broken and distracted peasantry.

It is to this period that most of the greater princes of India owe their position and their territories. The Mahratta generals—notably Gwalior, Scindia, and the Gaekwar, some of them men of very ordinary birth—were recognised as the rulers of the countries which they had conquered. The Nizam of Hyderabad, the viceroy of the Moghul Emperor and to-day the biggest Indian prince, also founded the independence of his State during the earlier period of anarchy, and his alliance with Great Britain largely increased the size of his territory. The consolidation of her victories left Britain the paramount power, but her frontiers were still exposed to attack, and it was not till 1845, when the Sikhs marched 60,000 troops to attack British India, that with their defeat the Punjab was annexed. As peace was established in each area the civilising work of the British was extended, until to-day railways and roads and canals form a network throughout the country, towns have developed, schools have been instituted, universities founded, and, above all, justice has been established, a justice which was non-existent, so that the peasant, secure in peace, can be certain that he can enjoy the produce of his labour under the sure protection of the British flag.

From 1783 onwards the native of the country was taken into the system of government, and from 1833 he was admitted into the services. With the spread of education he took his place in the Civil Service in open competition with the British; he entered the Forest Department, the medical services, the Public Works Department, the Police, on an equality with the Englishman, and to-day he has entered the Army as an officer, again in equality with the ruling race. An Indian has been Governor of Bengal, and every High Court has its equal quota of British and Indian judges. Legislative councils have been formed to which the Indian elects his representative, councils which control expenditure other than that of reserved subjects. It will be

seen that the Indian is not oppressed. Why, then, does he demand greater freedom? Why this sudden demand for Dominion status?

The demand comes mainly from the Hindu intelligentsia, the mere fringe of the Indian population. The Hindu is intelligent and quick. He has taken full advantage of the educational facilities which have been provided for him, and his education has become a drug on the market. India is an agricultural country; it wants workers, not 'failed B.A.'s.' But the Hindu has imbibed John Stuart Mill and the ideas of Liberty, and has fanned the flame of a 'national' rebirth. He considers that if he ruled there would be more scope for his employment, though the number of Englishmen whom he would replace would not affect the question. He sees in Dominion status the possibility of obtaining by means of the ballot-box which the British will give him, the power which he has not possessed for 600 years. He hopes not only to rule but to control the Mohammedan, whom he outnumbers. But the Mohammedan refuses to accept this position. He demands what is called communal representation, which, in effect, means representation not according to his numbers but according to his military value. He has not forgotten that he was the ruler, and if he was content to surrender his power to a dominant race, which was the successor in conquest to the Moghul, he has no intention of submitting to the rule of the Hindu lawyer. Similarly the Sikh, proud of his military power, demands special representation. It is illuminating for the idealist that Mohammedan and Sikh alike are demanding representation not according to their voting values but according to their military value as fighting races. But if the Hindu demands Dominion status, why does the Indian prince support his demand?

It is clear, from the above, that the Hindu princes of those Indian states which existed before the British Raj was established have never been independent since the taking of Delhi by the Mohammedans in 1206. They were subordinate to the Moghul emperor, and, Hindus of caste as they were, supplied the daughters of their princely houses to the harems of the Moslem overlord, while the banners and the honours which they received from him are still among their most cherished possessions.

The bulk of the other important chiefs founded their kingdoms during the anarchy which existed on the collapse of the Mohammedan Empire. They obtained their lands by conquest as did the British, and they are by race, in general, as much foreigners to the people they rule as are the French to the Germans. From the date of the consolidation of British power they have acknowledged the paramountcy of the British Crown. To-day, with the unrest in India, they are in the same way, and at the same time,

emphasising their demand for practical independence, though they still desire the British connexion for their protection. They are complaining that we have infringed their rights, and they are insisting that British relations with them shall be kept in strict accordance with the treaties which were made with them. On paper this claim seems sound; in actual fact it does not reflect realities.

With the appearance of Great Britain as the recognised paramount power, her position *vis à vis* the chiefs acquired a new significance. She was obliged to act as umpire in the disputes between chiefs, and also, as the chiefs became part of the British Empire, she became responsible, and was held responsible for conditions of bad government in state territories. She was obliged to interfere where conditions of tyranny or bad conduct became intolerable. Thus her position grew more defined, and her practice was to extend to all states the principles of any new treaty which was made. The position established was one well known under the diplomatic term of 'usage and suffrance' which figures in so many diplomatic documents.

For some years the more advanced princes have attempted to establish their freedom from the advice of the British Agents or Residents established at their Courts. But all chiefs are not advanced—some of them are very backward; and even the advanced ones have not always been possible as rulers. It may be said that very few of their territories can in any way bear comparison with conditions in British territory, and the necessity for the power of intervention by the Government authority has been shown in the recent episodes of the great states of Indore and Nabha. No year passes without some case of bankruptcy or bad rule being brought to the notice of the Government of India; but for some years it has been laid down that when it is decided to take action against a ruler a committee of chiefs shall be appointed to examine the complaint.

But it is human to demand all the independence which can be obtained, especially when Governments show signs of weakening. The more advanced chiefs see the possibility of this being extended under a Dominion status. as they read it. At the same time the Indian chief knows that without the British Government it is highly improbable that he would exist at all. The democratic movement fostered by the National Congress is already attempting to make headway in state territories, and a considerable handle is given to complaints by the fact that in the worse managed states the Raja is apt to consider the state revenues his private property, and if he maintains a council it is frequently only one in name. In objecting to British interference, the advanced Indian princes are handling a two-edged sword; for unless

Government pressure ensures better rule—and good or bad rule depends upon the individual chief—it is certain that in the long run the position of the chiefs will become untenable. The anti-state agitator is already at work. The princes are playing the difficult game of attempting to balance independent power and British protection.

They are not, however, oblivious of the danger of Congress interference, and their recent demand for a 50 per cent. representation on the Federal Councils proposed at the Round Table Conference and their stipulation that the interest of these Councils shall be confined only to such matters as affect British India and the states together, are an attempt to protect themselves in advance.

Nevertheless, some of us consider that in their desire to achieve greater independence the Indian princes are committing political hari-kari. Indeed, I understand that some of the chiefs themselves are getting nervous at the line taken by their leaders. It will be realised, then, that the Round Table Conference, as far as it has proceeded in its endeavours to obtain a federal form of government, is, with regard to the leading Indian parties, not advancing on lines of trust and confidence, but that in fact the situation is more like an arena in which the wrestlers are manœuvring for position. It hardly promises success, even if a paper form of agreement were obtained, while no agreement of the delegates in England will satisfy Moslem opinion in India unless voting equality is obtained. Nor does it give promise for future peace even if such equality be achieved.

The Hindu, equally, has to think of the large body of extremists who refuse to consider any connexion with the Government. These may be useful as a pawn in the game with which to frighten the well-meaning British Government; but their demands are great, and unless they are satisfied the whole edifice falls to the ground so far as the Hindu delegates are concerned. The delegates can assure us that with Dominion status the demand for independence will die. Then why is it made? Why not concentrate on the lesser objective? It is to be feared that the explanation is the special pleading of a trained lawyer.

The leaders of the Congress are students of history. They have no objection to the Kerenskys obtaining for them a foothold which will enable them to take over power. But what is the British attitude towards the federal question, a solution which was originally suggested by the Simon Commission?

For the moment the Simon Commission Report has been shelved. Consequently it may be said that we have no attitude. We are presumably waiting to see what comes out of the Conference. In some ways this may be a sound position. If the Indian

delegates are unable to come to any agreement, we can fall back on the Report of the Simon Commission, which is the result of three years' study of the situation by selected representatives of all parties. If the Conference can come to an agreement with the concurrence of the British delegates, such an agreement would be put before Parliament.

But even this situation is full of danger. While the Simon Commission itself published the result of its deliberations, it was only in the form of a report to be put before Parliament. It would have been debated and discussed in committee. If the Round Table Conference comes to an agreement which the delegates take back to India, that agreement must also come before Parliament. If Parliament pulls it to pieces and reconstitutes it, what will be the position in India ? If, on the other hand, we are urged to accept such an agreement without further consideration, the whole duties of Parliament will have been usurped by a purely consultative body, composed mainly of Indians. The safeguards of the 1919 Act will have been torn up by a body in no way representative of or responsible to the *nation*. If the present Government falls and a Conservative Government is returned, it is certain that no suggestion of immediate responsible government will be accepted. It would appear far better in every way that, while all matters should be discussed, no definite resolutions should be made. The Conference would then serve the only purpose which it can safely perform—that of a consultative body whose deliberations could be put before Parliament to assist it in its constructive work.

I have referred in my opening paragraphs to the danger of idealism, and I have shown that if in Palestine we have raised unnecessary difficulties by impossible promises, we have a similar danger existing in India as between Hindu and Mohammedan. But I have only referred to the communal question as it affects federal government. It has a very much more serious side. The perennial communal riots are caused by the religious friction between Mohammedan and Hindu. The Hindu, who believes in the transmigration of souls, regards the cow with special reverence, and it is connected with many of his religious observances. The slaughter of a cow is to him the unforgivable sin. The Mohammedan, on the other hand, both sacrifices the cow at his religious festivals and also eats it. The Mohammedan detests the Hindu musical processions passing his mosque door. These circumstances alone cause half the communal riots which take place. How is this going to be stopped by a Parliament composed half of Hindus and half of Mohammedans ? Either the Hindu has got to agree to the slaughter of cows, which he cannot do, or the Mohammedan has got to cease sacrificing or eating cows, which

he certainly will not do. With the British in charge as neutrals the question is settled, and if riots take place they are controlled by troops which are neutral. But if such a riot broke out—and it certainly would break out with Indian Ministers in charge and no neutral troops—how could it be stopped? It is certainly useless to appeal to the good sense of the parties concerned. What must be realised is that we are not dealing with people with the philosophical outlook of present-day England, but with people filled with the religious fanaticism of the days of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. Nor can the freedom of Indian states from communal riots be cited, for in a Hindu state no Mohammedan would dare to kill a cow, nor in a Mohammedan state would a Hindu dare to make a protest. Either would receive short shrift. But in British India Hindu and Mohammedan are and must continue equal, unless war is to result.

Further, Dominion status with power to secede, as suggested by Sir Francis Younghusband in the November number of this Review, necessitates complete Home Rule. In such circumstances, who is to adjudicate between Indian states if they have a dispute? Is it to be imagined that a chief would accept the decision of a committee of the Chamber of Princes? If so, then India has indeed changed, and is in advance of the Europe of 1914. Does anyone seriously believe that the rival tribes of India would for long accept such adjudication without the British to back it?

But India has for the last 1000 years been invaded by the Mohammedan from the north, and until the British came, always with success. Does anyone think that the civilisation of the Afghan, of the Afridi, and other tribes on the frontier is such as to prevent them from attempting once more the conquest of the rich lands which lie at their door? Is there anything in India which could meet such an attack, which would not be resisted but accompanied by the Cis-frontier Pathan, and indeed by the Mohammedan of the north? One so friendly to Hindu aspirations, one who views the matter purely from the idealistic standpoint as Sir Francis Younghusband, admits there is great danger. The less idealistic politician views it not as a possible danger, but as a certainty. If Great Britain left India to herself, the whole continent would be ablaze, and would within a short time revert to the condition of war and rapine in which we found it, from which we saved it, and in which China now exists.

India as we know it is an entirely artificial conception protected and held together by the British power. But if the Indian achieved, not what we mean by Dominion status, but what he has come to understand by it, what power should we have to keep him within the Empire if a few of the extremists obtained control? Are we, then, in order to satisfy a demand which can be

met with perfect justice in other ways, to agree to see the whole of our work of 100 years undone? Are we to see the civilisation and the trade which we have built up destroyed? Are we to lose the capital which we have invested in the country for the sake of an idea the realisation of which is impossible?

By the Government of India Act of 1919 we are committed to giving India self-governing institutions with a view to responsible government, *as an integral part of the British* Empire, in successive stages, with Parliament the determining power in regard to the time and manner of advance. The Prime Minister has stated that the Viceroy's statement regarding Dominion status did not in any way go beyond the terms of the Government of India Act, 1919. So we stand where we were before the Simon Commission left to perform its task, and to the Simon Commission we shall come back again, once the matter comes before Parliament. Whatever the Conference may put forward will be judged in the terms of the evidence produced by the Three-Party Commission. Its facts are facts, and they will certainly be produced.

To a system of federal government we shall come, and in doing so we shall have to consider more clearly the words '*as an integral part of the Empire.*' I doubt if even the Simon Commission has sufficiently studied the possibility of the failure of its safeguards. The powers of its provincial Governors are on paper; the real power in the provinces rests with the Ministers alone. The only actual safeguard provided is the control of the Imperial Army, and it is a significant fact that the moderate Mr. Sastri, in making a demand for the right to secede, also demands the control of the Imperial Army. But responsible government, when qualified with the words 'as an integral part of the Empire,' surely presupposes definite safeguards which will make it impossible for disloyalty to act with hope of success. India is not the Europe of to-day. Notwithstanding the highly educated Indian gentlemen whom we see in England, the country as a whole is in mentality comparable with the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. There were plots and disloyalty in England in those days; there will be plots and disloyalty in India of to-day.

That India as a whole is opposed to British rule is untrue. That the articulate Hindu intelligentsia are opposed to our rule is true; that they can influence their caste fellows is true; that the moneylender and those who find British justice uncomfortable join in the chorus is equally true. But the main body of Indian opinion is waiting, waiting to see what we shall do and whether it is safe to support us; whether the Great British Raj is really losing its power as a ruler and world civiliser.

A leading British politician has stated that it is an indignity for the Indian to be ruled by the British. The statement is the negation of Empire, and if accepted must destroy the whole Colonial Empire in one generation. In the past it has been the acceptance of the colonial idea which has produced world civilisation. It is the demand of world civilisation which gives the moral right to the colonising power, and it is this same moral right which has produced the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. It has raised India from the decay of a past civilisation to a condition in which it can begin to take its place within the Empire. Is there anything degrading in the idea of a less civilised power growing up within a greater and more civilised power and finally taking its place side by side with it and in it? The idea does not seem to shock my many Indian friends, who are proud to be members of the British Empire. It is the historic method of civilisation, and in these days in which we attempt to assume the international idea rather than the national one it should appeal far more than ever.

The men who built the Empire also had ideals, high ideals and practical ideals. We are now at the parting of the ways, and we have peace or war in the folds of our toga. If we follow the theoretical and unpractical idealist we shall have war, anarchy, and disaster; if we listen to the men who know India, we shall obtain peace; we shall move more slowly, but we shall reach the ideal of a great India within a Great Empire.

LIONEL HAWORTH.

THE INFLUENCE OF PERSIA ON EUROPE

THE question of the origin of our civilisation has made immense strides in recent years. Leonard Woolley, in his epoch-making discoveries at Ur, has dug through the sand and clay of the Flood, and, to his surprise, found that the prediluvian inhabitants lived in houses with doors set in sockets of imported stone. Almost simultaneously in the valley of the Indus a culture closely akin to the Sumerian was brought to light. In short, there is much evidence tending to prove that the cradleland of these two kindred civilisations, the most ancient known to mankind, was on the Iranian Plateau. Discoveries of Sumerian culture to the south-east of the Caspian, in North-East Persia, and in the vicinity of Askabad all prove the correctness of this view, which is being strengthened as the years pass. Unless I am mistaken, during the course of the next decade definite proof will be forthcoming that, long before the arrival of the present Aryan population, Persia gave birth to the wonderful civilisation that has influenced Irak, Egypt, Crete and Lydia, and has spread all over the world. Here the question may rest for the time being while we turn our attention to historical times.

The Persian Empire was founded in 550 B.C. by Cyrus the Great, who defeated Astyages, king of the kindred tribe of the Medes, and annexed his short-lived empire. The earliest foreign campaign of Cyrus resulted in the overthrow of Crœsus and the annexation, not only of Lydia, but also of the Greek city-states of Asia Minor. A second campaign led to the conquest of Babylonia, and for more than two centuries Persia was *the* great world-empire, although Hellas defeated her with great loss of life and prestige at Salamis and at Platæa. Persia gradually became decadent in the fourth century B.C. and was conquered by Alexander the Great. From one point of view his campaigns may be considered as the exploration of Asia by Europeans, with all the contact that it involved. Upon the untimely death of the 'Lord of the Two Horns,' as he is invariably termed in Asia, his empire was divided up, and, after much fighting, Seleucus, one of his generals, founded a dynasty which ruled Persia for many generations.

In the middle of the third century B.C. the Parthians, a nomad tribe from the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, created an empire and ruled Persia for five centuries. They drove out the Seleucids and defeated and killed Crassus at the fateful battle of Carrhæ in 53 B.C. They, in their turn, were succeeded by the national dynasty of the Sasanians. Shapur I. captured the Roman Emperor Valerian, and the record of this exploit may still be seen in the celebrated *bas-relief* near Persepolis. But the dynasty reached its zenith under Noshirwan the Just, who ascended the throne in 531. During the long reign of this illustrious monarch Persia became the central mart for the exchange of ideas and of commodities. For example, chess was introduced from India and reached Europe as *shahtranj*, whence the French *échecs* and our chess. Among the very few *pahlavi* works that have come down to us is one treating of this game; and, while on this subject, do we not owe to Persia the incomparable game of polo?

The rise of the Prophet Mohamed in Arabia resulted in the overthrow of decadent Persia, which then formed part of the greatest empire the world has ever seen, stretching from the Sir Daria in Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean. This unwieldy Caliphate empire was broken up by the Seljuks, and the *coup de grâce* was administered by the destructive Mongols, who captured Baghdad in 1258. A century later Tamerlane swept across Asia like a hurricane. He also destroyed much, but yet he founded mosques and colleges, and his descendants were munificent patrons of the arts. The Timurids were succeeded by the 'White Sheep,' who ruled Persia when Constantinople fell in 1453. But their power was short-lived, and early in the sixteenth century Persia regained her independence under the brilliant Safavi dynasty. With this brief historical introduction to serve as a background, I propose to outline the influence that Persia has exerted on Europe down the ages.

The Persians term themselves Iranians or Aryans. Their religion was the worship of the forces of Nature until a prophet, Zoroaster by name, arose and attributed a moral character to these powers, by which Varuna, the God of the Sky, became Ormuzd, the Supreme Deity. Zoroaster taught monotheism, and among the attributes of Ormuzd were Light, Righteousness, and Immortality. Coeval with Ormuzd and fundamentally hostile to him was Ahriman, the Spirit of Evil, who thwarted the omnipotence of Ormuzd. To go into the question of the extent to which Zoroastrianism influenced Judaism, and thereby Christianity, lies outside the scope of this article, but it is worth pointing out that Ahriman is almost identical with Satan, while

the doctrine of the resurrection, which Zoroaster preached in no uncertain terms in the eighth century B.C., divided Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era. Again, the Persians, alone of the great nations of antiquity, are never doomed to hell by the prophets. On the contrary, in Isaiah we read: 'Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden . . . I have even called thee by thy name.' It remains to add that the Jews probably adopted their dualism and their angels from Zoroastrianism.

To continue this theme, Persia was the birthplace of two other religions, Mithraism and Manichæism. Mithras was one of the ancient Aryan deities who, when pure monotheism had disappeared from Zoroastrianism, was invoked with Ormuzd. The God of Light, he became the Protector of Monarchs and the God of Victory. Owing to the wide extent of the Persian Empire, centres of the cult were established, especially at Babylon, where Mithras was identified with Shamash the Sun God, and in Asia Minor. It made little or no appeal to Hellas, and was apparently brought to Rome by Cicilian pirates whom Pompey captured and sold as slaves. At first confined to the lower classes, Mithraism spread rapidly among soldiers and merchants, who carried the cult and erected *Mithræa* at distant York and Chester. The emperors encouraged Mithraism because it inculcated the divine right of monarchs, and Diocletian, who probably for similar reasons adopted Persian Court procedure with salutation by prostration, proclaimed Mithras the patron of the Roman Empire. The doctrines of this remarkable creed included the atoning sacrifice and the resurrection, while the Communion service of bread and water (or wine), the sacredness of Sundays and of December 25 (the birthday of Mithras) may also be noted. Towards the close of the third century Mithraism and Christianity stood face to face, but, partly perhaps because of the exclusion of women by Mithraism and its toleration of polytheism, Christianity won the battle.

In the third century of our era Manes, a Persian, preached a new religion. The essentially evil nature of matter was the root of the doctrine, which foretold the collapse of the universe and the final dissociation of Light from Darkness. Its dualism was apparently based on heretical Christianity. The propagation of the human species and, of course, marriage were discouraged by this pessimistic creed, which might even be termed inhuman. Manes, at one time, was high in favour at the Court of Shapur, the captor of the Roman Emperor Valerian. Later he was banished and travelled to China, whence he brought back a rich store of paintings which are always associated with his teaching. Indeed, he is now remembered by his fellow-countrymen as

merely a painter. He returned to Persia in 272 upon the death of Shapur, whose successor received him with much favour. That monarch only reigned for one year, and Bahram I., upon ascending the throne, said: 'This man has come forward calling people to destroy the world. I will destroy him, before any of his plans be realised.' Manes was accordingly executed, and his skin, stuffed with grass, was hung up at the city gate. His creed flourished after his death and spread from Persia to Southern France, where, in 1209, a crusade was led by Simon de Montfort against the Albigenses, who had adopted Manichæism. It is of special interest to note that St. Augustine of Hippo belonged to the sect before he adopted Christianity, and dualism tinged with pessimism remained the basis of his philosophy.

Finally, the Christian Church of Persia has also influenced Europe to some extent. Christianity reached the Persian Empire towards the end of the first century and spread rapidly under the Parthians. Persecuted by the Sasanian monarch, Shapur the Great, who rightly resented the attempt of Constantine to interfere in favour of his Christian subjects, the Persian Church finally broke off from the Western Church. This action, inspired mainly by the desire to found a national Church, resulted in the establishment of a college at Nisibis, where lectures on Plato, Aristotle, and Hippocrates were given in Syriac and later, under the Caliphate, in Arabic; and it was through the translations of their works made at Nisibis that Arab professors at Cordova taught Greek philosophy and medicine to European students in the benighted Middle Ages. Surely Paris and Oxford owe a debt of gratitude to these distant teachers! Even their hoods are copies of scarves granted to learned men by the Caliphs. Before quitting this subject a passing tribute is due to a Persian bishop, Ivon by name, who visited England as a missionary in the sixth century. In 1001 his body was miraculously discovered, and a church was dedicated to the saint, who has given its name to St. Ives in Huntingdonshire.

The influence of Persian art on Europe early in the Christian era was considerable, but has hitherto lacked adequate recognition. It flowed in two streams. To take the smaller one, the Sarmatians, an Iranian tribe, apparently in alliance with the Goths, settled in the Crimea in the fourth century A.D. There they taught the Goths *cloisonné*, with the garnet as the stone chiefly employed, and this art spread all over the Roman Empire to France and England. In the latter country it flourished in Kent from the fourth to the sixth century.

Of far greater importance was the influence of Persian art on Europe, mainly through Constantinople. Persian architecture, with its great vaults and domes, was adopted by the builders of



churches in Armenia, and furnished the inspiration for Santa Sophia, one of the masterpieces of the world. This architecture has much in common with Romanesque and Gothic in Europe, but in Persia the form was kept simple, and decorated with tiles of dazzling beauty, whereas in Gothic architecture pinnacles, balustrades, flying buttresses, and gargoyles tend to obscure the building.

During the period of the Caliphate, which included North Africa and Spain, the influence of Persian architecture reached its zenith, as the Alhambra and many Spanish churches, which have been converted from mosques, prove. Moreover, the influence of these superb examples of Persian genius penetrated into France and other European countries.

Again, from the Persian Empire came the glass mosaic, which, as developed by the genius of the Byzantine craftsmen, who utilised the Persian love of nature and imaginative symbolism, became a rich and beautiful decoration. Magnificent specimens of this art may be seen in Greece, in Italy, and in Sicily, where the warlike Normans, who conquered the island in the eleventh century, were also influenced deeply by Saracenic art and culture, which had its source in Persia.

Under the Safavi dynasty there was regular intercourse with Europe, and a long line of European travellers of various nationalities described the architectural glories of Isfahan, the new capital, and also the people and their arts and crafts. The buildings of Isfahan, whether mosques, palaces, colleges or bridges, were superb, and fortunately most of them are still standing for the modern traveller to admire. Isfahan may be described as 'the city of tiles,' and here the Persian craftsman has never been challenged. Most beautiful are the lustre tiles, some of great size with inscriptions and conventional flowers in relief. One of those in my possession, which may be seen at the Exhibition which opens this month at Burlington House, measures 24 inches by 18½ inches. The ground is brown, and on it are sapphire-blue letters an inch wide, standing up three-eighths of an inch in relief; there are also green conventional leaves. Unfortunately the tile is incomplete, but its beauty is great. Such tiles were only found inside buildings, and were generally manufactured in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The tiles used on the exterior of the buildings at Isfahan are also a blaze of colour, but so artistic is the scroll-work, and so perfect the blending of the colours, that the effect when seen on some stately building with the cloudless blue of the Persian sky as a setting is radiant beyond words. The reproduction of a model of the great *aywan*, or gateway, of the Royal Mosque at the Exhibition will constitute a suitable tribute to the architecture of Isfahan.

Better known than the tiles are the carpets ; and who that has seen a masterpiece of the Persian loom can forget its exquisite design or its harmonious colouring mellowed by time ? Nor is there any lack of variety, since each tribe and each district uses different designs, ranging from the dark, wine-red Turkoman carpets, with austere geometrical designs and amulet cases, to the trees, blossoms, and graceful scrolls of Kerman and Western Persia which 'recall the spring when the earth is dead.' A magnificent collection of carpets, silken and woollen, will delight the visitor to the Exhibition. He will, indeed, admire their beauty, which is in no sense unfamiliar to him, since, all unconsciously, he is permeated with Persian art. It is perhaps worth mentioning that, down to the seventeenth century,

> All herbs and flowers fragrante, fayre and swete
> Were strewed in halls, and layd under theyr fete ;

and that at this period carpets were used as table-cloths. When Sir Toby Belch protests 'He is a knight . . . on carpet consideration,' he means to say that Sir Andrew Ague-Cheek has been knighted on courtly considerations by the sovereign in the council chamber, as opposed to the field of battle.

In addition to carpets there are equally beautiful velvets and brocades, some of which have come down to us from Sasanian times. In the fifteenth century, Persian weavers settled at Venice and at other cities in Italy, in Provence and in Spain, where the beautiful products of their looms not only penetrated to every part of Europe, but also served as models. For example, in the *Adoration of the Magi*, painted by Memling in the sixteenth century, not only does a Persian carpet appear in the picture, but the Virgin Mary leans against a superb Persian brocade. Again, in a picture by Caliari Veronese of the '*Doge Cicogna receiving Persian Ambassadors*,' both tapestries and embroideries of Persian workmanship are depicted. The decoration of these tissues is a fascinating subject and carries us back into the dim past. Without going deeply into the question, a favourite *motif* was the 'Tree of Life,' placed between two animals or birds ; there were also the floral diapers of the 'knop and flower' pattern, which were adopted from the older civilisations, and which, as modified in the freer drawing of the Safavi period, are so delightful. Persia also inherited from the Achæmenian and Sasanian periods. To give an example, the graceful representations of wild beasts in the 'hunting carpets' are similar to the spirited hunting scenes of the older silversmiths. It is of especial interest to note that, in 1579, an Englishman, of the delightful name of Hubblethorne, was sent to Persia to learn dyeing and weaving of carpets. Upon his return he instructed not only his fellow-countrymen, but also

some Frenchmen, whose factories outstripped the modest foundation of James I. at Mortlake.

Few specimens of Persian painting have come down to us from early days, but we know that, while Persian influence on Byzantine painting was supreme, Byzantium also influenced the Persian school. The sack of Baghdad, terrible catastrophe though it was, gave birth to true Persian art. In its inception it was influenced by Chinese painters, who founded a school in Central Asia, in which the figures are of a distinctly Mongol type with almond eyes. But Behzad, born in 1450, threw off this influence and founded the Persian school of miniature painting. Before his day artists painted conventional figures, whereas Behzad invariably differentiated each figure in countenance and bearing. His landscapes also tended to be realistic. Yet, strange as it may appear, there was no absolute break in Persian art with the *motifs* and traditional methods of the Sasanians, probably thanks to the paintings of the Manichæans. Thus we have Bahram Gur, the mighty hunter of the wild ass, with his mistress, and Majnun and Leila, the lovers of all time, reappearing six centuries after the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Arabs.

Generally speaking, the Persian artist, a supreme colourist, paints in the small with exquisite finish, intending his work to be held in the hand and studied at very close range, whereas the European artist paints a picture to be hung on a wall and to be viewed from a distance. The influence of Persia on European painting is typically exemplified in the retable which is shown in the ambulatory of the choir of Westminster Abbey, and is considered to be the most remarkable example of English painting of the thirteenth century. It is divided into five panels, two of which are adaptations of Persian octagonal-shaped tiles, fitting into dark blue cruciform tiles with a pattern of spirals in gold. The painter had obviously used the tiles he had seen in a mosque to serve as his model. In the Exhibition a panel of small brown octagonal tiles, which fit into light blue cruciform tiles, gives an example to the point. Some of the best work of the Persian painter, as was also the case in contemporary Europe, is found in manuscripts with the artistic flowing script, incorporated with graceful compositions of dazzling colours harmoniously blended. Here, again, Persian influence is very strong. To turn to another branch of the art, the visitor to Chartres Cathedral marvels at the exquisite colouring of its celebrated lancet windows, which are considered to show strong Persian influence. They were the gift of St. Louis, and are the oldest windows of this class in France. Again, it appears that heraldic crests were introduced into Europe by the Crusaders, in which connexion 'gules' and

'azure' are Persian words. Some years ago I was shown pottery from Old Cairo, on which were the crests of the Mameluke officials. One fragment, I recollect, showed two polo sticks, to constitute the crest of the 'Bearer of the polo sticks of the Sultan.' Finally, connected with the art of painting, is that of bookbinding, which in Europe was based on Persian models.

We now come to the goldsmiths and other workers in metals. Under the Achæmenian dynasty the art of the goldsmiths had reached a high pitch, as the Oxus Treasure in the British Museum proves. To take two examples, there is a gold jug, whose elegant shape is enhanced by the lion-head on the handle; and there is the umbo of a silver shield representing hunters pursuing stags, ibex, and a hare. Under the Sasanian dynasty the silversmith produced superb 'hunting' dishes resembling the design on the umbo, which undoubtedly influenced Europe.

To take another branch of the art, damascening was a Persian invention, and metal-workers from Iran settled in Venice, where they produced fine specimens of their art, decorated in some cases with the crests of their patrons. Their designs reached the goldsmiths of South Germany, and were published in a folio work which was used by the goldsmiths of England. Persian sword-blades were also famous. I possess a fine old blade on which the name of Shah Abbas II. and the date are inlaid in gold. To conclude this section, as in the case of tissues, so also in the case of metals, the Venetians acquired the processes used by the Persians, whose works served as their models.

I now turn to the natural products that have reached Europe from Persia. One of the earliest, noted by Pliny, was the introduction of lucerne clover during the course of the campaigns of Darius against Hellas. To continue, the peach, the orange, the lime, the pistachio nut, rhubarb, asparagus, the lilac, and the narcissus have not only reached Persia from Europe, but have retained their Iranian names. It is also probable that the original habitat of the vine was in the Caspian provinces of Persia.

The sons of Iran have ever loved gardens and flowers. They laid out their gardens on gentle slopes, oblong in shape and walled, with rushing streams bordered by avenues and with roses in masses and other flowers. The Emperor Baber introduced these gardens into India, and describes in detail how he laid out his favourite garden at Kabul. Under the Caliphate, the Persian garden reached Spain, where the great garden of Cordova and other 'paradises' were laid out on the Iranian model.

Mrs. Villiers-Stuart tells us that, allowing for the difference due to climate, the English gardens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries closely resembled the Persian. In both there were the

high boundary walls, with towers in the east and garden-houses in the west, while the 'pleached allies' and the 'proper knots' of the English garden had their counterparts in the vine pergolas and geometrical parterres of Persia. At the Exhibition lovers of gardens will view with sheer delight a sixteenth-century royal 'garden carpet.' It shows the running water, bordered with avenues of fruit trees and cypresses, with the eight pearl pavilions, the geometrical parterres of flowers, shaded by trees, and the nightingales—surely they must be nightingales!—perched beak to beak on the rose bushes.

Persian dress has influenced Europe from the Middle Ages, and on this subject there is an amusing story told of Charles II. John Evelyn, the diarist, had met and admired 'a Persian walking about in a rich vest of cloth of tissue, and several other ornaments.' This meeting inspired him to write a pamphlet entitled *Tyrannus or the Mode.* To quote the famous diary: 'I presented an invective . . against our so much affecting the French fashion, to his Majesty, in which I tooke occasion to describe the comelinesse and usefulnesse of the Persian clothing.' Charles was evidently bitten with the idea of breaking away from the French fashion, as the following entry proves:

> To Court. It being y[e] first time his Ma[ty] put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion of vest, changeing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloake, into a comely dress, after y[e] Persian mode, with girdle or straps, and shoe strings and garters into bouckles, of which some were set with precious stones, resolving to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtain'd to our greate expence and reproch. Upon which divers courtiers gave his ma[ty] gold by way of wager that he would not persist in this resolution.

The courtiers certainly won their wager, for Louis XIV., furious at what he probably considered a slight, threw the new fashion into contempt by dressing his lackeys in Persian attire! This *riposte* was too much for Charles, who dropped Persian clothes as suddenly as he had started wearing them.

To conclude, we read of aeroplanes bearing priceless works of art, hitherto hidden away in the mosques and shrines of Persia, and of Egypt lending her richest treasures, while Europe and America are uniting to make the 'International Exhibition of Persian Art' a splendid epitome of the influence that Persia has exercised on Europe down the ages.

PERCY SYKES.

FARM MARKETING AND THE FUTURE

THREE or four years ago most of the people in any way connected with agriculture were squabbling over agricultural co-operation. They were divided into two camps. The one party, composed largely of those less actively engaged in farming, never tired of saying that co-operative societies need only be formed in all districts for farming to be put on its feet again. The other party, in which working farmers predominated, said that co-operation was useless because they had had some, and had received worse service from the societies, while they existed, than from private traders ; also, they said, they had lost sufficient money already through the societies going bankrupt, as many actually did.

It was all great fun, calling the other people 'reactionaries' or 'paper farmers,' according to which party you happened to be in, and the present writer was severely reprimanded in this Review for venturing to say that agricultural co-operation had failed in England, and the sooner some other form of collective trading were found the better it would be for agriculture.

But the queer thing was that we were all more or less wrong. One need hardly say that the minority who did not believe in collective action at all were completely and hopelessly wrong from the beginning. But those who said that they had tried co-operation and it had failed were wrong also, because actually they had never tried it at all, except in a few instances which were, and still are, successes. Yet the most wrong of all, perhaps, were the ones who had the horse sense to see that co-operation in some form was necessary, but not the intelligence to understand what it meant. What they said in effect was : 'Register yourselves under the Friendly Societies Act, put up the capital, and all will be well. You will then reap for yourselves the fantastic rewards the wicked middlemen are now pocketing.' A pleasant, if hermaphroditic, theory. The farmer to be half a producer, half a trader. What was lost on the swings of production would be made up on the roundabouts of distribution

We know now that this question of the actual form the organisations took was the one point that mattered least. The really important things were precisely those that were left out.

Such things as standardisation and grading of product, regulation of supplies to the market, unwavering (in other words, compulsory) loyalty to the organisations, co-operation with existing methods of distribution and studied service to the consumer. These things are almost platitudes now, thanks largely to the introduction of the National Mark and the astonishing rapidity with which the idea of that national guarantee and all that it stands for has spread. But hardly anyone realised their importance at the time, and the false basis on which the push for co-operation was launched was undoubtedly responsible both for the intransigence of its opponents and the failure which at first attended it. This seems very old history now, so it helps one to realise how swiftly agricultural marketing affairs have been moving in the past few years. They show signs of moving even more swiftly, however, in the years that lie immediately ahead, and it may be interesting to trace the steps that have led up to this acceleration together with those in prospect at the present moment and in the more distant future.

The beginning of it all undoubtedly came with the introduction of the National Mark for fruit in 1928, followed by the National Mark for eggs in February 1929. It is not proposed to go over this ground again. Suffice it to say that the guarantee of the mark is the basis on which the entire marketing movement stands. It is the essential device that allows our produce to compete with foreign produce for reliability and facility in trading and buying, and the means by which British agriculture can rid itself of the incubus of the variable and indifferent produce that has weighed down the excellence of so much of the food we are pre-eminently suited to grow.

But when the 150 odd egg-collecting stations were established in 1929 things did not stop there. The egg packers began to hold conferences to discuss the common aims of the industry, to eliminate overlapping and to make plans for the still better organisation of the home egg trade. A most important conference was held at the end of last year at which excellent recommendations on these points were made. Thus the first-born of the Ministry of Agriculture took its first steps on its own and a beginning was made of a self-conducting commodity federation.

Implicit in this simple action was a very big idea. It visualised for the first time in England the self-organisation of an entire branch of British agriculture. It showed producers and distributors beginning to work in concert, realising that each was to some extent dependent upon the other. Indifferent eggs meant indifferent prices to the producers: they also meant trouble, expense and greater difficulty in selling to the distributors. Slowly the fact dawned—and by no means all have

realised it even now—that the wide spread in prices between what the producer receives and the consumer pays was not all going to the middleman. It was going very largely in the extra labour and the definite waste which bad marketing brings. For consider what actually happens in such instances, taking, for example, a 100 dozen cases of unreliable eggs. Because they are unreliable, the distributor must employ labour to unpack them, test each separately, grade them, make up even lots with other eggs, and throw some away as useless on which considerable sums for handling have already been spent. Even then, perhaps, some bad eggs will reach the consumer, causing complaints. Thus a preference for imported eggs, with which such occurrences are much less frequent, is created both among distributors and consumers. But if the testing and grading were done before the eggs were dispatched to the distributor, not only could it be done more cheaply, but the producer could be more easily discouraged from being careless about the condition of the eggs he sends in. That would effect a very great saving.

It has been significant that these are the things that have recently been concentrated upon, the very things which the first preachings of co-operation omitted. Not only that ; the original doctrine, that stressed so much 'co-operation' in its narrower and specialised meaning, has been completely ignored. No one has minded whether the packing stations were 'co-operative,' or run by private companies, or by private individuals, so long as they guaranteed a minimum supply and a standard article. As a matter of fact, the 'co-operative' method promises to turn out the most popular and satisfactory, but this is rightly regarded as being of quite secondary importance.

But the commodity federations will accomplish far more than guaranteed quality and grades. They will become powerful self-governing organisations that will foster and protect the interests of their members, and will, one hopes, eventually free the producer from his complex for looking to the Government to do everything for him. Self-help is so much more than a matter of moral uplift. It is the only really efficient and really permanent method for establishing required conditions. Among the other useful tasks that lie before these federations will be to suggest means by which produce can continually be improved and costs cheapened, to undertake propaganda and advertisement, to co-operate with the federations that are springing up in other countries in order to avoid much of the present trouble caused by surplus produce wandering about the world looking for a home, and to arrange export to other countries. Since the National Mark was introduced we have been exporting eggs, fruit and vegetables under its banner, although as yet the quantities have

been very small. But it is only by working upon a larger scale than one average-sized collecting agency can work upon, that an export trade of suitable dimensions can be built up.

This is approximately the stage in marketing we have reached to-day. But it is only the beginning of the story. Far bigger events are in prospect, and to bring them to reality another large ditch has to be jumped. That ditch is the compulsion of minorities to join their particular organisation once a considerable majority has joined it. It is embodied in the Government Bill lately before Parliament. South Africa and Queensland have already accepted the principle, and in Denmark, Holland, Sweden, and Ireland it is either legally or virtually an accomplished fact. A great number of farmers in Scotland—always a little ahead of England in these ideas—favour it.

The necessity for the compulsion of minorities lies in the fact that they can and do make any organised marketing system a failure by remaining outside. One of the very best concrete examples of this may be seen in England at this moment.

A minority of 7½ per cent. has succeeded in plunging the whole English hop industry into bankruptcy. This is how it has happened. Formerly the English Hop Growers' Association, representing at first 92½ per cent. of our total hop acreage, organised the industry by regulating supplies to the market. Usually something like 75 per cent. of their supplies were sold at prices from 160s. to 240s. per cwt. The remaining 25 per cent. were used for any purpose that did not bring them on to the open market. The discipline of the majority, however, proved the opportunity of the unscrupulous 7½ per cent. minority. Not only did they market 100 per cent. of their crop at the prices the organisation of the majority made possible—they actually increased their total acreage of hops. After a year or two, therefore, the 7½ per cent. minority had increased to 17½ per cent. and was still growing. It would plainly have been just a question of time before the minority became the majority, and so the members of the association, in righteous wrath at the blind idiocy of the selfish few, dissolved their association, on the principle that, as disaster must come sooner or later, they would have it sooner and all go down together in one glorious blaze of ruin. They did. Last year hop prices crashed to 50s. and 60s., and lower than that. Fifty shillings does not cover the cost of picking and drying, and large quantities of quite good hops were lying unsold even at these bankrupt prices. The West of Scotland Milk Pool has had a not dissimilar experience, and the plight of the potato growers, who habitually throw all their potatoes on to the market irrespective of the laws of supply and demand, would have been every bit as bad last year had every single ton

of foreign potatoes been prohibited from entering our ports. The dumpers among our own producers are, if anything, a greater menace than foreign dumpers, for the foreigner in many instances regulates his supply according to our demand. The heavy tariff against foreign hops has availed our growers little in the face of their orgy of indiscipline.

It is evident, therefore, that there is no hope for fair and stable prices in commodities we can produce, so long as disloyal and short-sighted minorities can stand outside the organisations and profit by the good sense and self-restraint of the many. It is intolerable that the few should thus be allowed to bring disaster to themselves, their fellow farmers, and their country. All the well-worn talk about 'the freedom of the individual' is sentimental twaddle in this connexion. To allow the few to wreck the homes and fortunes of the many and plunge a whole industry in ruin is no more a question of 'freedom' than the permission of homicides to commit murder. None of the difficulties that arise in connexion with establishing monopolies are insuperable, for instances can be found in the countries already mentioned where they have been overcome. We have two great safeguards in this respect—first, the competition of foreign imports; secondly, our recent realisation that the way of prosperity for both producer and distributor lies in service to the consumer. One day, perhaps, we shall recognise how great a debt civilisation owes to Mr. Henry Ford. He was the first to show—at any rate, the first to show on a big scale—that the man who could best combine quality, cheapness, and service in the goods with which he supplied the public was the man who did business most profitably. It is that realisation that is altering the whole complexion of trade.

But the English farmers are not taking kindly to this proposal for making it possible for organised majorities to restrain disorganised minorities from wrecking their businesses. The bait of Protection has been held out to them, and it seems to offer higher rewards with less trouble. Under Protection, they believe, it will be possible to carry on in the old, sweet way—only, at a profit instead of at a loss. It is a very understandable attitude from a human point of view, for most of us would avoid change if possible, especially if it is a change of mind, which is what we must make if agricultural marketing is to be organised.

And yet all over the world it is being demonstrated almost daily that Protection does not keep out goods that are dumped in earnest. Assuredly it would not keep out foreign food supplies from taking the place of our own unless our marketing system were at least as good as our rivals'. To reach and surpass this

standard is the first object of the Marketing Bill. But supposing, it is argued, this organisation were effected and we adjusted better our supplies to the demand, keeping our surplus off the market: why should not foreign surpluses cause just the same injuries that our own surpluses were previously causing? Can we regulate our own supplies to our needs without regulating foreign supplies also? The National Farmers' Union and some of the farmers say we cannot, and so, they say, Protection must precede compulsory marketing.

Surely this is a short-sighted view. Rightly or wrongly, the average voter of every class is convinced that bad marketing is at the bottom of many of the woes of agriculture. It is unlikely, in any case, that a majority will ever vote for taxes on food; it is doubly unlikely that they will ever do so as long as they hold to this belief. If the agriculturists really believe that the Marketing Bill will be of no avail, the easiest way to get Protection would surely be to undertake the organisation of our marketing (which is necessary in any case) and then be in a position to say: 'We have organised the selling side of our business to the full pitch of efficiency; but all our efforts are nullified by foreign dumping.' Their plea for Protection might then carry some weight.

But let us be quite clear about this affair of dumping. The past two years have filled the world's storehouses with surplus food. Partly this is due to bountiful harvests all over the world in almost every commodity, partly to the shortage of gold, that has brought prices down with a run at the same time as it has been largely responsible for the world-wide increase in unemployment. Buying power has consequently been reduced, foodstuffs have been thrown on the market for what they will fetch, and buyers have held off, anticipating further falls in price. Upon such a situation Protection has no helpful effect. In similar conditions after the Napoleonic Wars wheat fell to 35s., in spite of a tax designed to keep it at 80s. But after 1846, when gold became more plentiful, wheat rose and kept steady at about 57s., although by then the tariff on it had been removed amid universal prophecies of ruin. At the present time, therefore, low prices and over-supplies are phenomena that might be expected, and there is no evidence to show that Protection would favourably affect the situation.

The chief commodity that is being dumped upon us is cereals from Germany, France, and Russia. An interesting light has been thrown upon this aspect of the situation by the East Sussex branch of the National Farmers' Union, which consulted 225 of its members as to their views on foreign corn dumping. Ninety-four per cent. reported that they had gained more than they had lost

by it, as they were buyers of wheat, oats, and barley. The gain was estimated at 100*l.* per head per annum. A very different result, of course, would have been obtained from East Anglia; but the fact remains that cereals represent less than 10 per cent. of our agricultural production, and cheap cereals, with the attendant depressing effect upon other feeding-stuffs, undoubtedly represent a net gain to the farming community. During the past year also several factors have combined to produce surpluses of fruit, and the unorganised condition of our markets has attracted much of them over here. It should be remembered, however, that, in spite of all the talk of soft-fruit gluts, the British canning industry has had to go from 3000 to 4000 tons short of its requirements.

Apart from these instances there is practically no dumping of foreign produce into England. On the contrary, most of what we import is high-class, good-priced produce grown specially for the English market. The whole of this subject has been most admirably dealt with by Mr. J. P. Maxton in a paper read by him at a recent meeting of the Agricultural Economics Society.[1] Mr. Maxton pointed out that belief in dumping postulates several things:

(1) That an exporting country can maintain its home prices and at the same time sell below cost of production on the British market.

(2) That our imports are drawn from countries that supply their own needs first, then dump a negligible surplus upon us; that the condition of our market is of no importance to them.

(3) That the public always buys the cheapest produce.

As regards (1), evidence is lacking except in one instance. No Australian wheat-grower is going to sell his wheat in England at a price below the cost of production without first offering it on his own market at the same price, which could only mean a corresponding fall in his home price. Sometimes attempts have been made to make this possible by the State giving a bounty on export. It has been attempted with French and German corn, but it is not a system in operation in any of the main sources of supplies to this country. Since part of its object is to keep up home prices in the country of export, it is naturally not a system that finds much favour with the general public in those countries. Indeed, contrary to the belief of many, the export of surplus below the cost of production while keeping up the home price is beset by so many difficulties that few foreign countries have

[1] See *Proceedings of Conferences of the Agricultural Economics Society*, published by the Society (price 2*s.* 6*d.*).

ventured upon it, and none has found a completely satisfactory method of achieving it.

The second belief—namely, that our main supplies come from countries that satisfy their own needs first and send us whatever happens to be left—is so far removed from the actual facts that one wonders how anyone ever came to believe it. To quote Mr. Maxton again, the following figures will show that not only is their whole export trade a vital factor in the agriculture of our chief competitors, but that the British market is the most important factor of all:

WHEAT.

Proportion of Total Exports of undermentioned Countries taken by the United Kingdom.

United States ..	40 per cent.	Australia ..	30 per cent.
Canada	20 ,,	Argentine ..	24 ,,

(NOTE.—Much of the wheat under the United States figure is Canadian wheat exported *viâ* the United States.

BEEF.

	Proportion of Export to Consumption in Country of Export.	Proportion of Total Exports taken by the United Kingdom.
Argentine	43 per cent. ..	98·6 per cent. chilled
		40·5 ,, frozen
Uruguay	50 ,, ..	99·2 ,, chilled
		20·0 ,, frozen
Australia	10 ,, ..	58 0 ,, frozen

MUTTON AND LAMB.

	Proportion of Export to Consumption in Country of Export.	Proportion of Total Exports taken by the United Kingdom.
New Zealand	77 per cent ..	99·94 per cent.
Argentine	71 ,, ..	92·4 ,,
Australia	20 ,, ..	92·2 ,,

BUTTER

Denmark	80 per cent. ..	68 per cent.
New Zealand	75 ,, ..	95 ,,
Australia	45 ,, ..	90 ,,
Argentine	75 ,, ..	93 ,,

CHEESE.

New Zealand	95 per cent. ..	99 per cent
Canada	70 ,, ..	70 ,,

Mr. Maxton emphasises the fact that some of these figures are not easily available, and so can only be taken as approximately correct. But they are sufficient to show that the English market is of such first-rate importance to the producers in the countries mentioned that there can be no question of their regarding the supplies they send us as negligible surpluses that can be dumped for what they will fetch.

As regards (3), it is well known that the British public does not buy what is cheapest. One of the chief factors that make our food market so attractive to importers is the fact that we like and will pay for the best. They strain every nerve to export high quality products because of our demand for them—a demand which the British farmer, unfortunately, has seemed hitherto to take less interest in studying than any of his competitors. Our largest butter imports are Danish, followed in order of quantity by New Zealand, Australian, Argentine, and Siberian. In price they follow exactly the same order, with Danish butter the dearest, Siberian the cheapest. This is the reverse of what would be the case if the assumption that we buy the cheapest were correct.

Also, if Britain were really the dumping ground of the world's surplus produce, it would be natural to expect food to be cheaper in Britain than anywhere else. We know only too well that this is very far from being so. Nor do our chief competitors have any advantage over us in cheap labour. In Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and Denmark the figures of real wages (*i.e.*, wages in relation to the cost of living) are all shown by the International Institute of Agriculture to be higher than ours. In Holland they are 86 per cent. of ours. The figures for the Argentine are not given, but when the writer made inquiries two years ago from several different sources on this point it appeared, so far as could be judged, that Argentine real wages are approximately the same as ours—if anything, higher than the farm wage in Britain.

It is far too readily assumed that all over the world at all times countries are producing surplus food which they hold in compact dumps ready to shoot into any country at any price. But producers do not normally produce more than they hope to sell at fair prices just for the sake of producing it. When surpluses occur, they occur usually by accident, due chiefly to seasonal or monetary influences. Not every year are there surpluses in every commodity, and organised bands of producers are not prowling round the world seeking whom they may destroy with avalanches of cheap food.[1]

[1] It is possible that Russia, forced by the necessity to sell food at any price to get cash, may accidentally have stumbled on a subtle and effective way to destroy capitalism in other countries. This is not yet proved.

So the danger of foreign dumping is probably far from being the menace it is often represented to be. When we consider the more positive side, we have less reason than ever to fear it. Our land is fertile, our climate kind. We *can* produce beef, mutton, lamb, potatoes, fruit, eggs, poultry, butter, cheese, pork, bacon, hops, and vegetables second to none in the world. Our liquid milk market is naturally protected, and a vast field is open there for increased consumption. We need to send our produce shorter distances than any of our competitors, and we enjoy the enormous advantage of the preference of the British people for British goods, other things being equal. What we have failed to do so far is to make other things equal—to put these on the market in the quantity and quality in which our competitors market them. For different reasons in nearly every commodity, a very large percentage of our produce is falling below the standard which the importer has set and which the consumer and distributor therefore demand. The fact that a limited amount of it far exceeds this standard is quite beside the point. Where the National Mark has come into being—with eggs, apples and pears, for instance—we have found that we need no artificial advantages to hold our own in our own markets. It is true that railway freights in England are a national scandal and often exceed railway freights abroad plus sea freights, plus railway freights again from the English ports where foreign produce is unloaded, but there is evidence to show that the British railway companies would take a very different view of the matter were the producers organised in commodity federations. Apart from the fact that the producers would then be in a position to threaten to organise their own transport if the railways refused to meet them (a move that has already produced revisions of rail charges in England where organisations, even on a small scale, have been able to make the threat a real one), such organisations would facilitate and cheapen the task of the railways themselves. For regular consignments of standard bulk could then be arranged for—a reform which the railway companies have often asked the producers to introduce.

These things which once seemed so far away as to be out of reach within our time are rapidly becoming immediate possibilities under the new life which is being poured into the roots of the marketing movement. It is not pretended that marketing affords the whole solution to the agricultural problem, but the remarkable thing has been the unexpected possibilities in favour of British produce that close investigation of the marketing of each commodity has opened up. Space only permits to take one example—beef.

British beef has been going steadily downhill for a genera-

tion. The proportion of home-produced supplies has fallen from 70 to 50 per cent. within that time. Among the causes for this are—(1) closer adaptation of supplies to the English market by the importer; (2) our obsolete abattoirs; (3) the sale of old cows and bulls as British beef; (4) the fact, known to consumers, that butchers have been habitually substituting foreign for British beef and selling it at British beef prices. All these disadvantages to British beef the National Mark can remove, and it should go a long way towards bringing it back into favour again. Since its introduction great interest has been centred on British beef, with the result that public bodies have made experiments that have proved British beef to be actually cheaper in practice than imported beef. (They should be regarded as significant rather than conclusive at the present stage.) But, further than this, an entirely new development is opening. The grades of beef are making it possible to explore the possibilities of marketing cattle direct from the farm to the abattoir. The farmer would send in his cattle at the appointed time and be paid for them on a deadweight-plus-grade basis, the grades being fixed by an independent Government grader. The consequent elimination of market toll, auctioneer's fee, and handling by at least one dealer would effect a very considerable saving which would improve the producer's price without adding to the consumer's. Investigation of beef marketing has also revealed the uneconomic methods by which our abattoirs are run. The vast majority (indeed, I believe all, with about three exceptions) do not work regularly with an even supply of cattle day in and day out, but work a couple of days or so a week, when there is such a rush to use them that buildings double the necessary size must be constructed and the staffs work overtime at overtime rates. This, of course, adds greatly to the cost of slaughtering, as also do the antique methods in use for removing the carcases to the wholesale markets. A case recently brought to my notice showed that the extra cost added to fifteen beasts from the time they left an East Anglian farm to the time their carcases reached the wholesale market amounted to close upon 60*l*. No one had profiteered. The money had simply gone in waste and sheer bad management. No doubt this is an exceptionally bad instance, but anything like this figure is a quite fantastic price to pay for such a simple process.

Beef is not exceptional. Other branches of agriculture could give even more glaring examples of money wasted by lack of organisation. But the above will suffice to give some indication of the lines on which better marketing could release for the producer's benefit money which is simply being wasted. As the distributors are organised and the producers are not, it is the producers who bear the cost of this waste. But, by the same

token, there is little hope of the producers gaining and keeping their full share of any saving effected unless they become organised.

Even so, however, and allowing for the over-emphasis that has been laid on the dumping of foreign food, the problem cannot be regarded as solved until effective means can be found of dealing with imports in an emergency. There can be circumstances—and Russia has recently demonstrated them—in which dumped imports do really become a menace to the home producer. Three methods of dealing with them have been suggested: Protection; Nationalisation of Imports; systems of Embargoes, Licences or Quotas, implemented by the State. It is naturally impossible to examine the advantages and defects of all these suggestions in this article. Suffice it to say that each one has strong intrinsic drawbacks. Protection does not keep out what is dumped in earnest, and it makes unnecessarily dear things we must buy. It is an evil only justifiable if its good results can outweigh the evil it produces. The nationalisation of imports—a sound and clever idea in theory—seems all too likely to lead to the nationalisation of the whole process of food distribution in practice, and would bring with it the evils inseparable from Government trading. Embargoes, licences and quotas similarly play too much into the hands of bureaucracy, would almost certainly cause friction with our Dominions and other friendly countries with whom we trade, and, by the constant necessity of revision, might well bring about even more uncertainty and instability of price than we suffer at present. In addition to these particular defects, all three methods have one great common disadvantage. They are to some extent dependent for their continuance upon the political party that happens to be in power, and so do not carry the sense of security that non-political and non-State methods possess. We in this country have always had a strong and sensible antipathy against the State taking part in trade, and though it may be maintained that in instances where the State has had to interfere the result is better than if things had been left entirely to *laissez-faire*, that is a very poor sort of argument that proves very little. It is one thing for the State to take over large and well-organised units such as the General Post Office, the Port of London or the London Traffic Combine; but it is quite a different thing when the State begins trading in such a disorganised jumble of individualism as farming at present displays. Unfortunately we have let things slide for so long that immediate interference by the State may have become essential to save us from something worse, and the danger then will be that we shall rest content with that instead of following the sounder but slower and more irksome course of letting industry achieve its own salvation and itself deal with the dumping problem.

So far as agriculture is concerned, this could be done if the producers and distributors could work together. Self-controlled trade organisations of the two, with the consumers represented in them also, could control imports by arranging their own quotas and making up the deficiency required from outside by buying in the cheapest market, dividing the money saved among producers, distributors, and consumers. This is beginning to happen already. The British egg industry, as stated above, is moving towards an organisation of producers and distributors, and many on both sides have already realised that they have more interests in common than in opposition. They may be far from the goal of complete co-operation, but at least there are some who have visualised it. Again, the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the biggest distributing firm in the world and also representing the consumers, is becoming more and more closely involved with producers' co-operative societies. It is true that it has taken advantage of the weakness of the producers to dragoon them at times, but on the whole the producers get better terms from it than by the old method of producer *versus* distributor. Slowly—and very slowly—suspicion is giving place to co-operation.

Now supposing—it is a big supposition, but supposing the Marketing Bill really succeeded within the next few years in organising the selling side of agriculture so that not only were there large supplies of graded produce, saleable by name alone, and of the high average quality which it is within our powers to produce, but also there were organisations and associations of producers who could speak with authority and take the position they ought to take in our community. Why should not organised agriculture be then able to enter into partnership with organised distribution on fair terms ? The producers would have something to offer which they do not now possess—standard goods of guaranteed quality in adequate amounts, marketed in a way that would make them more easily handled and sold. They would have also the great advantage of being British goods, and, with other things equal, there is a prejudice in favour of British goods. At the moment other things are not equal. The superior marketing of the foreigner has weighted the scales against us. The producer would then hold the trump card—a card which, it is hoped, he would never need to play ; but he could, as a last resort, not only threaten to withhold his goods, but do so. At present the distributors laugh at any such threat, for they know the producers are too unorganised to put it into effect. It is for this reason that the producers now enter upon every bargain with the distributors at a hopeless initial disadvantage.

But with producers and distributors in partnership on equal terms it should be a very different story. Forward contracts

could be made with producers' organisations, just as distributors now make forward contracts with foreign producers' organisations because they know exactly the quality of goods they will get. Quotas could be set and agreed upon by those in the best position to determine what they should be and to carry them out without the assistance of Government inspectors. There is no reason whatever why such joint organisations should not absorb foreign supplies 'dumped' at a low price and share the advantage of cheapness to their profit instead of to their harm.

Such organisations, that have the advantage over the State Imports Board of being non-bureaucratic and offering greater elasticity and wider scope for the individual within them, are well in accordance with world tendencies in this direction. For we are realising that the day of nationalism is passing, and, whether we like it or not, we cannot carry on any longer even the essential services of feeding and clothing ourselves with complete disregard of other countries. The day when the world may think of feeding itself internationally has ceased to be a fantastic dream.

When that time comes—and it is inevitable that it will—there would either be quota systems for each commodity or a system of international clearing-houses by which a surplus of a commodity in one country would be diverted by agreement to another that needs it. It is interesting to note that the National Mark, on which the whole edifice of our new agricultural marketing is being built, would be vital to our participation in such a movement; for it provides the name and the guarantee by which a nation on the other side of the world can buy goods from us in great bulk, and, without samples or inspection, know exactly what they will receive.

A few years ago the thought of such international co-operation would have been dismissed as impossible. But the wheels of commerce, fortunately, move more quickly than the minds of politicians or the workings of disarmament conferences, and the year before last saw the first tiny blossomings of a new development that may one day give the producers of every nation the security for which they long, and do more than anything to banish war and international hatred from the earth. At Strasbourg there was a conference of the world's fruit traders, and at Kansas City a meeting of the world's wheat traders.

L. F. EASTERBROOK.

LOTTERY BONDS

ONE of the most serious facts facing our country at the present time is the ever-increasing burden of public expenditure. For the imposition of this burden upon the nation all our political parties are equally responsible. The Liberal Party when it came into power in 1906 with a huge majority—won mainly on the issue of free trade—was pledged to public economy. After a couple of years of office it started schemes of social reform, which at once added to our national expenditure and have been adding to it ever since. In the same way the Conservative Party, when it obtained an independent majority in 1924, was pledged to public economy, but proceeded to add many millions to the cost of social services. The Labour Party, with the distinguished exception of Mr. Philip Snowden, does not even profess to desire public economy. Many of its members indeed regard taxation as the best available means for transferring wealth from the pockets of the rich to the pockets of the poor, and thus bringing the nation nearer to the glorious ideals of Russian Communism. At any rate, the Labour Party, like the other two parties, has added appreciably to the burden of national expenditure.

With one exception, there is no direction in which economy on a large scale can be hoped for under present conditions. The civil departments are thoroughly entrenched behind bureaucratic barriers, and the defence services cannot be greatly reduced in cost without risks to national safety. The one direction in which an important economy might possibly be achieved is in the cost of the National Debt. The highest total our debt has ever reached was 7,829,000,000*l.* in the year 1920. By March 31, 1930, this figure had fallen to 7,469,000,000*l.*, so that in ten years we have only secured a reduction of debt at the rate of 36,000,000*l.* a year. The annual cost of interest and management in the year ending March 31 last was 307,252,000*l.*, or more than a third of our total national expenditure, which was 829,494,000*l.* If, therefore, we could by any means substantially reduce the cost of our debt it would have an appreciable effect on our total expenditure.

The purpose of this article is to suggest that this desirable

reduction could be secured by the issue of lottery loans. The biggest item in our present debt is the 5 per cent. War Loan, amounting, according to the latest official figures, to 2,184,000,000*l.* There are also several 4 per cent. Loans amounting in the aggregate to over 1,100,000,000*l.*; there is a big 4½ per cent. Loan and a still bigger 3½ per cent. Loan. The 5 per cent. War Loan is quoted on the Stock Exchange day by day at just over par; thirty years ago Consols, then earning 2¾ per cent., were well above par. That is to say, the State to-day can only borrow on commercial terms at about 5 per cent., whereas thirty years ago it could borrow at just over 2½ per cent.

As long as the present scale of public expenditure continues there is no chance of the Government credit improving to a sufficient extent to permit conversions to be made on any large scale. Nor is there any prospect of a rapid reduction in the volume of the debt. It is true that Mr. Snowden has increased the sinking fund for this year to 55,400,000*l.*, and it is probable that if he remains Chancellor of the Exchequer that figure will be adhered to. But in previous years the sinking funds fixed by various Chancellors have frequently been raided by them, and there is always a risk of fresh debt being incurred for new capital undertakings of doubtful economic value. In any case, even with a sinking fund regularly maintained at 50,000,000*l.* a year, a good many years would go by before an appreciable reduction would be made in a debt of roughly 8,000,000,000*l.* Meanwhile the 50,000,000*l.* a year is itself a heavy additional burden on the shoulders of the taxpayer. Therefore it is well worth while to consider whether there is any device by which we can at once reduce the burden of our National Debt.

As above stated, the device here suggested is the issue of lottery loans. That suggestion raises what may be called moral as well as economic issues. Many people regard lotteries as immoral; but the question is by no means a simple one. Admittedly the gambling habit may be mentally as well as financially injurious. It does encourage some people to abandon work in the hope of winning a fortune by betting on races or gambling with cards; and, as a consequence of reckless gambling, undoubtedly some people are landed in ruin. But it cannot be said that these are the general results of the average man's willingness to risk a little on the chance of winning much. Thousands of people daily play bridge for small points; at least as many thousands in the course of a week make purchases on the Stock Exchange in the hope of selling again at a profit; and millions of people every year put a few shillings or a few pounds on horse races.

To pass laws forbidding these practices, because a few people go over the line, would be altogether unfair to the majority of

level-headed gamblers, and it would be as difficult to enforce such laws as it is to enforce Prohibition in the United States. It would be far better for Parliament frankly to face the fact that the gambling spirit expresses a human instinct which cannot be destroyed, and that the sole duty of the State in this matter is to prevent the dishonesty and corruption that sometimes accompany gambling, whether on the racecourse or on the Stock Exchange.

The attitude of our Government towards betting has, as a matter of fact, been extraordinarily inconsistent. In 1853 a Betting Act was passed making it illegal to create a 'place' for betting, and in 1873 the Vagrant Act Amendment Act categorised as 'rogues and vagabonds' persons who made use of any machine or other device for betting. But when we reach the year 1928 we find this puritanical attitude almost entirely abandoned, and an Act passed to legalise the use of the totalisator.

If we go further back in our history we find similar inconsistencies: sometimes gambling is prohibited by law; at other times the Government itself organises public lotteries. The first recorded public lottery was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the year 1567 there was announced 'by the commaundment of the Queene's most excellent majestie'—to quote the official proclamation—'a verie rich Lotterie Generall without any blancks contayning a number of good prices [*i.e.*, prizes] as wel of redy money as of plate.' The drawings were intended to take place in the succeeding year, but were postponed till 1569. The drawing then began on January 11 in 'Poule's Church yard at the west dore,' and continued day and night till May 6.

Perhaps this rather slow procedure discouraged the supporters of public lotteries as a means of raising revenue. At any rate, there was not another State lottery until the year 1612. In that year a public lottery was granted by James I. 'in speciall favor for the present plantation of English Colonies in Virginia.' This lottery was drawn at 'a new built housse at the west end of Paul's,' and 'during the whole tyme of the drawing there were alwaies present divers worshipfull Knights and Esquiers accompanied with sundry grave discreet Cittizens.'

In subsequent years various lotteries promoted by private persons for carrying out public undertakings were sanctioned, though several seem to have failed. In 1660 by royal permission a lottery was organised by Captain Thomas Gardiner 'for ransom of English slaves in Tunis, Algiers or the Turkish galleys, or for any other charitable use.' But the organiser also proposed to keep a very large part of the profits for himself, and these privately promoted lotteries soon became a nuisance. In a letter to the Mayor and Sheriffs of Norwich in 1663 Charles II. states that he is informed of 'the ill consequences resulting from the frequency of

lotteries, puppet-shows, etc., whereby the meaner sort of people are diverted from their work.' This royal rebuke does not seem, however, to have had much effect in preventing private lotteries, for in 1699 we find Parliament passing an Act which opens with the following preamble:

> Whereas several evil-disposed persons for divers years past have set up many mischievous and unlawful games called lotteries . . . and have thereby most unjustly and fraudulently got to themselves great sums of money from the children and servants of several gentlemen, traders and merchants and from other unwary persons, to the utter ruin and impoverishment of many families and to the reproach of the English laws and government, by cover of several patents or grants under the great seal of England . . .

The Act then goes on to declare all such lotteries to be 'common and publick nuisances and that all grants, patents and licences for such lotteries, or any other lotteries, are void and against law.'

This language seems to condemn State lotteries as well as private lotteries, but only five years previously—in 1694—Parliament had passed an Act for raising a loan of 1,000,000*l.* by means of a State lottery, and again in 1697 a similar State lottery loan for 1,400,000*l.* was authorised by Act of Parliament. In succeeding years State lotteries continued to occur intermittently. Meanwhile private lotteries seem to have been going on in spite of statutory prohibition, and doubtless their competition interfered with the success of the State lotteries. A fresh Act forbidding private lotteries and increasing the penalties was passed in 1721, and in the same year and in succeeding years fresh State lotteries were floated.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the lotteries sanctioned by Act of Parliament in the eighteenth century was a lottery issued in 1753 to raise money for the purchase by the nation of the libraries of Sir Hans Sloane and of Sir Robert Cotton and for the building of premises to house these collections. That was the beginning of the British Museum. The managers and trustees of this lottery were to be the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, each of whom was to have 100*l.* for his trouble. Evidently State lotteries had by this time secured the approval of the Church as well as of the laity. For example, in 1767 it is recorded that a lady residing in Holborn had a lottery ticket presented to her by her husband, and, on the Sunday which preceded the drawing, her success was prayed for in the parish church. In the case of this lottery the biggest prize was won by the keeper of a tavern in Abingdon, and all the bells of the town were rung to celebrate his success.

Almost inevitably the working of these public lotteries, as of private lotteries, was frequently accompanied by fraud. Sometimes also tragic cases occurred of people who had plunged too deeply, perhaps with borrowed money, into these speculations and who committed suicide when they found they had lost everything. These facts naturally created frequent outbursts of public resentment. Nevertheless, State lotteries continued right on through the eighteenth century as a regular method of raising either loans or revenue.

The usual practice was for the Chancellor of the Exchequer each year to invite the leading stockbrokers to confer with him as to the best plan for the year's lottery, and they would often subscribe for the whole sum, knowing that they could sell the tickets at a profit. As a particular example of the way in which lotteries were used to raise revenue, take the year 1787. In that year the total sum raised by the lottery was 756,875*l.* The sum paid in prizes was 500,000*l.*, leaving to the Government, after deduction of costs, a net profit of 243,925*l.*—a substantial sum in those days. Needless to say, successive Chancellors of the Exchequer greatly appreciated such a method of raising revenue. Instead of exposing them to the unpopularity involved in the imposition of additional taxation it enabled them to gratify the popular taste for a mild gamble, and to rake in a good many thousands of pounds voluntarily subscribed.

Wholesale purchasers of tickets had agencies for selling all over the country, and pictures and poems were printed and distributed widely to advertise the sale. In Ashton's *History of English Lotteries*, which is plentifully illustrated by amusing contemporary drawings and cartoons, a lottery ticket for the year 1798 is reproduced. It bears the words:

> The Bearer of this TICKET will in pursuance of an Act passed in the Thirty-eighth Year of His present Majesty's Reign be entitled to such beneficial Chance as shall belong thereto in the LOTTERY to be drawn by virtue of the said Act.

In the nineteenth century we find a fresh reaction against lotteries. A Committee of the House of Commons reported in 1808 that the lottery system was 'radically vicious.' Nevertheless, lotteries still went on. In 1811 there was issued, 'under the sanction of the Prince Regent and Parliament,' a public lottery described on the pictorial advertisement as 'A Royal Botanical Lottery for the Promotion and Encouragement of the Fine Arts and Science.' The protests against lotteries also went on, and were invariably met with the reply from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if State lotteries were abolished it would be necessary to impose additional taxation. Finally, however, the

opponents of lotteries won the day, and the last State lottery took place in 1826.

The idea of State lotteries was not again revived for nearly a hundred years. During the Great War the Government's need for more and more capital led to proposals that the State should issue Premium Bonds with a view to attracting money from persons who preferred speculative investments. This suggestion was referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which reported in January 1918. The Committee examined thirty-five witnesses, including Labour M.P.'s, bankers, chief constables, large employers of labour, representatives of chambers of commerce, of co-operative societies and of religious bodies. Of these thirty-five witnesses, eighteen were in favour of Premium Bonds, twelve were against, and five were 'neutral or official.' The verdict of the Committee was that, though there were strong arguments in favour of introducing a speculative element into Government loans, so as to make them more attractive, it was undesirable to proceed with the scheme for Premium Bonds because it could not be treated 'as an uncontroversial war measure.'

Possibly this was a right decision at that time; but we are living to-day in a different mental atmosphere. The appeal to patriotism no longer plays the large part that it played in the war period; and there is no longer the same necessity for avoiding controversial issues. How keen the public passion for gambling still is was shown last November in the excitement created by the lottery organised in Dublin. From all parts of the United Kingdom, and from foreign countries as well, money was sent to Dublin to buy tickets, in spite of the silly obstruction of Government officials. The total proceeds were 658,618*l.*, of which roughly two-thirds was allotted for prizes. The drawer of the winning horse received the huge sum of 204,764*l.* The object of the lottery was to raise money for the benefit of hospitals, and the sum secured for this purpose amounted to 131,724*l.*, divisible among six hospitals. It is not for a moment suggested that the working of this lottery offers an example to be followed in detail. It is possible that at least as big a total sum would have been subscribed if the proportion allotted to prizes had been somewhat smaller and that reserved for the hospitals appreciably larger.

The practical question to-day is whether it is not possible to improve the financial position of the Government by a frank appeal to the speculative instinct, which is at least as much a part of average human nature as the spirit of patriotism. Such an appeal need not necessarily involve the evils which evidently often accompanied State lotteries in past centuries. It is possible to introduce the element of chance without also introducing tempta-

tions to dishonesty and without creating risks of ruin for the too hopeful gambler.

The particular object here aimed at is the reduction of the interest on the National Debt. At present, as above noted, a very large part of that debt bears interest at 5 per cent., and large parts also at 4½ per cent., at 4 per cent., and at 3½ per cent. It is sufficient for the moment to concentrate attention on the 5 per cent. War Loan, which is the biggest single item in our National Debt. If the interest on that could be reduced from 5 per cent. to 2½ per cent., the saving would be more than 50,000,000*l.* a year, and it would be well worth while to intercept a tenth part of that annual saving in order to create a big prize fund with which to tempt the holders or purchasers of War Loan.

To deal with such a gigantic sum as 2,184,000,000*l.* in one single lottery would probably be quite impossible. But the Government might well start with an experimental scheme limited to, say, 20,000,000*l.* of War Loan. The purpose would be to convert this into an equal amount of 2½ per cent. Consols, plus a tenth of that amount of Consols for prizes. Thus, if the lottery succeeded, the Government's liability would be changed from 20,000,000*l.* Five per Cents. into 22,000,000*l.* Two-and-a-Half per Cents., which would mean a permanent saving to the Exchequer of 450,000*l.* a year. From the Government point of view that would be a very satisfactory result.

The offer to the stockholders would be at least equally attractive. For each 100*l.* of War Loan they were willing to subscribe the holders would receive, in the first place, a certificate for 100*l.* of Consols, and in the second place a lottery ticket that would entitle the holder to take part in a drawing for prizes amounting in the aggregate to 2,000,000*l.* of Consols. Some of these prizes might wisely be put at very high figures, say ten prizes of 50,000*l.* each and 100 of 5000*l.* each. That would absorb half the total prize fund, and the other half could be divided into 500 prizes of 1000*l.* each and 5000 prizes of 100*l.* each. Such an offer as this would certainly tempt many thousands of holders of War Loan to make the suggested exchange, and would equally tempt many thousands of other people to buy War Loan so as to be able to share in the sweep.

After testing the scheme on the moderate scale here suggested, the Government could in subsequent years apply similar plans on an enlarged scale. By these means the whole of the War Loan, and most of the other high interest debt, could be voluntarily converted into 2½ per cent. Consols, with an annual saving to the taxpayer of at least 60,000,000*l.* a year.

HAROLD COX.

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

THERE is in every age, since man finds it difficult to hold more than one idea in his head at a time, a prevailing activity and a dominating form of thought. Philosophy, which is only a Greek name for straightforward thinking about the universe as a whole, is naturally coloured by the activity or study which happens at the moment to be supreme. In every age there is philosophising, for there are in every age men who wonder and whose wonder leads to questioning; but 'mental climate,' as it is happily called by Dr. Whitehead, varies greatly from age to age. Art can broadly be said to be characteristic of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The Athenian stepped out of private squalor into public magnificence, and in the Agora and on the Akropolis he could not but 'drink in beautiful sights as a salubrious breeze from a healthy land.' This artistic outlook on life is reflected in Plato, at least, whose works are vibrant with a sense of the beautiful. The characteristic activity of the Middle Ages was religion, and its dominating study was theology. But in the Middle Ages the lion, so to speak, ate its keeper. Theology, which would have been excellent meat for philosophy if it had been killed, was so lively that it swallowed up philosophy instead. With the seventeenth century came the turn of natural science, which was, indeed, regarded only as natural philosophy—as opposed to the supernatural philosophy which immediately preceded it. The effect is unmistakable in the most consistent thinker of the century, Thomas Hobbes, who tried to explain the whole universe as a collection of atoms, moving strictly according to laws of cause and effect. The end of the eighteenth century saw the rise of historical research and the nineteenth saw its full bloom. In the nineteenth century the historical outlook excluded everything else; and this was reinforced by the biological discoveries which saw in evolution the key to the universe. Only now in the works of the neo-idealists are the full philosophic repercussions of the labours of von Ranke, Grote and Mommsen being felt. For them the world is 'history through and through.'[1] It was in this historical atmosphere that the Honour School of

[1] Bosanquet, *The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy*, p. 157.

Literæ Humaniores at Oxford rose to the position which it still holds as the finest philosophic and humanistic discipline in the world. But whether it will be able to retain that position is now doubtful. For natural science has now once more risen to the forefront, and the finest propædeutic for a philosopher is no longer art or theology or history, but mathematics, physics and biology.

There can be little doubt that science has in the course of the history of thought been more productive of philosophic consequences than any other study. To give only a few of the greatest names, Aristotle's notions of function and causality were the outcome of biological observations; Descartes and Leibniz were unquestionably influenced by their mathematical studies; the work of Kant's æsthetic was largely to provide a philosophic justification for Newtonian physics; and in our own day M. Bergson had his training in natural science, and Mr. Russell and Dr. Whitehead in mathematics. The learned world is full of scientists turned philosophers and of philosophers lamenting a youth spent among irregular verbs instead of crucibles.

It is natural, therefore, to connect up two conferences which were held in England this year and which overlapped—the International Congress of Philosophy at Oxford and the Annual Meeting of the British Association at Bristol. Such learned conferences are the vanes which show the direction of the winds in our mental climate. Philosophers dare not any longer disregard the findings of science, and scientists, when they come to deal with certain general aspects of their work, have much to learn from philosophers. The organisers of the Philosophical Congress were quite aware of this fact, and a general division discussed the question, 'Are recent advances in physics of metaphysical importance?'; while a special division was allotted the subject 'Must biological processes be either purposive or mechanistic?' It is not without significance that, according to one member, 'the sections dealing with the philosophical problems arising out of modern physics and biology excited the greatest interest.'[3] There is not, perhaps, among working scientists, a like recognition that science has something to learn from philosophy. Dr. Bower, in his presidential speech to the British Association, correctly represented the intransigeant attitude when he said:

> Even Goethe's prophetic gaze was blurred by the hazy imaginings of idealistic philosophy. The clarifying mind of Schleiden resolved that mist by resort to naked fact. . . . It was the habit of starting comparison from the highest state of organisation that was the fundamental error of the idealistic nature-philosophers; even now traces of it still persist.

[3] S. Katz in *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, October 1930 (vol. v., No. 20), p. 604.

But this attitude of mutual contempt between science and philosophy—the contempt of the philosopher for 'mere scientist' working within the cramping limitations of a special study and that of the scientist for the man who looks in the dark for a black cat that isn't there—is fortunately disappearing. Gone are the days when Bradley could airily dismiss the findings of science as conditioned by a limited view-point without troubling to know what those findings were; and gone are the days when scientists could ignore philosophers as professing to know all and really knowing nothing. Let us in the light of this changed attitude try to link up the Oxford and Bristol Conferences.

One who speaks with more authority on the subject than any other must be witness that the great days of the historical movement are over. Senatore Croce sees everywhere around us signs of an anti-historical movement. According to his paper at Oxford the tendency appears in two different ways. There is Futurism, which idolises a future without past and worships force for its own sake. There is also the way of despising what is relative, various and individual in history, and of aspiring, by the imposition of rules and destruction of initiative, to rise above it to the absolute in order to reach security and peace. But Senatore Croce did not explain how this twin-headed movement of Futurism and Fascism, as we may call it, has come about. The answer is easily supplied from Bristol. Science has taken the place of history in the intellectual outlook of mankind—with the motor car and wireless set it has penetrated to every nook and cranny of the earth; and science and history give very different pictures of the world in relation to time. For both studies the universe is a world of events. But history is essentially dynamic. Its events unroll in majestic pageant. They are not yet, they come into being, and they cease to be. The historical world is a world of γένεσις καὶ φθορά, of becoming and corruption. The present-day scientific picture, on the other hand, is primarily that of a world of being, a static universe. Simultaneity loses the fundamental character which it possesses for history and is treated as a mere convention based on light-signalling. Time is assimilated as closely as possible to space, and the conception of an order in time is obliterated by spatial analogy. Thales' eclipse of May 28, B.C. 585, and the eclipse, so important for relativity, of May 29, 1938 A.D., enter into the mathematical equations in precisely the same way. These equations obscure the fact, fundamental to history, that the one is past and gone while the other is future and not yet. This is a defect in science, needing the corrective of history. In most scientific work it would not make the slightest difference if $-t$ were uniformly substituted for t, the variable representing the time. The only exception appears to be in the Second Law of

Thermodynamics, though certain quantum mechanicians are groping after a definite direction for time; and even this law is proved experimentally only over the small area in which we live, and may, for all we know, be untrue over the universe as a whole.[3] But to treat past and present as alike, to be uncertain in what direction we are moving—nay, to be uncertain if there is a direction at all—is abhorrent to the historical mind. So we may feel confident that the anti-historical movement which perturbs Senatore Croce is due to the place of science in the modern outlook; and science has accordingly taken the place of history as the raw material of the philosopher.

Since this is so, let us see what the philosopher can take over into his work from science. Not everything said by scientists is of the same value to him. There appears to be no philosophic value in the migrations of locusts. Philosophy may perhaps be best described as the production of a picture of the universe as a whole and as it really is. In the production of this picture many materials are used; they are culled from art, religion, history and science, to give the principal forms of the human spirit's activities. As we have implied, philosophers are now 'grubbing' among the mounds of scientific discoveries for materials. They have found valuable materials in the regions of physics and biology. In other days philosophers constructed their *Weltanschauungen* without paying much attention to science. The result was a wonderful castle, but it hung in the air and lacked reality. Philosophers are now taking science seriously. They realise that within its limited field science says the last word. Physics tells us all the truth there is to be known about the constitution of matter, and if physics does not tell us, where shall we turn? Philosophy has no miraculous key to knowledge. There is no modern analogue to the convenient Renaissance dictum, 'What is true in theology may be false in philosophy.' Science thus acts as a corrective to the too fertile imaginings of philosophy.

Turning to physics, we notice that the theory of relativity did not excite the same attention at the Philosophical Congress as it did ten years ago. That theory, big wtih philosophic consequences, though nobody can be quite sure what they are, has come to be part of the accepted order of things. It entered, however, into a paper by Professor F. S. C. Northrop, of Yale University, which was an interesting attempt to get the rabbit of time out of the hat of eternity. The paper was called 'The relation between time and eternity in the light of contemporary physics,' the

[3] Most scientists with whom I have talked are of the opinion that Sir Arthur Eddington has given far too prominent a *rôle* to the increase of entropy in *The Nature of the Physical World*. In other regions of the universe energy may be 'condensing' into matter; it cannot be proved nor disproved as yet.

contemporary physics being the macroscopic view of the atom given in relativity theory. He thought that the last three centuries would be characterised as the age which discovered the importance of time, but was misguided by a false notion of its primacy. He put forward considerations to suggest that eternity might be the primary concept and time its derivative. The considerations were that the eternal aspect of Nature might be identified with the changeless form of the macroscopic atom and its temporal aspect with the ' changing relations and properties arising from the motion of the microscopic particles.' As it stands this analysis is difficult to follow. Its real contribution is a recognition that the universe can no longer be bifurcated into a temporal world and an eternal world, from the former of which one can somehow pass into the latter at death, ' crossing at one bound the chord that subtends the arc of time.' Yet the word ' eternity ' need not be banished from the philosophic vocabulary. For there is to everything in the universe a permanent aspect and a changing aspect, since, as Kant said, change can only be change of something. We can, if we like, use the word ' eternal ' to describe the permanent form and the word ' temporal ' to denote the changing aspects. In this way the wrench will not be too great with those in whose hearts the notion of eternity occupies a very soft spot. Professor Northrop made a courageous attempt to do this for the atom ; it was not nearly so unconvincing as most philosophic juggling with time and eternity. It has great value in driving home the lesson that time and eternity are only different aspects of the same thing, and that there is now in man, a temporal creature, an element of the eternal.

The attempt may, perhaps, be even better made in the region of invariants, those quantities, so important in relativity theory, which are independent of any particular space and time system. In whatever way they are measured, they always have the same value. To these, surely, the word ' eternal ' might be most fittingly applied, if it is to be used at all. They are not independent of space and time—there is nothing in the whole choir of heaven and furniture of earth which is—but they are independent of any *particular* determination thereof.

The place formerly occupied by the relativity theory was taken this year at Oxford by the quantum mechanics. Professor Jørgen Jørgensen, of Copenhagen, inclined to think that recent advances in physics did have a metaphysical importance. He need not have felt so hesitant about those researches in which his colleague, Niels Bohr, has taken so prominent a part. But there was a genuine ground for his hesitancy in that the quantum mechanics are exceedingly symbolic in character, and, since it is impossible to say what sort of entities are represented by the

equations, it is at least rash to make any philosophic deductions. He maintained that the metaphysical value of the quantum mechanics is chiefly negative; all ideas so far formed concerning the nature of the world, in respect both of its structure and of its stuff, had broken down. He thought, despite the symbolic character of quantum equations, that there was no more and no less reason to assume an objectively existing physical world, *though nobody could tell what it looked like.* That is very true—the first assumption of science is that of an objectively existing world, so it is not surprising to find it confirmed—but it is difficult to see why the Danish professor appealed to 'the Compton effect' rather than to anything else.

Perhaps we may be allowed to be a little bolder than Professor Jørgensen and peer into the new horizons of metaphysical speculation which he declared are opening. The quantum mechanics touch philosophy at two of its sorest points—space and time being the first, and determinism the second.

Newton elaborated for the world the 'receptacle' theory of space and time as two infinite, homogeneous media in which bodies were situated and events took place. The quantum mechanics are in sharp opposition to Newton over the continuity of space and time. According to Dr. Dirac,[4] whose paper at Bristol aroused so much interest, 'its most striking differences from the old mechanics apparently show a discontinuity in certain physical processes and a discreteness in certain dynamical variables.' There are two ways out of this difficulty. One is to assume that the world has more dimensions than three of space and one of time, so that what appears as a discontinuous process in four dimensions is really a continuous process in five, or more, dimensions. A three-dimensional traveller might intersect a plane many times, and a two-dimensional being living in that plane might regard his motion as discontinuous in two dimensions rather than continuous in three. Mr. H. G. Wells in *The Plattner Story* has shown how this may happen. There was a definite phase of theory associated with this line of attack, *e.g.*, in the work of Th. Kaluza, but it is contrary to the method of present-day science to assume dimensions that cannot be experienced if they can possibly be dispensed with. Accordingly recourse is had to the notion that physical processes are really discontinuous, though this is obscured when large quanta are dealt with, as a cinematograph film appears continuous though it is made up of a number of separate pictures. Here, surely, is material for philosophers, for the continuity or discreteness of space and time and their dimensions have usually been regarded as philosophic problems. There is an allied question, discussed by Mr. Bertrand Russell

[4] *The Principles of Quantum Mechanics*, p. 1.

in *The Analysis of Matter*, whether there may not be a minimum to events. On the physical side it has been raised by H. T. Flint in a discussion of a minimum proper-time for electrons.

There is, secondly, the question of the amalgamation of space and time in modern physics. The investigations which led to the quantum mechanics were set on foot in 1900, five years before Einstein enunciated the Special Theory of Relativity, and so it is not surprising that the quantum mechanics were at first clothed in a non-relativistic garb. That defect has now been removed by Dr. Dirac. But it still seems to remain true that time in the quantum mechanics occupies a different *rôle* from space. Heisenberg found in his theory of 1926 that 'there is a serious difficulty in the fact that the time apparently has a different *rôle* from the space co-ordinates, and is formally differently treated.' [5] This is rather a cause for congratulation than a difficulty, for time *is* fundamentally different from space. This fundamental difference was obscured by the Theory of Relativity, which for certain purposes found it convenient to treat space and time alike. But Minkowski's famous declaration at Cologne in 1908, 'Henceforth space and time in themselves sink to mere shadows; only a sort of independent union of the two preserves an independent existence,' has not been borne out by subsequent science. Even in the cosmological form of Einstein's theory the fundamental difference between space and time was reintroduced, the former being treated as curved and finite, the latter as uncurved and infinite. The world is not so much four-dimensional, but $3 + 1$-dimensional, as Weyl called it. Here, at any rate, is further material in modern physics for philosophic building.

There have even been some scientists who have ventured to think that atomic phenomena may not be in space or time at all. Bohr and Eddington have both given utterance to this heresy. But too much attention should probably not be paid to it. The difficulties of the quantum mechanics will probably be solved, though it is not quite apparent how, by hard thinking along more or less traditional lines. It is difficult to see how matter could be in space if protons and electrons were not. There is real difficulty, of course, in giving a meaning to minute distances—*e.g.*, 10^{-15} cm. —when the process of measurement has been defined for large distances only [6]; but that is another matter.

There remains the question of determinism. Hitherto all science has been strictly deterministic, professing that everything takes place according to exact laws of cause and effect. So it

[5] *Ueber quantentheorische Kinematik und Mechanik*, *Math. Annalen*, 95, p. 705; The translation is from Russell's *Analysis of Matter*.

[6] *Cf.* an excellent discussion in Eddington's *Mathematical Theory of Relativity*, p. 7.

will probably be as long as there is scientific thought, but the quantum mechanics throw a temporary doubt on the all-embracing notion of physical causation. Sir Arthur Eddington, who is much the most philosophically minded of living physicists, is once more to the fore. He thinks that most of the laws of physics are statistical, and that no prediction about the behaviour of particular electrons can be made, but only about their behaviour in the mass. In the same way no prediction about an individual person can be made; but racial generalisations can be hazarded. There is a temptation to credit electrons with something approaching free-will—a return to Leibniz's conception that all matter is full of life. But orthodox scientists do not share this belief. Einstein has declared, perhaps laughingly, that he would give up science if he thought these views were true. He himself is a believer in strict causation, and is reported to have said to a journalist flattering his achievements, 'You must not praise me; it is all determined.' Perhaps the appearance of indeterminacy arises only because in all our observations there is an element of error. With superhuman insight the behaviour of an electron through its whole history could be predicted; but that insight is denied to man on account of the roughness in his measurements.[7]

But enough of our supplement to the Congress. Let us return to the Congress itself, and that with little break, for the biological discussion also turned on the question of determinism. The speakers at the Oxford meeting, such as Professor Wildon Carr, Professor Hoernlé and Professor J. S. Haldane, seem to have been wholly on the side of purpose as opposed to mechanism in the description of biological processes. As a matter of fact, the proportion of 'vitalists' among biologists is not so high; in most practical work biologists still take a mechanistic standpoint. But let us see for a moment the Oxford view. Professor Haldane said a coherent mechanistic description of life was wholly impossible for reasons other than the imperfection of our present physiological knowledge. The characteristic features of life were not just due to a complexity that had not yet been fathomed. The new discoveries in biology could not just be treated as mere links in a causal chain of physical and chemical events. Everywhere there was co-ordination, persistence and purpose. Let us see how this bears on the question of determinism. Professor Hoernlé was surely right when he suggested that the concept of the 'whole' was now being substituted for the conception of 'purpose.' The mechanistic view, which is so abhorrent to living, purposeful beings, is that man can be explained as a mere

[7] This view may claim the authority of Dr. Dirac, *The Principles of Quantum Mechanics*, p. 4: 'The apparent failure of causality is from this point of view due to a theoretically necessary clumsiness in the means of observation.'

conglomeration of atoms. If the actions of man can be explained, not as the resultant of the motions of all his atoms, but as a purposive action of the whole, all is well and good, and it certainly does seem, as demonstrated by General Smuts in *Holism*, that many biological actions can only be explained as those of whole and co-ordinated beings. But this is determinism none the less, though it is a different determinism from that of the particle. The whole, no less than the parts, is subject to previous influences, and no action takes place for which no reason can be given. It is clear that what the biologists at Oxford were really fighting against was Behaviourism, which is much too simplified a form of determinism for the facts of life; and it is worth noting that the sole begetter thereof received at Bristol a mild trouncing from Professor C. W. Valentine, President of the Section of Psychology: 'Dr. J. B. Watson's assertion that there are few genuine innate tendencies in man . . . can undoubtedly be combated by evidence from early childhood.' The biological hankering after purposive wholes appears to be analogous to the notion of determinism as self-expression which Bradley enunciated as a mean between a materialistic determinism and voluntarism.

So much for what philosophers can learn from scientists. We must now see what scientists can learn from philosophers. That they believe they have something to learn is perhaps to be seen in the selection of General Smuts as President of next year's centenary gathering of the British Association. It is not clear what they have to learn save in times of reorganisation of fundamental ideas such as we are now in. In these periods scientists are brought to an examination of those root concepts which they have hitherto taken for granted—concepts such as space and time, their continuity and infinity, and the universality of cause and effect.[3] It appears, then, that these concepts are not self-evident, but are only working hypotheses—'methodological assumptions' is the ponderous term generally used. In these periods it becomes clearer than ever that the special sciences are only fissions from the parent body of philosophy; and Plato's analysis is seen to be very true that the special sciences work on certain assumptions, while philosophy works, or professes to work, from an unposited first principle.

Apart from this fundamental examination of root ideas, usually assigned to philosophy in its critical *rôle*, there is another

[3] *Cf.* A. N. Whitehead, *The Principle of Relativity*, p. 4: 'To expect to reorganize our ideas of time, space and measurement without some discussion which must be ranked as philosophical is to neglect the teaching of history and the inherent probabilities of the subject.' W. D. Ross, in *Mind*, 1920, p. 423, rightly says that 'competence' to discuss 'the Theory of Relativity is not the monopoly of either scientists or philosopher,' and neither class 'can afford to reject the aid of the other.'

way of seeing how the scientist has been forced to philosophise in spite of himself. The scientist cannot be content with a mere accumulation of facts. He seeks some governing principle that binds them all together. Darwin's years of patient observation were crowned by the binding principle of evolution. Newton's law of gravitation was a very wide generalisation covering a multitudinous array of facts. Einstein's theory was an even wider generalisation, because gravitation and inertia were together subsumed under the notion of space-time. Subsequent physics has been an attempt to subsume gravitation and electricity in one scheme. The scientist is thus compelled by his own work to make wider and wider generalisations until the whole universe becomes his province. Where, then, does he differ from the philosopher? For the aim of philosophy is also to seek the threads that bind the whole universe together. In an address of welcome to the Oxford Congress Professor J. A. Smith 'made no secret' of his conviction, 'that in a sense monism was a *sine qua non* of philosophy; the hope and belief in unity its inspiration and its guide.' The Waynflete Professor is right; pluralism is only useful as a corrective to a too facile monism.

But when scientists are brought up against philosophical considerations they are apt to make mistakes through lack of training. It is here that the scientist may profitably ask for the aid of the philosopher. Einstein, who declared that Mach would have enunciated the Theory of Relativity had he been at the height of his powers at the time of the Michelson-Morley experiment, gave his theory to the world in a phenomenalistic garb. But it is unlikely that a theory which has so much to be said for it can entail a theory which, on its positive side, has so little. It is obvious that Einstein was attracted by the destructive side of Mach's work; and for that side praise cannot be too high. It enabled him to sweep away the absoluteness of space and time and the separateness of inertia and gravitation. But in his cosmological work Einstein himself has tacitly abandoned the phenomenalistic position by introducing a curvature in space that cannot be detected by measurement.[9] Weyl, likewise, has clothed his *Raum, Zeit und Materie* in the language of the phenomenologists; but that means nothing more than that the school of Husserl is the only live philosophic body in Germany to-day. The philosophy in Einstein and Weyl is scaffolding that can be kicked away without disturbing the building. The things that will remain are the equations. But these equations certainly entail philosophical consequences. Dr. Whitehead, scenting the phenomenalistic tang in the wine which Einstein offered to the world, has transferred

[9] He is, however, in the debt of Mach's mechanics for this part of his work. *Vide* Silberstein, *The Theory of Relativity*, p. 473.

it to a complicated cask of his own designing. Lord Haldane claimed it for idealism and Professor J. E. Turner for realism. It is a question on which scientists and philosophers must collaborate to reach the truth.

There remains the question, now that scientists are themselves doing their own philosophy, whether there will be anything left for philosophers to do. It is perhaps a barren question, for, so long as the gospel is preached, what does it matter whether it is preached by Paul or by Apollos? But the issue was naturally a matter of concern to the philosophers, who feared to find themselves shortly among the higher unemployed. Professor M. Schlick, of Vienna, thought that philosophy did have a future—indeed, a new era was beginning. His reason is quite correct, for philosophy, 'although not a science itself,' is the queen of the sciences, dominating them all, and there will always be need for 'the logical clarification of thoughts.' Plato, with his unerring instinct, made philosophy the coping-stone of the sciences. However wide the special sciences become, there will always be the need of co-ordinating them into a still larger whole. For example, time and space are familiar terms of debate, not only with mathematicians and physicists, but with artists, theologians, logicians and psychologists, and the philosopher has to give everybody his due. That scientists know there is something left for the philosopher may be best seen by two quotations from the fields of physics and biology, which we have selected. Weyl says that 'we [mathematicians] must recognise with humility that our conceptual theories enable us to grasp only one aspect of the nature of space, that which, moreover, is most formal and superficial'[10]; while Professor Sir J. A. Thomson declares that 'the biologist catches the fishes which the meshes of the net he uses are adjusted to catch, and if he is frank with himself he must be continually impressed with the abstractness of his science. . . . He is inclined to think that scientific inquiry is only one of the roads to truth, that there are other rights of way—one of them being the path named Feeling.'[11]

IVOR THOMAS.

[10] *Space, Time and Matter*, English translation, p. 26.
[11] *Contemporary British Philosophy*, 2nd Series, p. 318.

THE TROUBLE ABOUT DOMESTIC SERVICE

THERE is no doubt whatever that the problem of domestic service is one of the most important set before women to-day; conferences on the subject, letters to almost every newspaper one picks up, the growth of service flats, the decay of home life even amongst people who like it, all point to the same thing—the impossibility of finding adequate domestic help. It presses heavily on the wealthy, who are giving up the struggle to run their homes and going into hotels or service flats; times have changed since the days of a cookery book I possess, published in 1810, in which the writer says: 'It is worth while to employ a large number of domestics, since the cost of keeping them is almost negligible, and I would advise the mistress of a house to feed them adequately, as this prevents any tendency to dishonesty.' The cost of keeping them to-day is by no means negligible, but nothing to be compared with the cost of getting them.

Perhaps most of the suffering caused by the decay of domestic service falls on the middle-class and upper working-class home, where nowadays it is nothing new to find a young wife trying to cope with all the housework, cooking, sewing, and nursing in a family consisting of a man and several children. I know numbers of women whose lives literally are not worth living; they never know what it is to sit down to rest from seven o'clock in the morning till eleven at night; all companionship between husband and wife is being killed by the wife's overwork, and a steady disillusionment is creeping into a marriage where a man gets no comfort in the home run by an overburdened woman—where, indeed, he often has to take a hand with the housework in the evenings. What is more, doctors will bear me out when I say that many of these women are suffering from the neurasthenia inevitable to a life spent in hard work, monotony, and utterly without any mental stimulus. These women are largely inarticulate: they do not write to the papers much, nor are they represented at conferences. But something must be done to help them, and the first way, I think, of helping them is to find out why they cannot get maids to-day, and from this to try to remedy the conditions which drive girls into shops, factories, and offices

instead of the home. In ten years' journalism in Labour and working-class papers I have been receiving upwards of 1500 letters per year from women and girls of the employed class, and think I can claim a rather unusual knowledge and understanding of them. Below are the reasons they give for not entering domestic service.

1. They object to being 'put on.' Here, I think, they have a real complaint. In upper-class service, as a rule, there is no 'putting on' on the part of the employer, and where many servants are kept duties are so carefully arranged and pigeon-holed that there is little chance of the slacking of one or the overburdening of another. But there is a decided objection, and a fair one, to the tyranny often exhibited by housekeeper, butler or cook. Perhaps it will enlighten employers of big staffs to be told of really serious slacking on the part of these highly placed servants; perhaps they do not know how bad is the food often given to housemaids, kitchenmaids and between-maids, where the catering is left in the hands of cook or housekeeper, and I am sure they know nothing of the nagging these lower-placed servants have to put up with. Very few upper servants are fit, psychologically, to have authority over others. I found this same thing working in Woolwich Arsenal during the war; I went as overlooker to a workshop where a working-class woman had previously been in authority, and it took me some time to restore confidence and tone amongst the women whom she had literally treated 'like dogs.' This happens in all big households, and I can only urge mistresses to get into closer and more confidential touch with their under-servants. Another real grievance in this class of service, too, is the undoubted danger of young maids suffering from unwelcome attentions at the hands of male servants. I could give a number of instances where a girl has been forced to submit to them or have her dismissal engineered.

But it is in the middle-class household that the danger of 'putting on' is the most serious, and very difficult to avoid. It arises from many causes; the mistress is very often a woman unaccustomed to employing others, and perhaps suffering a little from a 'power complex'; the finances of the home are often straitened, and much show has to be made with very little money. An amusing instance of this happened to me some time ago. I called, with my baby, to have tea with a woman in the suburbs. A tiny maid in cap and apron brought in tea—a child of about seventeen. She was addressed as 'Harris.' A little later, when my baby became fidgety, my hostess rang the bell. Harris appeared, and was addressed as 'Nurse' and told to take baby into the nursery. Piercing cries from the child sent us both running into the kitchen, where Harris, still in muslin cap and

apron, was struggling with a table full of washing-up at five o'clock in the afternoon. Later my hostess called some directions to 'Cook' from the hall—Cook being still little 'Harris.' This business of keeping up appearances makes things very hard for the little 'general.' There are many cases to-day where she has to keep an eight-roomed house clean, take up tea and hot water to every member of the family, have their shoes cleaned and breakfast cooked by eight o'clock, do almost all the washing and ironing, all the cooking, and in addition wait at table. I have just taken into my service a capable little girl of nineteen who, in her last place, had to keep clean a house of eight rooms, do all the washing and ironing, all the cooking, and look after two toddlers, taking them out in a perambulator during the afternoon to do the household shopping. She never knew what it was to sit down from 6.30 a.m. to 11 p.m., and even in the night had a baby in bed with her. Many maids in such service, too, tell me of chronic dyspepsia brought on by the way in which they have to have their meals; the family dinner is served in the dining-room, the maid's is sent at the same time to the kitchen, and then the dining-room bell rings for her to hand more vegetables. Her meal is either cold or burnt up by being hurriedly scrambled into the oven. It is nothing for a maid to be called to the dining-room or the door six times while she is eating her dinner. Yet it would not be difficult to arrange matters so that one or two summonses would be enough. Indeed, there seems no valid reason why, where only one maid is employed, the family should demand table service at all. Personal service, too: cleaning shoes, pressing clothes, running upstairs for handkerchiefs, and so on, are things objected to by single-handed maids. These duties bring about a sense of injustice which makes willing service very difficult; the girl asks herself, 'Why should I wait on her hand and foot when she does nothing but read or sew or go out all day long?' This may be a wrong attitude, but it is a very common one to-day.

The next objection is akin to the first one. Girls object to—

2. 'Being at the mercy of an individual.' This, on the face of it, sounds rather absurd; there are no slavedrivers to-day, we tell ourselves. Certainly there is nobody with a whip there to beat a girl, but just as certainly she is very much at her mistress's mercy. A neurotic woman can make life very wretched for everyone in her house, and it must be remembered that her maid is with her most of the day. A mistress who is silent the whole day, or who is constantly grumbling, is very hard to work for. So is one who is always watching her maid. I know a mistress who follows her maid into every room, sitting down to watch her do her job; another woman of my acquaintance, in winter, locked the door because her maid came home at 10.30 instead of 10,

and would not listen to the girl's explanation that when she left her mother's house she did not know the omnibuses had stopped running, and therefore had to walk nearly two miles, falling down twice on the ice. This girl was locked out until 12 o'clock, when, apparently thinking she had had a lesson, her mistress let her in almost stiff with cold. And there are still mistresses, relics of Victorian days, who hand their servants their letters already opened, others who put marked coins about to test their honesty, or number the biscuits in the biscuit-barrel and the pats of butter on the butter-dish. A maid told me recently that she takes a minute portion of butter from each butter ball and rolls it up again, as she is never allowed butter openly.

Most of this trouble comes from the fact that these mistresses are too 'class conscious.' They are not, by breeding, of the employing class, which has a tradition of responsibility towards servants; they are people who have only in this generation become employers, and do not know how to manage servants. One of them wrote to me last week, saying: 'My husband says we can now afford a maid. Will you answer these questions, please? (1) Will it make her take advantage if I allow her to wash her clothes on the same day as mine? (2) Is it necessary to cover her bedroom floor in any way? (3) What does one feed a maid on? Should she have the scraps left when we have finished?' It is almost impossible to cope with a mentality of that sort, and equally impossible to do anything with the mistress who summons her maid to put coal on the fire, turn on the light, and who leaves her nightdress to be folded by the maid, with the naïve explanation: 'She is paid for it. It will spoil her if I do anything myself.'

3. The maids object to the wages paid. Now here, I think, the maid usually is being very short-sighted. There are many cases, I know, especially in the provinces, where general servants get as little as 7*s*. 6*d*. a week, and many 'generals' in the suburbs are paid 10*s*., but this raises that difficult question of 'social service' as opposed to wage-earning. The women who pay such a wage need help so dreadfully in their homes; yet often they are very poor themselves—wives of bank clerks and school teachers, curates, and the like, much of whose money has to go in 'keeping up appearances.' I see no solution to their problem, except, perhaps, that they should either make the maid 'one of the family,' so that its interests are hers, or else that they should let a daughter of the house go to a technical school for domestic training and then employ her at the wage they offer someone else's daughter. But as a general rule domestic servants' wages are extremely good compared to those of other girls—the waitress, for instance, who lives out, on a wage of 15*s*. and tips. (I wonder

how many servants realise that the waitresses they envy have to live in common lodging-houses at 6*d*. to 1*s*. a night, many of them, with all their possessions in a locker?) The tailoress in a factory will get 27*s*. a week and have to feed, dress, and house herself on it; many shop assistants get from 15*s*. and can only exist by living at home, partly on their parents; and numbers of hair-dressing establishment girls tell me that they simply could not manage unless they picked up men to give them meals three or four times a week. I think the domestic servant who gets 15*s*. a week and all found is one of the luckiest of working girls to-day, but her dissatisfaction with her wage comes from not understanding finance at all; she does not realise that her furnished bedroom, no matter how sparsely furnished, would cost her 10*s*. a week in most cities; she does not understand that she would have to pay 1*s*. 6*d*. for the meagrest lunch in a restaurant, and that, in fact, her food would cost her about 1*l*. a week if she lived out; nor does she understand that the girl who lives in rooms either has to pay about 2*s*. 6*d*. a week for laundry or spend her Sunday mornings doing it for herself. Many a middle-class housewife has said to me, 'I only wish I had 15*s*. a week for my dress and amusements, as my maid has.' Certainly very few middle-class mistresses can claim as much personal money as 15*s*. a week.

4. They object to the hours of work. Here, again, the subject is a very difficult one. Partly it arises from our complex lives, where meals have to be at difficult hours to suit business members of the family. I should very much have liked to run a house in the eighteenth century when the last big meal was at about 5 o'clock; what a splendid long evening before both maids and mistresses, for leisure or work! Nowadays duties have to be spread out over the day to suit the convenience of the master who comes home at 6 or 7 and leaves at 9, the children who go to school at 8.30 and return at 4, and only good-tempered co-operation between mistress and maid can make this state of things any better. Here, again, snobbishness puts heavy burdens on the maid. She *must* be in in the afternoon in cap and apron to answer the door to possible callers. Progressive mistresses give their maids an hour or so off every afternoon when there is an evening dinner to be cleared up, but there are still numbers of girls who get only Sunday afternoon free, and others who get out one evening a week. I was disgusted a short time ago to see an article in a good-class woman's paper on 'How to arrange your maid's day.' It should have been entitled 'Why girls won't go into service.' The unfortunate maid had her whole day mapped out from 6 in the morning till 11 at night, with not more than half an hour (spent in eating) to call her own. She had even to put

out her mistress's dress for the evening (though surely women employing one general servant do not dress for dinner!) and carry up hot water to the bedrooms before lunch and dinner (surely nobody washes in bedrooms with jugs and basins to-day!) Being a practical cook myself, I know that it is impossible to run upstairs and act as lady's maid, lay the table, prepare, cook and erve a dinner all at the same moment. It is this attitude—the attitude of the woman who complacently says 'I never soil my fingers'—that is doing so much harm, and such articles as the one I have quoted, widely circulated, encourage ignorant mistresses in the belief that the 'bad old days' are still with us, and frighten would-be maids into the belief that they are taking on a life of tyranny and never-ending toil.

5. They object to the loneliness of service. The loneliness of a general servant in a small house is a thing few people can imagine; she may have a friendly mistress, who will talk to her, but that is not 'friendship' or 'comradeship,' and if her mistress is snobbish the unhappy girl has nobody to speak to at all, particularly if she is living some distance from home. In my correspondence during the past fortnight eleven letters have arrived from lonely maids asking me how to break the barriers around themselves and other people; their loneliness may be gauged from the fact that they have seen some amount of sympathy in articles I have written, and long for a touch of intimacy even by letter. Amongst these are two letters from young maids of sixteen to whom I have had to break the heart-rending news that they are pregnant. It is all so understandable: lonely, overworked, on their evenings off they pick up the first boy who ogles them, and this tragedy is the result. This loneliness explains why so many girls go into service in hotels, institutions, and service flats; there they have the companionship of other girls during their work and leisure times. For this reason, although I know the urgent need for maids in one- and two-servant households, I always advise mothers who write to me to put their girls into institutional rather than private service, always feeling a traitor to over-driven housewives when I do so!

I am not sure that living as one of the family would always prevent this loneliness. Many girls do not like to have meals with and share the family life, but possibly the Council for the Social Welfare of Women and Girls, when it gets more funds, will be able to help by forming clubs for domestic servants. But, that will take a long time; the question I am next coming to, the question of status, is so much against the domestic servant. I advised a maid of mine, a fairly well-educated girl who could type quite well and spoke French passably, having won a scholarship for a secondary school when she was a child, to join

a club in London, but she was told by the secretary that if the other members (shop assistants mostly) knew she was a domestic servant they would boycott her.

6. They object to the 'degraded' status of domestic service. How it has come about that a domestic servant is looked down upon by almost every other worker is a fact that eludes my understanding, but it is none the less true that the girls suffer severely from it. 'My young man has a sister in a shop,' wrote a parlourmaid to me last week, 'and she says she won't speak to me if he takes me home because he is disgracing the family by going about with a "skivvy."' This is a fairly common state of things; the factory girl who spends all her life putting paper round soap or sewing buttons on trousers considers her brother degraded by courting a girl who can cook, clean, and do the thousand and one skilled jobs a maid performs. In my experience I have found perhaps half a dozen young men who actually begged their girls to go into service, partly in order to be 'safe,' and partly so that they might be trained for marriage, but these are very unusual. The average young man will do anything rather than admit to his friends that his girl is in service. This to some extent explains the very inferior type of girls attracted by it; you have only to watch the girls passing through the doors of one of the less good servants' agencies to notice this. Of course, institutions are perhaps somewhat to blame; girls slightly mentally deficient are considered eligible only for domestic training, and in certain charitable institutions the girls who have become unmarried mothers are compelled to go into service as a condition of receiving help for their babies. What the institutions intend, of course, is to make sure that mentally or morally weak girls will be in a safer environment in service than if living in lodgings and working in a more public capacity, but in effect they make domestic service into a refuge for incapables in these cases, and lower its status generally.

7. Lastly, it is a very serious objection to domestic service that it is one of the few trades which are not insured against unemployment. The farm labourer is disappearing from the land and the domestic servant from the home for much the same reason—they dare not take on a class of work when dismissal from it means, not a varying period of unemployed time on the 'dole,' but absolute dependence or destitution. Again and again girls have told me that they will not go into service, be dismissed at a moment's notice, perhaps, at the whim of an employer, and then have to live on the charity of friends, exhaust their savings, or be on the streets.

There is very much, of course, to be said on the side of the mistress. The girls entering domestic service to-day are astonish-

ingly incompetent—'astonishingly' so when one considers the really excellent domestic training provided by many elementary and central schools; they have little or no home training. Their mothers work out of the home now, in so many cases, and are not there to teach their daughters, who live in a two- or three-roomed home in a perpetual scramble; there is no routine, no training, very little cooking. Cooked meats, fish and chips bought from the shop—these are the foods they are used to. I have met numbers of girls who could not make a cup of tea or fry a sausage. The work of the home is rushed over by a tired mother in the evenings after her day in the factory; the washing is 'dabbed out,' as they call it, on Sundays. Even when the mother does not go out to work the housing difficulty, which mixes sleeping apartments with the kitchen and living-room, does not give a girl a good impression of housewifery, which seems a rushed and muddled and harassed business to her. It is no wonder that she chooses the comparative peace and order of the factory or the office. But when girls from such homes go into service they have everything to learn. Many of them have never even sat down to a table for a meal in their lives, and their manners cannot help but be rough and uncouth.

Mistresses complain, too, of the lack of intelligence of many working girls. The criticism levelled at them is that they can do things by rote, but never seem able to do the little extra thing that means so much in a home. They are taught, for instance, when cleaning out a room, to do floor, furniture, pictures and so on, but the piano is left dusty! This is a fair criticism, but not a criticism of the girls so much as of their education, which still tends too much to the production of sheep-like obedience, and not enough to the encouragement of individual effort. Individual effort, in a class of fifty children, is apt to be very embarrassing to the teacher! So we get these girls—apparently stupid, really unaroused.

Another very fair criticism is that they seem entirely to lack the spirit of service. Everywhere we hear employers deploring the passing of the 'old school' of domestic servants who would give their lives for their employers. I have myself often been almost appalled at the way domestic servants have treated *me*; they have done everything except be rude to me! But after a great deal of suffering from this trouble I have come to the conclusion that half the fault is the maid's and half the mistress's. We forget that these girls are growing daily more 'class conscious,' considering the employer almost as a natural enemy—as, perhaps, he was once. They do *not* fear us any longer, so they do not do their work well on the old score of terror, and they have not yet learnt to trust us. Some of us have learnt to serve well these girls

we employ in our homes, and they take it all for granted: as one girl put it to me, when I pointed out that there was no reciprocity in our relations, 'Well, I'm getting a bit of my own back.' They have not yet learnt to serve us from the ethical point of view, and the only thing is to be patient with them. Then I think we are apt to judge them too much by our own standards; many of them do not mean to be bad mannered, but simply know no better. Often, too, I have forgotten that it is unfair to give too much freedom to a young, uneducated, untrained girl. It is surely implicit in a contract where one pays wages and another receives them that work should be well done without the need of interference from the employer. But I have found that these girls do not know that! They need the leading-rein almost indefinitely, and will need it until education improves very greatly.

If domestic routine could be altered, if snobbishness could be cut out, if girls' clubs could be formed in every district, if educated girls could be attracted to service and thus raise its status, and if domestic servants could be made to realise that they literally are one of the most vitally important bodies of workers to-day, I think the problem of domestic service would be solved.

LEONORA MURRAY.
(*Leonora Eyles.*)

OLD HARROW DAYS

I

BOOKS on our great schools continue to be written. Harrow has had its historian in Mr. Thornton, but of late years several additions to that chronicle have been made—Dean Merivale's autobiography, the lives of Montagu Butler and of Edward Bowen, and many reminiscences, of which not the least interesting were those of Mr. J. G. Cotton Minchin, whose title I have ventured to borrow for this paper. It is tempting to dwell again on the old story, on the small beginnings of the school, its growing prosperity, on the long dynasties of Drurys and of Butlers, and not least on one's own memories of fifty years ago.

The Harrow of Tudor and Stuart days must have been a place of singular beauty, for all 'the deepe and dirtie loathsome soyle' which every football player knows. John Lyon chose his site with skill, and the century which followed him saw his foundation making its way to usefulness and fame. When Thomas Brian, 'much of a gentleman,' and 'void of all pedantry so often met with among pedagogues,' brought to an end in 1731 the mastership which he had held for forty years, the school was prospering as it had never prospered before. Over 140 boys had been gathered there, many of them children in Dames' houses. Two assistant-masters had been appointed. The magnificent Duke of Chandos had watched over them all from Canons; his young kinsman Rodney was for a time a Harrow boy. The old school buildings under the older spire had long been a conspicuous feature on the hilltop where Charles II. had advised his divines to look for the Visible Church. And by ancient custom a silver arrow worth 3*l*. was shot for at the Harrow butts by 'youths of that free school, in archery habits.' Mr. Brian's successor, who married his daughter, unhappily allowed these traditions to decline. He lived for some time, the governors tell us, 'a disorderly, drunken, idle life,' and he at last took the opportunity of an Easter holiday to disappear. But Dr. Thackeray, who became headmaster in 1746, bred in Eton traditions, and, like Brian, a King's College man, rebuilt the fortunes of the school upon a solider foundation. 'Of a very graceful and portly stature, of a

most humane and candid disposition,' Dr. Thackeray was privileged to have sixteen children, one of whom in turn had fifteen and another twelve. The most famous of the headmaster's great-grandsons must have been as rich in cousins as in gifts of mind. But his family ties did not prevent Dr. Thackeray from rendering valuable and uninterrupted service. And when he gave place to Dr. Sumner, and numbers rose to 250, the future of Harrow seemed to be assured.

But the vicissitudes of those days were by no means over. On Sumner's death in 1771 Samuel Parr was the popular candidate for the succession. The son of a Jacobite doctor in Harrow, but destined to be conspicuous both as pedagogue and as Whig, Parr had refused to be an apothecary and had found his vocation as an assistant of Sumner. The boys of those days more than once claimed a right to a voice in the appointment of their headmaster, and young Lord Wellesley took part, as a child of eleven, in the riot which championed the cause of Dr. Parr. The rebels wrote to inform the governors that ' the senior scholars, as the voice of the whole school,' protested against the appointment of some person from Eton, ' contrary to the manifest desire of each of us.' By the irony of circumstance the best-known youngster in this anti-Eton protest was punished by being taken from Harrow and sent to Eton instead. His brother Arthur followed him there ; so narrowly did the playing-fields of Harrow miss the glory of winning Waterloo. The governors, undeterred by the boys' disapproval, appointed Benjamin Heath headmaster at the age of thirty-two. And Parr, carrying off with him such followers as he could muster, proceeded to start a rival school at Stanmore, where his energy and learning, his eccentricities, his temper, his devotion to his pipe and his encouragement of fisticuffs among his pupils, added character and colour to the education he purveyed.

With Dr. Heath and the Drurys a new chapter opened in Harrow history. Heath came from Exeter, then still one of the greatest trading centres of the West, where his father, a well-known citizen and lawyer, had been a book-collector from his boyhood up. His brother George became headmaster of Eton. And his sister Louisa married Joseph Drury, then an assistant-master at Harrow and destined to succeed to the headmaster's place. The Drurys are the only family who can compare with the Butlers in their long influence over the fortunes of the school. Joseph Drury, once, it is said, a chorister in Westminster Abbey of humble means but long descent, was offered an assistant-mastership by Sumner at nineteen, before he had taken a degree at Cambridge. He entered on his task in 1770 with half a guinea in his pocket, and paid for the university education of his younger brother Mark. Handsome, vigorous, industrious and kindly

Joseph Drury soon made way. He was a hard worker. When tempted over to the Grove, to listen to Mrs. Sheridan's singing, he would atone for the indulgence by sitting up to work at night. He succeeded Dr. Heath as headmaster, while still a young man, in 1785, and he gathered some famous pupils about him. Harrow for a moment rivalled Eton in numbers and outshone Eton in fashion. The school was rich in future statesmen. Lord Althorp, Lord Goderich, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Sir Robert Peel were boys under Dr. Drury between 1790 and 1805. Spencer Perceval, another Harrow Prime Minister, romantic only in his death, was of rather earlier date. And one other pupil of those years outshone them all. 'There goes Byron,' said Mrs. Drury once to her daughter, pointing to a handsome boy lounging in the street—'there goes Byron, like a ship in a storm, without rudder or compass.' The tradition that Byron was something of a bully seems to be established too well to be doubted. At the same time there is evidence that he sometimes punished bullying in other boys. But the young bully or rebel of those years, if he rarely knew his lessons, and if his play in the first cricket match with Eton brought him little fame, learned to love Harrow well before he left it:

> My eyes admire, my heart adores thee still.

And he did not fail to recall his old headmaster as 'the best and worthiest friend' whom he had ever known.

Dr. Drury's brother Mark followed him to Harrow and became housemaster there to Robert Peel. He stood for the headmastership against Dr. George Butler. The candidates tied, and the Archbishop of Canterbury had to give a casting-vote. But Mark Drury gave generous support in anxious days to the new Head. Dr. Drury's son Harry, though also disappointed in his hopes of the headmastership, had a house at Harrow for forty years, and proved himself, if a nephew's testimony may be trusted, 'the great genius and pillar of the school.' And the Doctor's grandson, Benjamin Heath Drury, a housemaster later, carried on the family traditions to the end of 1863. But with the appointment of Dr. George Butler in 1805 the reign of a new dynasty began. Byron was naturally a supporter of the Drurys, and, not to be outdone by Wellesley, he protested noisily against Dr. Butler's election. The protest reached the dimensions of a riot, and it is said that a train of gunpowder was actually laid in a passage through which the new headmaster had to pass. But both then and in some difficult years which followed, when reforms brought angry opposition with them, when the school, headed by the monitors, struck, paraded the streets for days with cries of rebellion and blocked the London Road with chains, Dr. Butler stood firm and

overcame the storm. Byron atoned later for his violent opinions. And a younger generation learned to appreciate their ruler's magnanimity and strength.

Dean Merivale has ventured the opinion that in classics George Butler was 'nowhere.' But Dr. Parr, in enumerating once the most illustrious Grecians of his day, placed Porson first, Butler third, and himself in between. Butler was also a musician and a linguist, a rider, a skater, a fencer, a swimmer. In his seventieth year he plunged into a half-frozen river and pulled out a young woman who was trying to drown. And the little wiry figure, with the keen eyes and the white powdered hair, conveyed a sense of self-restraint and dignity of nature which even schoolboys could feel and understand. I have no space to dwell on Dr. George Butler's headmastership. In spite of early troubles, he ruled Harrow successfully for four and twenty years. He restored discipline and order. Like his son, he spent most liberally on improving the school property. He maintained vigorously the old classical traditions.

> Mathematics were limited to a book of Euclid lightly glanced at by the Sixth Form once a week; arithmetic, like writing, was taken for granted. Algebra was unknown.

Religious instruction, as Charles Merivale recalled it, counted for little more than arithmetic.

> I was once set, with ten or twelve other boys, to learn by heart the collect 'Lighten our darkness' on occasion of some undiscovered pecadillo—but I positively declare that was the only fragment of religious instruction I received from my tutor in seven years.

French teaching was no better. The French master, another witness tells us, 'lived the life of a dog.' And the classical tradition, even under masters like Harry Drury and Benjamin Kennedy, must have been as inelastic as elsewhere, if it involved perpetually repeating the rule for ἐπειδήπερ, a 'weird and dreadful' rule of syntax six lines long, which no boy of that generation was ever known to say correctly, though many had to write it out a hundred or a thousand times. Dr. George Butler may have had his formalities and austerities, as when he asked poor little Anthony Trollope whether it was possible that Harrow could be disgraced by so disreputably dirty a small boy. But he won great honour and respect; and he founded a connexion with the school for generations too close and dear to be forgotten, which after the lapse of a century and a quarter is, happily, unbroken still.

Two of Dr. Drury's grandsons, Charles Merivale and his brilliant elder brother Herman, were among the most conspicuous

scholars of Dr. Butler's day. The Dean of Ely, as Charles Merivale became, has told us how he entered Harrow at the age of nine, and was deputed, as 'lag' of the school, to be up at seven, standing in his uncle Harry Drury's archway and watching the headmaster's house, to give warning when that dignitary emerged from his front door. He has told us also how on gloomy winter mornings each master would carry his own wax taper up to school, and how a single faggot, blazing for five minutes in the 'monstrous chimney,' alone served to warm the big schoolroom and 'to suck up the damps of parting night.' He has recalled the extraordinary gifts of Harry Drury, with his large house and his great class of sixty or seventy boys—a big, stalwart man, genial but terrible, with an enormous capacity for work and a rare quality of inspiring others. Drury fell afterwards on evil days, spent too lavishly on book-collecting, lost money, health and power. But in his best years he was a great figure at Harrow, and, more than that, 'one of Nature's great men.' Charles Merivale, a shy boy at first, attained to school celebrity, though not to such fame in scholarship as his brother Herman. He bore cheerfully the hardships of Harrow life, but their severity he could not deny. 'The neglect of the boys in my time was beyond anything that, on looking back, seems possible.' He played at Lord's in 1824, in an eleven which included two future prelates, Charles Wordsworth and Richard Trench. A third ecclesiastic, Henry Manning, then 'a handsome, well-mannered, but mightily affected boy,' was among Merivale's intimate friends. And a fourth, Archbishop Sutton, remained for ever in his memory for tipping Herman, then captain of the school, two sovereigns on his confirmation. The tip was spent on Heber's edition of *Silius Italicus*, an unusual purchase for a Harrow boy.

Dr. George Butler's rule at Harrow ended in 1829. His son and successor Montagu was not born till 1833. And in the thirty years which separate the two headmasters from each other, the school had fresh vicissitudes to face. Neither Dr. Longley nor Dr. Christopher Wordsworth was quite successful in maintaining its repute. Longley's kindly and easy good-nature seems to have been ruthlessly exploited by the boys. Dr. Wordsworth found the discipline thoroughly relaxed, and his efforts to restore it did not add for the moment to the popularity of the school. Numbers fell alarmingly. They were down to seventy in 1844. Even the Peels began to go to Eton. It was high time for Sir Robert to suggest a canonry at Westminster for a headmaster who was to find happier opportunities of success elsewhere. Dr. Vaughan took up no easy burden. But he proved, as all the world knows, more than equal to his task. There are few finer figures to be found in the records of nineteenth-century schoolmasters, or

indeed in the records of the English Church. The strongest testimony to Dr. Arnold's great endowments is the quality of the pupils whom he sent out into the world. The dearest of Vaughan's own pupils has dwelt on the sense of power which the headmaster conveyed, on his brilliant scholarship, his penetrating insight, his rare combination of gentleness and strength. And Vaughan on his side soon came to regard with deep affection the boy whom he was training to step into his place.

Montagu Butler was still delicate when he entered his uncle William Oxenham's house in 1846. From that kindly, eccentric, 'disorderly' man—'Billy's' oaths were a survival of the richly-garnished speech of an older generation—Montagu could count on a warm welcome. From Vaughan and others he was to receive a great deal more. Few boys can have had happier schooldays. He was all his life fortunate in friends. The school was growing in prosperity. Vaughan raised its numbers to 438 before he left, and gathered some very able men about him. Young Butler's contemporaries included scholars of distinction, not least the brilliant and erratic Blayds, and many boys destined for celebrity in life. Few perhaps stood closer to him for many years than two Liberal politicians, Lord Spencer and Sir George Trevelyan, though with Trevelyan it was at first the hero-worship of a small boy for an all-conquering head of the school. 'I greatly doubt,' said Sir George long after, 'whether he knew me by sight; and, indeed, I was not much to look at.' Butler's companions noted his inborn, spontaneous kindliness, his transparent freedom from pettiness, selfishness, conceit, his intense joyous interest in the beauty of the world about him. He shook off his delicacy, took prize after prize, including the famous Gregory Scholarship, the tenure of which his father immediately proposed to cut down from six years to four. He spoke freely in debates. He played games, says a faithful admirer, 'to perfection.' At any rate, at cricket he was an exceptionally reliable point. As head of the school he did more perhaps than any boy to exorcise the spirit of disloyalty and turbulence which had showed itself too often at Harrow. 'He has been for the last year,' wrote Dr. Vaughan to his father, '*everything* to me.' To part with him, in 1851, was 'one of the severest pangs.'

> I do not know that I ever saw so happy a combination of ability and industry, firmness and courtesy, power of ruling and willingness to obey, as in him. You may imagine what it has been to me to have such qualities as these united in the Head of my House, and of the School. Where am I to look for the like again?

In his last year he determined to play against Eton. But, unlike most public school boys of our day, he had to plead hard with his parents, in a pressing but whimsical letter, for leave to be in

the eleven at all. His argument or his humour prevailed, most fortunately for the fortunes of the school. For he did more perhaps than any other boy to win the match at Lord's that year.

At Cambridge these triumphs were repeated. Prizes and scholarships poured in. 'Taking a financial view of the matter,' Montagu wrote to his father, who had become Dean of Peterborough in 1842, 'you will observe that you are now free of your unworthy son.' Wherever he went, affection and success hung round him. His reputation, says one, 'threw all our existing experience into the shade.' He was Senior Classic and Fellow of Trinity 'at the very first moment' that he could be. When he spoke at the Union, you could 'hear a pin drop': it is true this was a sister's view. He had great gifts as a speaker always, a graceful, finished eloquence, an unfailing memory, an unfailing wit. His speeches at Harrow as headmaster were for years a delight. But few happier instances of his readiness occur to one than the little speech in which, as a governor in old age, after hearing his son 'Jim' deliver the Latin *Contio* for the first time in the new pronunciation, he remonstrated gently against 'the publichouse touch' of a word like *oblivisci*. At his best he had no superior among the occasional speakers of his day, and there can be little doubt that he would have won fame and success in the House of Commons. In early years his dream was to go into Parliament, and he served as private secretary to a Minister for a time. But he decided on taking Orders, came back to Trinity as a tutor, and brought with him his sweetness and gaiety of temper, his generous hospitality, his power to teach. There must have been some very special quality which drew men to him. One observer, Charles Merivale, notes his 'sympathetic tenderness.' Another, George Young, speaks of the 'happiness running out of every corner of his face.' His talk and letters then, as always, overflowed with humour. And no one would have enjoyed more than he the story of young George Trevelyan—he was only thirteen and Butler was still a freshman at Trinity—taking his illustrious uncle to hang about the doorsteps of the deanery at Peterborough, on the bare chance that the phœnix might appear. Macaulay soon learned to know and to value the Dean's son. And to Butler, Macaulay's eloquent and lofty pride in England made all his life an irresistible appeal.

In 1859 Montagu Butler was appointed Headmaster of Harrow, the first Harrovian ever appointed, at the age of twenty-six. It was, as Henry Sidgwick wrote, 'a tremendous load' for so young a man. But Dr. Vaughan had been only two years older when appointed. Dr. Wordsworth had been thirty, Dr. George Butler thirty-one. Several of the school staff had known him in his boyhood, and their goodwill was already secured. Vaughan's

colleagues included some admirable scholars, and, though Mr. Matthew Arnold found Vaughan himself 'brutally ignorant,' the most remarkable of these colleagues were Vaughan's nominees. B. F. Westcott and F. Rendall had both been Senior Classics. 'Tommy' Steel had been Second Classic and Twentieth Wrangler. G. F. Harris had been Third Classic, F. W. Farrar and Edward Bowen Fourth, Benjamin Drury Ninth. It was from Cambridge chiefly that Harrow scholarship came. But A. G. Watson and E. H. Bradby were First Class Oxford men. John Smith, a rare, unworldly figure, 'tried by more than common sorrows, and upborne by more than common faith,' exercised an influence which few scholars could command. And the finest of that fine generation took the young headmaster to their hearts. Westcott, a man of genius, regarded by some of his colleagues as a recluse and a dreamer, imposed on by boys whom he found it difficult to manage, and by tradesmen whose probity and prices it never occurred to him to doubt, found in Butler a chief who could appreciate his 'vast and varied knowledge,' his noble simplicity, his 'fresh and awakening thoughts.' He became on almost every point of taste and feeling a confidential friend. Farrar, who had exerted himself to secure Butler's election, brought his vigour, his eloquence and his enthusiasm. Farrar's 'mental sympathies were simply boundless,' says one observer who sat under him in boyhood. 'He lived and moved and had his being in poetry,' says another, George Russell, who always blessed the day they met. 'He taught us to love what was beautiful in literature, art and nature.' And he would use every resource of sympathy and rhetoric, of sarcasm and sternness, to make boys feel ashamed of being ignorant or dull. To these distinguished men Butler soon added more. Jebb came for a time as composition master, and others only less supreme in scholarship than he. Edward Young, who became Headmaster of Sherborne; James Robertson, who passed on to rule at Haileybury—'a man,' wrote Dr. Temple once, 'who brings a blessing with him wherever he goes'; H. G. Hart, who was afterwards a well-loved head at Sedbergh; Bosworth Smith, 'so true, so sympathetic, so loyal, so affectionate'; G. H. Hallam, happily still with us—'what a brotherhood we were!' wrote Butler: all these and others also were little less than disciples and something more than friends.

Butler made his masters' meetings a reality, though some of the veterans, set in their opinions, were not easily handled by a Head of twenty-six. He was thought to be at times too lenient to their peculiarities. But his never-failing humour came to his relief. He invited the freest interchange of opinions. He often deferred to his subordinates. He never resented opposition. He never remembered bad temper or personal attacks. But

when he thought insistence necessary, he did not give way. He carried through Mr. Beresford Hope's unfortunate plan for a new speech-room, to the undisguised regret of most of his colleagues. 'May the shadow of Mr. Beresford Hope,' writes one, 'never again intrude between my loyalty and your good will!' In 1878 he even went so far as to warn the governors that he would be driven to resign if they accepted a proposal made by a colleague, on whose judgment he generally relied, to found a scholarship for modern studies from which divinity was excluded. But generally his strength and kindliness broke down opposition, and as the years went by his authority became almost irresistible. He was always quick to share the interests of his colleagues. When Bosworth Smith embarked on the *Life* of Lord Lawrence, Butler, though he feared for him the risks of overwork, rejoiced that any member of his staff should emerge 'from the local and the purely scholastic,' and became 'in a true sense a national man.' When Edward Bowen proposed to stand for Parliament, and governors looked askance at this departure, Butler's humour and sympathy rose to the occasion. The ambition itself was of value. It showed that a man's mind was not sunk in routine. Would to God *all* the Lord's people were prophets! '*O utinam* a large and increasing number of my colleagues were possible M.Ps.' But, no doubt, it eased the situation when Bowen, a Radical of those days, gave his candidature up.

Butler took over a prosperous school from Dr. Vaughan, not free from grave faults, but full of promising material. There were scholars and athletes of distinction in it, two Hamiltons, two Ridleys, two even more celebrated Walkers, and bishops, judges, statesmen of a later day. We have a note in Butler's *Life* from Jowett praising the scholarship of young Matthew Ridley, and promising to do all he could at Balliol for Harrow boys. We have glimpses in those early days of the young headmaster in difficult moments, and in lighter moments too, standing in pouring rain to hold an umbrella over Lord Palmerston, as the old Prime Minister laid the foundation-stone of the Vaughan Library, writing the merriest of letters on his engagement to one who was to prove to him a never-failing source of inspiration and delight, presiding at his own dinner-table with a perfection of manner which Lord Chesterfield might have envied, winning the heart of an athletic colleague by measuring out on his study floor the 20 feet which the new-comer had lately jumped in the 'Varsity sports. An impartial visitor from Cambridge, who found the Harrow boys honest, vigorous, industrious fellows, the masters often overworked, the masters' wives the pleasantest people—refined, high-minded and amiable as aunts—has put on record his impression of the headmaster in 1869. He found him startlingly young

in appearance, clear, pure, unclouded in mind, heroic in his industry and purpose, singularly tactful in his dealings with others, but apt to overawe the boys. Of these early years, 1866, when Randall Davidson was one of a memorable company, seemed to Butler the *annus mirabilis* of his time; 1873–74 was another period of triumph, with S. G. Hamilton and A. D. Godley as protagonists in scholarship; 1879–80, with Pember and Macnamara carrying all before them, was a third. And Senior Classics like Walter Leaf came in between.

Butler himself was an indefatigable worker. He was form-master, teacher, administrator, financier. He had no school bursar to help him, and no regular secretary till he had been headmaster for over twenty years. He was the head of a great establishment, a very large houseful of boys. He was ungrudging as a correspondent and unwearied as a host. He was the ruler of a little kingdom, for the town and its interests were largely in his hands. He gave close personal attention to the progress, the compositions, the private needs or shortcomings of innumerable pupils. He overworked himself, in fact, steadily for years, and suffered often from insufficient sleep. In educational matters his range of interests, though not without its limitations, was both large and liberal. He insisted on the teaching of science at Harrow, and paid for science prizes out of his own pocket. He brought John Farmer and his music to the school; Farmer's own humour, character and enthusiasm did the rest. He collected money and built new buildings on the Hill, strangely tolerant, some thought, of their intolerable appearance. It was the age when Keble College was created at Oxford, when Balliol and Exeter were unhappily rebuilt. He founded the Harrow Mission. He raised the Tercentenary Fund. Of his means he gave to every Harrow object unstintingly and on the most generous scale. He loved the old classical ways, and continued to his latest hour to be a rare and finished scholar. But he founded fearlessly the Modern Side, which has long since eclipsed its ancient rival. He insisted on a superannuation system—to the disgust of some short-sighted parents and of many idle boys. He insisted on the governors' demand for the sanitary inspection of the boarding-houses—to the disgust of some housemasters; how necessary it was, some of my own contemporaries will remember. He also dared to lay his hand on the Ark of the Covenant, and proposed to relegate the Lord's match to the holidays, as had been the custom before 1855. But even F. Ponsonby and I. D. Walker shared this startling view. He preached regularly in chapel, sermons of fine quality. He was a divine of great distinction, alike in personal character and in intellectual powers. No Churchman of his day was better fitted for high office, even the highest office, in the

Church, for he had vision, statesmanship and courage, and the widest understanding in the government of men. It is a grave slur on the Church patronage of the Victorian era that year after year preferment worthy of him passed him by. But Dr. Butler will always be best remembered as a teacher and a friend. In early days it is said of him he was more feared than loved among the younger boys. But when his boys reached the upper sixth and began to know him as a teacher, awe quickly melted in affection. They found a new charm in their lessons. They began to understand what scholarship meant. They learned to know that the dignified and alarming figure, with the precise emphatic utterance, the grave and rather distant courtesy of their early days, was the most human and kindliest of companions, abounding in playfulness, tenderness and fun, only anxious to share with them the joys and treasures of his knowledge, only anxious to inspire them with sympathies as wide and lasting as his own.

CHARLES MALLET.

(To be continued.)

A PIG-TALE FOR MANDARINS

An episode connected with the Falkland Islands battle between Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee's cruiser squadron and Admiral von Spee's squadron after its victory at Coronel has not been recorded in public print, but its humorous features are too precious to remain in oblivion in forgotten files.

It will be recalled that during the engagement von Spee ordered his light cruisers to try to escape by virtue of their speed. In this attempt only one was successful, the *Dresden*, and it was some considerable time before the *Glasgow* and *Kent* were able to run her down and sink her on March 14, 1915, at Juan Fernandez. When finally demolished, a number of prisoners were made, and among them was a pig, captured by a petty officer of the *Glasgow*. Apparently the pig had been a pet in the *Dresden*, and the petty officer sought and obtained the consent of his captain to keep the pig on board as a prize of war. The pig found its new surroundings entirely congenial, and rapidly installed itself as the pet of the *Glasgow*, on board which it remained until the end of the commission.

Some little time after the pig's transfer the petty officer was drafted to another ship, but the pig remained in the *Glasgow* as her mascot. About eighteen months after the Juan Fernandez engagement the *Glasgow* proceeded to Portsmouth to pay off, and here the story begins.

The captain of the *Glasgow* was in a quandary, for he did not know how to deal with the pig; he was aware, generally, of regulations relating to the importation of livestock, and realised that instructions were necessary unless he ordered the pig's destruction. Such a course would have led to considerable feeling on board, since the pig was a universal favourite. So he signalled to the Commander-in-Chief, Portsmouth, explaining that he had on board a pig, captured from the cruiser *Dresden* at Juan Fernandez on March 14, 1915—some eighteen months previously. The pig had not been in contact with any other swine throughout the whole period, so would it be in order to land the pig? The Commander-in-Chief signalled in reply that the question was not one he could answer without reference to

the Admiralty, and in all probability it would have to be referred also to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Pending the necessary inquiries, the captain of the *Glasgow* should retain the pig on board in isolation from other livestock.

The Commander-in-Chief wrote to the Admiralty accordingly, setting out the facts as reported and asking for instructions. The Admiralty, as surmised, replied to the effect that the question at issue was one for the determination of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, but the necessary inquiry was being made, on the receipt of which a further communication would be sent to Portsmouth.

The Ministry of Agriculture then wrote at some length, explaining for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the importation of swine from foreign parts was strictly governed by the Diseases of Animals Act, 1896 (59 & 60 Vict. c. 15). In accordance with that statute swine from foreign parts could only be landed in the United Kingdom on certain areas prescribed in the schedule to the aforesaid Act, and unfortunately Portsmouth was not a 'prescribed area.' In the somewhat special circumstances of the case, however, the Ministry were prepared for the purpose of this pig, and this pig only, to prescribe an area on the Portsmouth jetty for the temporary accommodation of the pig in question, where it could pass the necessary quarantine period. They regretted that the undisputed fact that the pig had not been in contact with any other swine for the last eighteen months did not render nugatory the provisions of the Act quoted. To put the matter in order the Ministry would send two inspectors to Portsmouth, one an expert in quarantine arrangements and the other competent to map a proper area.

The two inspectors duly arrived and mapped a spot on the north-west corner of the jetty, showing the area to be prescribed for this pig, and this pig only. The map was then transmitted by the Ministry to the Admiralty and forwarded by the Lords Commissioners to the Commander-in-Chief, Portsmouth, for the issue of the necessary instructions. On receipt of the instructions the captain of the *Glasgow* arranged for the disembarkation of the pig on the area prescribed, and for its suitable protection and isolation by means of barbed wire and similar precautions against contamination with other livestock. The captain of the *Glasgow* was much relieved, since the presence of the pig on board was delaying matters; and amid affectionate farewells the pig was duly installed on the area prescribed.

But the general business of paying-off by this time was completed, and the proper feeding of the pig and its protection from contamination with other livestock gave rise to increasing

difficulties. The captain of the *Glasgow* was greatly worried until he met the captain of Whale Island, who told him that he had recently started a piggery on Whale Island, and would willingly add the pig from the *Glasgow* to it. A signal was again made to the Commander-in-Chief, Portsmouth, pointing out the difficulties of looking after the pig on the area prescribed for it on the jetty, in view of other pressing business and shortage of staff—difficulties which were likely to increase before the quarantine period was over. The signal went on to report the provisional arrangement made with the captain of Whale Island if the transfer to Whale Island was authorised. The signal in reply indicated that, as the present arrangement had been made between the Admiralty and the Ministry of Agriculture, it would be necessary that any deviation from it should be sanctioned by the same authorities—inquiry would be made.

In due course the Admiralty made the necessary reference to the Ministry of Agriculture, who pointed out, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the pig had not yet completed its quarantine, and consequently no transfer to another portion of the United Kingdom—*e g.*, from the Portsmouth jetty to Whale Island—could take place prior to the completion of the quarantine unless an area on Whale Island were also scheduled in accordance with the Diseases of Animals Act, 1896, for the purpose of this pig, and this pig only. Especially did this course appear to be necessary, since, as the Ministry understood to be the case, it was proposed to allow the pig in question to be associated with pigs already domiciled in this country. The Ministry of Agriculture added that, in view of all the circumstances, they would be prepared to schedule a suitable area in Whale Island, and two inspectors, as before, would proceed forthwith to undertake the task. The two inspectors duly arrived, armed with knowledge and mapping instruments, and drew up a plan of a place on Whale Island suitable, in their view, for the completion of the quarantine of this pig, and this pig only. The map was transmitted to the Admiralty, and thence to the Commander-in-Chief, Portsmouth, and so to the captain of the *Glasgow*, accompanied by strict injunctions that the transfer must be carried out without any risk of contact with other livestock, especially swine. The captain of the *Glasgow* now began to see an end of his troubles, and signalled Whale Island suggesting that a cutter should be sent to convey the pig from the prescribed area on the jetty to the prescribed area on the Island. An old harbour-service cutter was accordingly requisitioned, thoroughly disinfected, and towed by a steam-launch to the jetty. On arrival there the pig was carefully lowered into the cutter and a net placed

over it, and amid hilarious farewells the pig started off, the sole occupant of the cutter. Unfortunately, before Whale Island was reached the painter of the ancient cutter parted, and, what was worse, at that moment a heavy sea fog blew up, so that the pig was drifting about all alone in the fog. Here was a to-do! Search parties were organised, since on no account could the pig be allowed to land on any unprescribed area without incurring the wrath of the Legislature, and possibly bringing under critical review the magnanimous attitude displayed by the Ministry of Agriculture in the importation of this pig, and this pig only. Eventually, aided no doubt by the squeals of the pig, they located it in the fog and the cutter was again taken in tow by the launch, this time with a more efficient painter. A course was set for the prescribed area on Whale Island, and in a few minutes the pig was landed at the correct spot and duly fenced in, according to the directions of the Ministry's inspector.

Here the story might seem to end, but not so. A short while afterwards the petty officer arrived home and inquired after his pig. He pointed out that he had been allowed to keep the pig as a prize of war, and he wanted his pig. The petty officer was told that his pig was now on Whale Island completely incorporated with the authorised swine of the United Kingdom, and any representations must be made to the captain of Whale Island. Nothing daunted, the petty officer presented himself to the captain of Whale Island and stated his case. The case was convincing, and the pig was handed over, free to be transported to any part of the United Kingdom. Eventually the petty officer carried it off to his home in Yorkshire, where shortly afterwards a Red Cross sale was held. The petty officer, under orders to rejoin the Fleet for further war service, and full of enthusiasm for the Red Cross organisation, arranged a raffle for the pig. Tickets to the value of no less than 200*l.* were taken for the pig with its distinguished record on sea and land, and the holder of the winning ticket added further to the Red Cross funds by putting the pig up to auction, when it was finally disposed of for another 200*l.*

A. L. HETHERINGTON.

MODERN AMERICAN WRITERS

MOST people in England know astonishingly little about the contemporary young writers of America. Perhaps this is to be expected. The United States, to many of us, is still a strange land. We are interested in it, but we are hardly in sympathy with the lives led by its inhabitants. Yet we ought to be sufficiently interested to read the novels and short stories written by the latest young American writers, for here is a new branch of English literature that is far more alive, vital, and original than most of the literature being produced in England at the moment.

In spite of Mr. Arnold Bennett's remark, made quite recently, that the English public and critics frequently recognise a talented new American author before he is noticed in his own country, I am inclined to think that the great English reading public is completely indifferent to what the new writers in the United States are doing. We are still very insular, and worry ourselves very little about what other countries are writing and thinking.

So much has been written and said about Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, and Ernest Hemingway, that I am going to confine myself to discussing American writers such as Glenway Wescott, Thomas Beer, John Dos Passos, who, although they are well known and established in their own country, are little known over here, and comparatively new-comers, such as Thomas Wolfe and William Faulkner.

Unlike the young English novelist of to-day, the young Americans are not ashamed of their emotions. They are not afraid of reality. They are courageous and experimental, and are not fettered by a Hardy tradition, or content to turn out neat imitations of Ronald Firbank, who seems to have turned the heads of a great many young English novelists. The young American writers still have an enthusiasm for life. They are passionately interested in everything that is going on around them. Whereas the young European writer can no longer believe in anything—life no longer moves him—and with a weary obeisance to the Muse of Mr. T. S. Eliot, who, strangely enough, began life as an American, he waits for death and oblivion!

Undoubtedly, to be able to write well and effectively one must either believe in, or feel intensely about, the subject on which one is writing; this applies particularly to the novel, and it is in this capacity that modern American writers rise head and shoulders above many of their English contemporaries.

American writers of to-day can be divided roughly into three groups: (*a*) those who write about the East—by the 'East,' I mean New York and the coast-line originally colonised by the Dutch and the Pilgrim Fathers; (*b*) those who write about the Middle Western States; and (*c*) the group of young writers who write about the South. One has to group American writers in this way, because the United States is so vast, and the distances between the various States are so enormous, that American writers have been greatly influenced by the environment and characteristics of the different States in which they have been born and brought up.

'New York is not America!' is a favourite saying amongst Americans. It is a city set apart from the rest of the United States. Yet it is the most American of all their cities, for in New York Americans have attempted to create their ideal city. And, perhaps, it is because New York is the Mecca of all the States, and has a large floating and ever-changing population, that it figures less in modern American literature than one would expect. In fact, the most significant and important of the younger American writers have all written about life in the United States, outside New York. New York seems to baffle most novelists. They find it difficult to convey in prose the excitement and nervous tension, the indescribable glamour of the city. American poets have caught its mood far more effectively—particularly E. E. Cummings.

However, three writers have written about New York with conspicuous success—Thomas Beer, John Dos Passos, and E. Scott Fitzgerald.

Some years ago John Dos Passos created a stir with his novel *Three Soldiers*. This was a book about the war, written long before the 'boom' in war books began. It dealt with the lives of three men in the American Army, and in particular showed the devastating effect the horrors of war had on the mind of a sensitive educated man. In spite of the subsequent appearance of many books dealing with this same theme, *Three Soldiers* still remains one of the most terrifying and moving of all war books. Mr. Dos Passos then turned his attention to New York and modern America in general, and has written a whole series of novels describing life in New York, the most interesting and effective of these being *Manhattan Transfer*, and his latest and most important book *The 42nd Parallel* (Constable).

Mr. Dos Passos is an experimentalist in prose. And in *The 42nd Parallel* he has set himself an ambitious task. I am told that this book is but the first volume of a trilogy, and in a way it suffers from being issued alone by itself, for the canvas the writer takes is so large and varied. In this novel Mr. Dos Passos has borrowed some tricks from the cinema, and attempted to adapt them to the form of the novel. The book consists of five distinct narratives, which finally intermingle at the end of the book at New York. The stories are cut up by 'news-reels' and episodes called 'The Camera Eye.' These interludes are intended to provide the period atmosphere, which is from the beginning of the century to the entry of America into the war. Here is an example of one of these news-reels:

BOMBARDIER STOPS AUSTRALIAN

colonel says democrats have brought distress to nation I'll resign when I die Huerta snarls in grim defi and half Mexico will die with me no flames were seen but the vast plume of blackened steam from the crater waved a mile high in the sky and volcanic ash fell on Macomber Flats thirteen miles distant

Eggs Noisy ? No Pokerchips

WILSON WILL TAKE ADVICE OF BUSINESS

They all keep aswaying
Ahumming and swinging
It's the good ship Robert E Lee
That's come to carry the cotton away

Isadora Duncan's New Happiness.

Six Unclad Bathing Girls Black Eyes Of Horrid Man

TELL CAUSES OF UNREST IN LABOUR WORLD

As will be seen from the above quotation, these news-reels are vivid impressionistic cuttings from the newspapers and popular songs of the day, moulded together to make a satirical background for the characters in the novel, very much in the manner of Mr. Joyce's *Ulysses*. The five principal characters in the book are Mac, who starts life as a printer and becomes a Communist; Janey, who is a girl secretary-typist; J. Ward Moorhouse, who typifies American big business; Eleanor Stoddard, who stands for the efficient American business woman who is afraid of sex, and will only indulge in Platonic friendships with men; and Charley Anderson, who typifies the restless young American, who 'bums' around not knowing what he wants, and is saved by the outbreak of war—when he joins the army.

In these five characters Mr. Dos Passos has taken five totally different American types and placed them up against the mad, fantastic background of modern American life, and if, in the next

two volumes, he can carry off to a satisfactory conclusion the elaborate technical task he has set himself in *The 42nd Parallel*, he will have achieved one of the most important novels that have been written about the United States. And I see no reason why Mr. Dos Passos should not be able to do this. He has already written six books, and has a practised technique, and he feels passionately enough about America to be able to write a work of these dimensions.

Very different from Mr. Dos Passos are the other two writers belonging to the 'East,' E. Scott Fitzgerald and Thomas Beer. Whereas Mr. Dos Passos is most interested in the rough, unsophisticated Americans, both these other two writers deal with sophisticated Americans, especially those who live in New York. E. Scott Fitzgerald is a puzzling young writer. He has written one extraordinarily good novel, *The Great Gatsby* (Chatto & Windus), and several others that fall to the level of popular fiction. It remains to be seen whether he will fulfil the promise of *The Great Gatsby*. This novel is laid among the rich Americans living on Long Island, just outside of New York. The plot centres upon a mysterious millionaire, who is never quite explained, and is mockingly called the 'great Gatsby' by the idle parasites who flock round him and enjoy his lavish hospitality. In Gatsby, Mr. Fitzgerald has drawn a portrait of that distinctly American phenomenon, the successful business man, who is hard and unscrupulous in business, but whose attitude to life is that of the naïve child, pathetically wanting to be appreciated and understood—the kind of man who is still adolescent at forty. Gatsby is discredited at the end of the book, but he is drawn with sympathy and understanding, and this novel also contains several admirably drawn sketches of the rich polo, sports-loving Americans, who, although they have everything in the world, do not know how to live, and spend their lives in restless longings, making themselves and everybody else around them miserable!

Thomas Beer, unlike Mr. Fitzgerald, who is the hundred-per-cent. American and happens to be sensitive enough to know how to write, is essentially a man of letters. Mr. Beer represents the best type of the sophisticated and cultured American mind. He is a literary critic of distinction. He is a cosmopolitan, in that he is interested in Europe as well as in the United States. He has written a brilliant *Life of Stephen Crane*, and several novels, among them, *Sandoval* and *The Road to Heaven* (Knopf). The last mentioned is his best novel. It is a picture of literary and artistic circles in New York, and describes the adventures of a young country boy, Lamon Coe, in this hectic *milieu*. And through this simple character the quiet life of the countryside is compared with the racket and noise, the ceaseless introspection and over-subtilised

life of the city, to the disadvantage of the latter. In the end, Lamon Coe returns to the countryside.

Mr. Beer writes in a beautifully graceful and reticent style which makes this novel, with its melodramatic climax (the heroine is burnt to death), all the more moving and effective. In his elegance and polish, Thomas Beer resembles Thornton Wilder, only, unlike Mr. Wilder, he understands modern life and can create modern characters. Mr. Wilder can only re-create literary characters out of the past; he is baffled and bewildered by modern America.

It is a far cry from New York and its violent sophistications to the Middle West. Yet the Middle West has produced an astonishing amount of America's artistic talent. Apart from Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, and Ernest Hemingway, it has produced a whole school of writers—Zona Gale, Sherwood Anderson, Ruth Suckow, and Glenway Wescott. Of these writers, the youngest and most significant is Glenway Wescott, whom I have chosen as the representative of the Middle Western school.

The Middle Western States of America are something so essentially American that many Europeans fail to understand them. Until comparatively recent years they were enormous tracts of land given over, for the most part, to farming. Here lived isolated communities and families, completely cut off from the rest of the world. To them New York was a legendary Babylon, and England a far-off myth. They were pioneers, and their strength and imagination were devoted to extracting a living from the rough land they cultivated. Many families lived many miles from any town, and their lives became wrapped up entirely in their families. The Family dominated their existence and held them like a vice within its grasp. They were strange and restless, these families, many of which had originally come from Europe in search of fortune. They were unhappy and embittered by their struggles for existence—for America had not turned out to be a land flowing with milk and honey as they had expected. Feeling themselves cheated of life and their birthright, many of these families led strange dark lives, like characters from Dostoevsky.

Radio and the cinema have changed the Middle West during the last few years, and these States are gradually becoming industrialised, but, astonishingly enough, it is from these families of farmers that most of the Middle Western writers have sprung. Glenway Wescott belongs to one of them, and he has drawn upon the lives and histories of his family and of those people living around it for his three books. These all deal with the State of Wisconsin, where his family had lived for many generations, and

where he was born and brought up. *The Apple of the Eye*, *The Grandmothers*, and *Goodbye, Wisconsin* make an important trilogy of life in the Middle West, which forms one of the outstanding performances in modern American letters.

The Apple of the Eye is a study of adolescence. Into this book Glenway Wescott has poured the vague longings of youth, with all its nostalgia and loneliness. Mr. Wescott is also a poet of considerable talent, and the book, which is divided into three episodes and describes the growing up of a sensitive boy on a Wisconsin farm, abounds in exquisite descriptions of the Wisconsin landscape. But it is in *The Grandmothers*, published in this country under the title of *A Family Portrait* (Thornton Butterworth), that Mr. Wescott reaches maturity and does full justice to the Wisconsin scene. *The Grandmothers* is an ambitious book. It portrays the lives and histories through several generations of a family, the Towers, who had settled in Wisconsin, when it was still a wilderness. This family is seen and described through the eyes of the modern descendant of the Tower family, Alwyn, who, like Proust, was obsessed with the past. As Mr. Wescott himself writes at the very beginning of *The Grandmothers*,

> Until Alwyn Tower grew to manhood he never forgot that everyone was older than he. People remembered things not in existence now, and many of them had been born in houses which had vanished long ago.

And so the young boy, Alwyn, sits at the feet of his old grandmother, and, surrounded by pathetic reminders of past days—the family album, old daguerrotypes, a curl of a young boy's hair, faded nosegays—listens to her stories and anecdotes about the family:

> The adolescent boy, cross-questioning his grandmother as to their identity, wanted to ask them questions as well—with no hope of being answered, since they were dead; curious and proud, he wanted to be able to explain to himself their failures, to love and hate them as they had loved and hated one another.

We are told their whole history. How his grandfather had gone West as a young man and settled in Wisconsin, and then fought in the Civil War. How Alywn's grandmother, Rose Hamilton, had also come to this wild country and fallen in love with Leander Tower, the brother of Alwyn's grandfather. How Leander Tower had gone to the Civil War with his brother Hilary, and had discovered too late that he loved his brother. How Leander returned home, and, having lost his brother Hilary, could no longer marry Rose Hamilton. And how Rose Hamilton had married Leander's brother, Alwyn's grandfather. Slowly, with careful and detailed style, the novel unravels the whole

tangled pattern of their lives—their hopes and fears, their loves and hates, and all the futile agony that sums up Life.

The Grandmothers is more than just a fine novel about American pioneer families in the Middle West. It is a commentary on life. Perhaps the author's point of view can be summed up in this passage :

> Life is a great county fair. . . . A village of rickety buildings inclosed by a fence too high to climb ; a narrow entrance, a narrow exit. A multitude of laughing or irritable people dragging awe-stricken children by one hand. Many spoiling their appetites with the unwholesome refreshments that are for sale—some of these hiding afterward because they are sick. Some stingy, some extravagant ; nearly everyone wanting to be more prosperously dressed ; everyone tired to death. Women indignant at the neglect of their men ; . . .
>
> Three days, four days, or a week—and it is over. Stalls and shelves emptied, tents bundled up and tied with rope ; crates, baskets, cages, lumber wagons, carriages and racing carts, lovers, enemies, and little worn-out boys beside their irritable, sometimes intoxicated fathers, going through the narrow exit, with the crying geese and bulls and lovely mares and rams whose curls are full of sawdust—on their way to sweet autumn pastures and matings with whole flocks of ewes after the first frost—each decorated or not with ribbons, varying in colour according to their strength, their beauty, their conformity to the standards of their kind ; the procession separating at the cross-roads, one losing sight of another in the dust and the gathering darkness as the great countryside absorbs them once more into itself, and seeming to have disappeared.
>
> So his grandmother's family and friends had been scattered.

Glenway Wescott has none of the terrifying exuberance of many of the younger American writers ; his is a more mature talent. He has none of that false optimism which is at once the weakness and the strength of so many Americans, and so he can look at the American scene with more detachment than most writers of his generation. He loves his native Wisconsin and his pioneer ancestors, but, at the same time, he is not blind to their faults and weaknesses. He builds up his characters and background with elaborate detail, but he can also quicken the action of his story and create a tense atmosphere with a few terse, dramatic paragraphs : this is particularly true of *The Grandmothers*. Like Proust, he is unusually sensitive to associations, perfumes, and the more subtle shades of existence. He can evoke a whole scene or incident by the mere mention of a flower or a scent. These qualities in Mr. Wescott's writing are very noticeable in the Leander episode in *The Grandmothers*, where the Civil War and the complex psychological relationship between Leander and his brother Hilary is rendered with great vividness and power. The following paragraph from this episode is an effective example of Mr. Wescott's evocative prose :

The Civil War. A village turned into a barracks, a fence turned into a stable. A mule broke loose and kicked a dog, which rolled howling in the bushes. Candlelight pointed by tents. The odour of oleanders and diseases. An accordion out of breath on a soldier's lap, roughly embraced and crying out. Here and there on the ground camp fires lay like red roses. Seeming to inhale the perfume of one of the fires, there stood Hilary all alone.

Glenway Wescott's last book is a book of short stories, *Good-bye, Wisconsin* (Cape), in which, in a slightly disillusioned manner, he bids farewell to the Wisconsin scene, that has already changed so much since his boyhood. Mr. Wescott epitomises all the talent and genius of the Middle Western school, and he is barely thirty. He is undoubtedly one of the most promising and exciting of the young American writers.

From the South comes another young American, who will challenge the attention of the literary world. This is Thomas Wolfe, whose first novel, *Look Homeward, Angel* (Heineman), has already created a well-deserved sensation both here and in the United States. Thomas Wolfe, in his novel, also writes about a family, but his family lives in North Carolina. The author calls this novel a story of the Buried Life, and, like *The Grandmothers,* it deals with a side of the United States that is fast disappearing—one of those small mountain towns, where the vestiges of Elizabethan culture and speech have still persisted in an astonishing degree. This tremendous book, *Look Homeward, Angel*—it is over 600 pages long—is a triumphant challenge to the pedantic impersonal novel, which has preoccupied the minds of French and English novelists almost to the point of sterility. Thomas Wolfe overwhelms one with his passionate enthusiasm for the world around him, his immense vitality, and his magnificent language.

Mr. Hugh Walpole, writing about this novel, says:

> It does what I have been longing for somebody to do—it restores poetry to the American scene, and poetry that is not merely contemporary. The real richness of America, its fecundity, colour, vitality, stains deeply these pages.

And Thomas Wolfe *has* restored poetry to the American scene in this book, or rather he is one of the first writers to do justice to the amazing natural beauty and splendour of some parts of the United States For a young writer, Mr. Wolfe is surprisingly free from false self-consciousness. He is not afraid of his emotions; consequently he has achieved a very personal novel, into which he has thrown his feelings and reactions with abandon and a fine poetical frenzy. *Look Homeward, Angel,* like all great books, was a novel that had to be written. One feels that

its subject so obsessed and excited the writer that he could not rest until he had finished the book. Here is no writer that searches frantically for a subject about which to write : on the contrary, Mr. Wolfe suffers, if anything, from the abundance of his memory, invention and imagination.

Look Homeward, Angel is an epic of the South, in the same way that *The Grandmothers* is an epic of the Middle West. It is the epic of the youth of Eugene Gant, of the Gant family, of the Southern mountain town of Altamount. Against a great canvas of figures the whole Gant family is drawn with brilliant clarity, so that they are all unusually alive and vital characters. First, Gant the father—the wanderer, drunkard, and stonemason, an astonishing and fantastic figure with a gift of eloquence, who both terrifies and fascinates the whole of his family, and flings his great shadow right across the book. Eliza Gant, his wife and the mother of Eugene, who is continually enduring the agonies of childbirth, and holds the family together with an indomitable will, but who cannot control her insatiable desire for dollars and real estate ; then Eugene's brothers—Luke, the sentimental go-getter ; Steve, the wastrel and braggart ; Ben, the intellectual who is always a little aloof from the rest of the family, hating his parents for their bitter hatred of each other and their avarice and meanness ; and his sister Helen, the hysterical and secret dipsomaniac, who is continually taking her father's side against her mother, and alone can manage the man in his mad drunken fits. A dark, sombre family that might have been created by Webster.

In these surroundings Eugene slowly grows up to manhood. As a newsboy he sees the warm sensual erotic life of the Niggertown ; at school, he discovers the unending wealth of literature and antiquity, and the ecstasy to be found in the everlasting loveliness of the Southern mountain landscape. Then on to the mingled agony and happiness of adolescence—and, the first experiments in love, culminating in Eugene's wild passion for Laura James, a young girl five years older than himself, which is doomed to end unhappily.

The following extract from this novel, describing the birth of Eugene Gant during a drunken bout of his father, is a powerful example of Mr. Wolfe's prose :

> So ran the summer by. The last grapes hung in dried and rotten clusters to the vines ; the wind roared distantly ; September ended.
>
> One night the dry doctor, Cardiac, said : 'I think we'll be through with this before tomorrow evening.' He departed, leaving a middle-aged country woman. She was a hard-handed practical nurse.
>
> At eight o'clock Gant returned alone. The boy Steve had stayed at home for ready dispatch at Eliza's need ; for the moment the attention was shifted from the master.

His great voice below, chanting obscenities, carried across the neighbourhood; as she heard the sudden wild roar of flame up the chimney, shaking the house in its flight, she called Steve to her side, tensely. 'Son, he'll burn us all up!' she whispered.

They heard a chair fall heavily below, his curse; they heard his heavy reeling stride across the dining-room and up the hall; they heard the sagging creak of the stair-rail as his body swung against it.

'He's coming!' she whispered. 'He's coming! Lock the door, son!'

The boy locked the door.

'Are you there?' Gant roared, pounding the flimsy door heavily with his fist. 'Miss Eliza; are you there?' howling at her the ironical title by which he addressed her at moments like this.

And he screamed a sermon of profanity and woven invective:

'Little did I reck,' he began, getting at once into the swing of preposterous rhetoric which he used half furiously, half comically, 'little did I reck the day I first saw her eighteen bitter years ago, when she came wriggling around the corner at me like a snake on her belly—(a stock epithet which from repetition was now heart-balm to him)—little did I reck that—that—it would come to this,' he finished lamely. He waited quietly, in the heavy silence, for some answer, knowing that she lay in her white-faced calm behind the door, and filled with the old choking fury because he knew she would not answer.

'Are you there? I say, are you there, woman?' he howled, barking his big knuckles in a furious bombardment.

There was nothing but the white living silence.

Look Homeward, Angel, despite its length, has no definite structure or form. It just grows naturally out of the events and happenings described, and is swept to a triumphant conclusion by the author's genius, his passionate energy, and his love of life. Mr. Wolfe is influenced by two such diverse writers as Mr. James Joyce and Walt Whitman, but the quality of his prose is all his own. Like a glittering piece of music, this novel, with its complex rhythms, its rich flights of language, and its intensity, absorbs and keeps the reader's attention until the very end. In fact, the reading of this novel is a literary experience, like the reading of *Ulysses*: it is one that no student of contemporary literature should miss.

It seems that the Southern States of America are enjoying a rebirth of energy and genius. In recent years two other writers of surprising talent have arisen in the South. The first is Miss Elizabeth Madox Roberts, who, thanks to the enthusiasm of several well-known English critics, the foremost being Mr. Edward Garnett, is fairly well known to the English reading public. For this reason I will only mention that Miss Roberts has written three novels, the first of which, *The Time of Man* (Cape), is one of the finest modern novels that has come out of the United States, and *My Heart, My Flesh* and *The Great Meadow*, both of

which novels should be read by any student of modern American writers, for Miss Roberts is one of the most brilliant artists in English prose now writing. Even in such a brief survey of modern American writers as this article, one is struck by the deep impression Mr. Joyce's *Ulysses* has made on many of the younger writers, and one is frequently coming across his influence in their writing. The Americans, by nature, are much more eager to embrace new ideas than we are, and this is probably the reason why the revolutionary technique of Mr. Joyce's writing has not been fully appreciated by the young English writers to the extent it has by the Americans

The second writer of importance is William Faulkner. William Faulkner is still a young man, but he is distinctly a literary author, in that technically he is a very interesting craftsman. He has an unusually mature command over his technique for a young writer, and in his later books, especially in *The Sound and the Fury* (Chatto & Windus), he is both daring and experimental. Apart from this, Mr. Faulkner also has a vivid sense of character and an inexhaustible invention of incident. He writes about the State of Georgia, and his first book, *Soldier's Pay* (Chatto & Windus), deals with the aftermath of the war. Its theme is the return of the soldier, an unwanted reminder of the devastation of war, to the country he has 'saved.' The first part of this novel, where a party of drunken cadets, including the physically wrecked hero, Donald Mahon, are returning home, is written with power and a bitter irony. It is a superb descriptive passage in which we are faced with the hard fact—a fact that many civilians are inclined to overlook deliberately—that the war worked havoc with the most normal of working men. *Soldier's Pay* is an unequal book, but Mr. Faulkner gradually works up an intensely dramatic situation between the dying airman, Mahon, returned home to his native Georgia, and two women, his father, and the self-appointed ex-soldier attendant, Gilligan. And the character of Cecily, Mahon's fiancée, is drawn with a cruel fidelity. Cecily is very typical of a certain type of American girl. She is pretty but selfish, emotionless yet sensual, and egoistically cannot bear to look at the mutilated wreck the war has made of her former handsome sweetheart.

The climax of the novel—the dance episode where the ex-service men stand huddled together in a corner, unwanted and disapproving—is vividly portrayed :

> Along the balustrade they sat like birds, effacingly belligerent. Wall-flowers.
>
> . . . 'Look at them. Sitting there, talking their army French, kidding themselves. Why did they come, Joe ? '
>
> . . . They greeted him with the effusiveness of people who are brought

together by invitation yet are not quite certain of themselves and the spirit of the invitation; in this case the eternal country boys of one national mental state, lost in the comparative metropolitan atmosphere of one diametrically opposed to it. . . .

Most of them Gilligan knew by name, and he sat also upon the balustrade. He was offered and accepted a cigarette and he perched among them while they talked loudly, drowning the intimation of dancers they could not emulate, of girls who once waited upon their favours and who now ignored them—the hang-over of warfare in a society tired of warfare. Puzzled and lost, poor devils.

Soldier's Pay is an unusual and brilliant book, but it is the author's first novel and lacks the finish and maturity of his later work. The warm indolent atmosphere of the South, which pervades the whole book, has entered into some of the minor characters, and makes them slightly inexplicable to a northern reader; one important character, Jones, is introduced into the novel without ever being explained properly. However, this book remains a remarkable first book.

Mr. Faulkner's next novel, *The Sound and the Fury*, is a *tour-de-force.* It is a study of madness. The first part of the book, a description of life seen through the eyes of the idiot son of a decaying Southern family, is an amazing piece of creative writing—one's only criticism being that the author gives one no clue at the beginning of the novel that this is what he is attempting to describe. The story goes on to tell of the gradual disintegration of a frayed genteel family dominated by its ever-threatening heritage of imbecility. Already in the family there is the feeble-minded uncle, Maury, and the dumb idiot son of thirty-three, Benjy. Slowly, with the deliberateness of Greek tragedy, the dark menace of insanity engulfs the lives of all the characters in destruction. This is not a pleasant book. But it has tremendous power. It resembles Dostoevsky, but the characters are distinctly American in their brutality and senseless *naïveté.* It is difficult to read in certain passages—the writing is frequently over impressionistic, and parts are written in the 'stream-of-consciousness' manner,' but the book compels attention. It is an original and a vital experiment in writing.

Any short survey of the contemporary literature of a country is bound to be incomplete. There are certain American writers I should have liked to deal with; among these are Willa Cather, Carl Van Vechten. But my space is limited, and so I have tried to write about those American writers who most deserve to be better known in this country, who are *essentially* typical of modern American literature in their outlook, style, and subject.

DEREK PATMORE.

THE POETRY OF EDMUND BLUNDEN

In holiday mood, in 1922, Mr. Edmund Blunden discovered, in some reversed S's, B's, D's and 9's painted on a framework of piles at a South American port, an inspiration for those poets 'who deny their readers capital letters, apostrophes and so forth.' Since, he has observed how, in retrospect at least, a shelled village not far from the Yser Canal is to him a 'free verse fandango of brick mounds and water-holes,' and that one of Mr. Siegfried Sassoon's excellences is a fundamental loyalty, however some may have misconstrued it, to the English poetical tradition. It is not surprising that Mr. Robert Graves and Miss Laura Riding, surveying modernist poetry—though modernists of course hold no particular brief for free verse—dismiss Mr. Blunden's own poetry in an aside; in which, however, they succeed in putting their finger on two of its principal characteristics, accurate observation of Nature and a tendency, noticeable even in the Nature poems, to become increasingly literary.[1]

Chance, Mr. Blunden says, introduced him to *Ellis on Sheep*. A similar chance would have persuaded how many others so much as to open the thick eighteenth century volume? But, then, even in the war Mr. Blunden looked upon himself as 'a harmless young shepherd in a soldier's coat.' (If he carried the *Night Thoughts* and a copy of Clare about with him, shepherds were ever literary!) And, truly, at the very heart of his poetry is enshrined the life of quiet English shires: shepherds and humble village folk, almswomen, hedgers, the baker on his round, gipsy-boys, and yokels sending the wet ball flying on the village green, while

> in and out
> Among them plays the mongrel black and young
> As pleased as any there, and lolls his tongue.

His verses are instinct with a love of Sussex woods and Kentish

[1] *The Poems of Edmund Blunden*, 1914–1930 (Cobden-Sanderson), contains practically the whole of Mr. Blunden's previously published work, together with a few new pieces. The changes made are slight, except in some of the early poems, which are now printed 'not in the corrected and modified texts which went into "The Waggoner," but in their original awkwardness, as it took the fancy of Mr. Sassoon' in the volume printed at Uckfield in 1916.

hopfields, of the lanes of Suffolk and the whole world of country delights—the stirring of the night wind and the 'rustlings of wrens in the ivy.' The appeal of London Bridge is that of the gulls, which

> all for a light-flung crust
> Fling us their wealth, their freedom, speed and gleam.

It is the lover of wild animal life who, catching up a suggestion from an article in the *Spectator*, writes of the birds coming home to Wren's St. Paul's

> From fallow and blue fen;
> Each flying to his mansion overhead,
> The guest of genius, sure of man at last,
> Though maelstrom roars and wild light volleys vast,
> Each calm and glad abed.

The lines cannot have been written before March 1926, when Mr. Eric Parker's article on 'Starlings in London' appeared. Among Mr. Blunden's early poetical writings we should search in vain for any suggested so pointedly by something just read. The war verses, 'Vlamertinghe: Passing the Château, July, 1917,' which begin with a line from Keats, hardly belong in this category. Yet now the poet, not content with complaining of the 'strange wrong' Shakespeare twice—chapter and verse are given—did the pale primrose 'whose paths are peace,' writes a sonnet, 'On a Biographical Dictionary,' and makes intelligible the very personal 'Nature Displayed' by employing footnotes to explain the literary references. The opening of the last-named poem is instructive (the poet is speaking of Nature):

> I loved her in my innocent contemplation,
> I felt before the need her consolation.

Our list could be extended. Poems of this type figured perhaps most conspicuously in *Retreat*. It is possible that Mr. Edmund Blunden is already turning away from them. Whether this is so or not, and whatever changes the future holds, surely it is well that a poet, having learnt once and for all to observe Nature, not as a naturalist necessarily, but lovingly and with his own eyes, can turn, as Mr. Blunden has, to writing with felicitous accomplishment of

> Nature's best gift, the calm delight of art.

The immediate reference is to a vocal quartet in a Cambridge presentation of *The Mikado*, but this is incidental; the artist's medium may be almost anything: a Birket Foster's or a Mr. Frederick Porter's—there is a poem 'On Mr. Frederick Porter's Room of Pictures, 1930'—the broadside poet's, or that of the 'most worthy art,' as the printer Ulrich Zel called it, which made

the broadside possible. The 'Sonnet On Receiving from the Clarendon Press the New Facsimile Edition of Christopher Smart's "Song to David," 1763,' is indeed a tribute alike to the printers of the modern Oxford Press, to Smart, and to the original printer, 'humble Fletcher of St. Paul's Churchyard.' To the world of books Mr. Blunden's mind reverts constantly, but at least he does not drag in out-of-the-way allusions for no better reason than to make his readers open their eyes at his erudition. Of course, books come in, because they, in common with the countryside, and the brookside most of all, have long been among his truest loves. Till he read, he owns he was tongue-tied. Like Ben Jonson's host, Drummond of Hawthornden, he 'first began to read, then loved to write.' But the boy already revelled in the wide out-of-doors who one day stumbled on some 'old versemen,' the landscape poets, Collins, Chatterton, and for whom the borrowing of 'old Walton' crowned a Lent Sunday's walk with never-to-be-forgotten joy.

Anglers, Walton says, are very honest men, and Mr. Edmund Blunden is an angler, though he modestly admits to a qualifying 'of sorts.' Among the Latin verses which he has translated from, and included in his monograph on, Henry Vaughan, are some lines sent with a salmon to a friend. Here is a sample:

> The biter's bit! the eater's to be eaten,
> The pirate by another pirate beaten.[1]

The translator, we can believe, thoroughly enjoyed his task. We should be surprised, nevertheless, if his fisherman's interest were found to lie chiefly in the size or quality of the catch. However—and there is no mistaking this—waters are 'old loves'; with their teeming life, in creek and pool, they are never far from the heart of Mr. Blunden's thinking. The war made no difference. Sussexward, from

> bright Ancre scourged to brackish mire,
> And meagre Belgian becks by dale and chace
> Stamped into sloughs of death . . .

thought flashed to 'lilied lakes' and the carp floating on them; or to the girl dipping her bucket in some mill-tail stream. Ten years later:

> What hearest thou?
> That swelling sigh and slow-rebellious moan
> Is the weir water talking all alone,
> The water, as at dusk through centuries flown,
> More audible now.

[1] *Dum captat, capitur; vorat inscius, ipse vorandus*
Fitque cibi raptor grata rapina mali.

Or, from 'Epitaph':

> Happily through my years this small stream ran;
> It charmed the boy, and purified the man;
> Its hollowed banks were my romantic caves,
> Its winter tumults made my ocean waves.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Even the Muse's 'melody unheard'
> For me is woven with this water's word,
> Since here I sat to read immortal song;
> The ripple played to that, nor answered wrong.

The even movement of these reflective verses is characteristic of Mr. Blunden's handling of what is perhaps the most common of English measures. 'The Pike,' written soon after the war, is not only interesting on account of its subject—'Perch Fishing,' written about the same time, is even more so—but gives evidence of a power already considerable to manipulate and vary the metre according as the sense dictates. The quickened, yet broken, rhythm of the concluding lines is masterly. We notice, though, that the last line of all introduces the miller. It is not often that Mr. Blunden writes of pike, perch, eel, tench, or any member of the 'finny tribe,' in entire dissociation from human life and activity.

Some stanzas, 'The Blind lead the Blind,' take us to a seashore as forbidding as Crabbe's; but Mr. Blunden's East Anglia is not the Suffolk of sea and salt-marshes dear to Crabbe. In fact, the sea does not play much part in shaping his thought, or even by way of suggesting metaphor or simile. We catch echoes of it now and again, and more in the later than the earlier poems. There is the picture of the clouds as they move 'indolently swift' over the ocean, seeming like embodied souls or thoughts—'each kin, and each alone.' So, once, to Rupert Brooke had Pacific clouds spoken of the dead riding 'the calm mid-heaven.' Both poems are sonnets. Then there is Mr. Blunden's 'Village Lights,' relentless, a little uncanny, remembered; and, among the latest verses, 'Under a Thousand Words,' with its picture of the one-armed three-inch crab defying all comers. Probably the lines

> *If sweet it is to be safe ashore*
> When the merchantman plunges into the trough,

had their origin in the voyage to South America chronicled in *The Bonadventure*, as certainly had the queer opening allusions of 'On Reading that the Rebuilding of Ypres approached Completion.' Quaintly picturesque, with its unexpected turn, is 'Inland Sea,' included in the 'Japanese Garland.'

In the minds of the untravelled (among whom must be reckoned the writer of this article) it may comparatively safely

be assumed that with Japan will be linked not only the picturesque but all that is Eastern and unusual. Yet those who have lived in Japan are, so it seems, agreed that the unlikeness between life there and here is less remarkable than the likeness. Mr. Blunden was Professor of English Literature at the Tokyo Imperial University from 1924 to 1927. In a prefatory note to *Near and Far*, and again in the first of the pieces which make up the 'Japanese Garland,' he gives us clearly to understand the small degree of difference that living at the other side of the world made:

> We moved . . .
> Into a most familiar country air,
> And like spring showers received it from the hills
> That stood from our old hills ten thousand miles—
> Or none; we paused along the yellow plains,
> And kissed the child that ran from shyer friends
> To take our hand.

Exactly like an English child. But, further, it has not, of course, escaped the critics that Mr. Blunden, being a poet, had undoubtedly the right to take his own world with him; and, since this is true, it seems a little unfair to blame him because a reader is disappointed who expects to find in the 'Garland' what is ordinarily and properly found in the book of travel. We may hope that 'A Japanese Evening,' [illegible] included in the 'Garland,' but immediately following it in *Poems* 1914–1930, will make some amends to the disappointed.

Calm and changeless temples set among the pines by the seashore, Mr. Blunden writes of them, but he invests them with no extravagant halo of romance. Is it fanciful?—but the sonnet, 'The Quick and the Dead,' would seem to witness to a faith out of touch with the realities of life now. Yet, as against this, there is the picture of the Oriental Giles who, as the poet tells his English counterpart:

> serves a god much like your own,
> Who, peeping from the rows,
> Brings gourds the greatest ever grown,
> And peerless pumpkins; smooths the down
> Of these fruits, lacquers those.

The religion of the unsophisticated. No doubt. Nevertheless, in spite of the present despairing mood of young Japan, they may be right who hold that educated Japanese youth is considerably less materialistic at heart than it believes itself to be. To all that is best in young Japan the plain sincerity and fine courtesy of 'The Author's Last Words to his Students' cannot but have appealed. The verses are a sheer delight.

Immediately before them is printed a poem, short, in free verse (Mr. Blunden uses this, not often, but if and when it suits him), which might be called sentimental. The subject is a small dog rescued in vain from a Tokyo street. '*Animula vagula blandula*, foundling dear': do the famous old lines, we wonder, come home to a generation, wide in its sympathies, yet certain of little except that 'everything's perfectly provisional and temporary,' as one of Mr. Aldous Huxley's characters announces? If, indeed, it is certain of that. In any case, the charming little poem introduces us to a tendency which Mr. Edmund Blunden shares with most of his contemporaries—a tendency, that is to say, to dwell on aspects, phases, of life and Nature, perfections or imperfections, which, for all that they have their own peculiar beauty, are inevitably suggestive of sorrow. The tendency appears early. The poem which gave its title to *The Waggoner* volume, though its resemblance to the work of Mr. Walter de la Mare is closer than is now usual with Mr. Blunden, is in this respect typical. Speaking generally—for Mr. Blunden is not blind to the bright side of autumn—'Time like an ever-rolling stream' is the burden borne in upon him, as upon most of us, by the winds and yellowing leaves of every year's fall, every November, every Advent. Quite often he mentions Advent:

> With wrapt throat in the courtyard of the farm
> Maid waits for maid; bells call them, arm-in-arm,
> To Advent prayer; the half-lit church is waiting.
> Emmanuel, come! now, parson, hail that light—
> God knows we need one in this glum black night,
> When even the owls and bats are hesitating.

When *The Shepherd* appeared in 1922 the war was not long over. It still brought dreams, wild, nightmarish: the curious will find some recorded in *The Bonadventure*. Over the greater part of *The Shepherd* brooded a calm which was itself a child of the stress and strain of the war years. What better than to 'woo lone Quiet in her silent walks,' with the author of *The Seasons*. The poet was more than content to put on paper impressions merely and to pipe his country lays. But at times in the early post-war years he talked and wrote of the war willingly and gladly. Poems which it inspired were included in both *The Waggoner* and *The Shepherd*.

The poet's experience of trench life in Flanders and France beginning in the summer of 1916, we shall not look to find in his war pieces anything of that exaltation of spirit which the war idea excited at an earlier stage. Except for the few who find in the soldier's life and in death on the battlefield a strange fascination and worthwhileness, the time for that was past. When he

went to France Mr. Blunden was nineteen. That he was to admire the call which came to Mr. Siegfried Sassoon 'under the conviction that things were going from bad to worse, to pull the line of civilisation together'—we are here quoting Mr. Blunden himself—we know; but we can scarcely expect him to have felt, at the time, a like call or to have made a like endeavour. Nevertheless, young as he was, Mr. Blunden was already, when he became a soldier, rather more than a practised writer of verses. The war poetry itself reveals a mind extraordinarily receptive, storing up memories of common things suddenly become uncommon, responsive to the changing moods of Nature, quick at all times to wrest beauty from the ugliness and desolation of war.

> Trenches in the moonlight, in the lulling moonlight
> Have had their loveliness.

So, the hare is remembered that 'left her seat in the corn':

> I think I'd know that twinkling field to-day.

Of course, these things redoubled war's tragedy. Who knew how soon all would be snatched away?

> 'We're going South, man'; as he spoke
> The howitzer with huge ping-bang
> Racked the light hut; as thus he broke
> The death-news, bright the skylarks sang;
> He took his riding-crop and humming went
> Among the apple-trees all bloom and scent.

The tones are quiet. Only rarely, as in 'Come on, my Lucky Lads,' now renamed 'Zero,' which opens in a manner strangely reminiscent of Crashaw—who was in no sense, of course, a poet of battle—is the colour heightened. Once in a way the poet slips into easy informality; not that with him colloquialism becomes slang. We see the battalion marching, and hear the eternal dripping of the rain. 'Third Ypres' is a magnificent attempt to portray at some length the hope, courage, tension and despair of battle. Mr. Blunden has spoken of the 'strong and Elian humour' without which some of his friend Mr. Siegfried Sassoon's war poems could never have been written; the same is almost true of the mood of some of his own. This is Mr. Blunden writing of 'Rural Economy (1917)':

> In sight, life's farms sent forth their gear;
> Here rakes and ploughs lay still;
> Yet, save some curious clods, all here
> Was raked and ploughed with a will.
> The sower was the ploughman too,
> And iron seeds broadcast he threw.
>
> . . . . .

> Why, even the wood as well as field
>   This useful farmer knew
> Could be reduced to plough and tilled,
>   And if he planned, he'd do;
> The field and wood, all bone-fed loam,
> Shot up a roaring harvest-home.

Often, however, Mr. Blunden's humour is droll rather than grim; that, for example, of the meditation on an old guide-book to the Netherlands (' Written when Waterloo was hardly over ') pointing forward unmistakably to the glorious whimsicalities of ' The Geographer's Glory, or, The Globe in 1730.' The one or two poems in which the war figures which were first included in *Retreat* and *Near and Far* are backward-lookings, obviously. Of them, ' Inaccessibility in the Battlefield ' in particular reveals a delicate sense of form and balance—so delicate, in fact, as to cause the stanzas to appear, in view of their subject, somewhat artificial, over-studied. But at least they are readily comprehensible. Occasionally Mr. Blunden's war poetry not only witnesses to a fondness for involved verse-forms, but discovers in the poet a certain indifference to meeting what, surely, should be almost duty: that, namely, of making necessary transitions not so abrupt and difficult that, if they are followed at all, it is only after the exercise of much patience and ingenuity.

For these reasons, and especially the last, the ordinary reader of *Undertones of War* probably found its poetical supplement stiff reading. Now the ordinary reader, there is no denying, does frequently demand what the poet is under no reasonable obligation to provide, and, anyhow, a poem can never be to anybody else what it is to its maker; all the same, there is now and then in Mr. Blunden's verses a lack of directness and clarity, which seems unnecessary and is not confined to the war poetry. If we agree, as we must, with the poet when he says (writing of William Collins) that there are ' obscurities with a heart of fire, enigmas arising from wealth of meaning,' Mr. Blunden would be among the first to admit that there are other obscurities than these. That ' half-ideas, verges of shadows and misty brightness,' do find their way into his verses, he himself acknowledges. And, indeed, there are times when their presence is not merely legitimate, but even necessary. It is not only that experiences come and go and are usually incomplete in themselves and incompletely understood, so that even the poet's vision must be imperfect; there is a vagueness which results rather from more or less uncertainty regarding eternal verities and issues—a vagueness which may itself be, but is not necessarily, of the essence of poetry.

Were, however, Mr. Edmund Blunden inclined to consider all

spiritual and religious experience as a mere daydream of the imagination, Henry Vaughan would hardly have attracted him so strongly as he has. Now and again, indeed, word or phrase—'magnetic' in 'Village Lights'—recalls the Silurist, and he appears side by side with the Patriarch in the line,

> O God that Abraham and our Vaughan knew,—

but as a rule both Mr. Blunden's manner of expression and his thought are his own. Where, in fact, he borrows—his habit of semi-personification, for instance, or an occasional phrase or turn ('stalled theology') recalling Young—it is rather from the eighteenth century than the seventeenth or, for that matter, the nineteenth. Strange, how rarely he reminds us much of Clare—perhaps chiefly when he is telling some simple country story; but the resemblance, like that traceable in the early poems to Keats, grows less and less. However, to return for a moment to the Silurist, there is, or at least seems to be, a touch of wistfulness, no more than a touch, in the lines 'The Age of Herbert and Vaughan,' and perhaps also elsewhere. Nowadays a wish ('would some vision of the eternal springs') seems to be about as much as may be hoped for. Still, there is Nature, 'mysterious mother,' and it is in companionship and communion with her that the poet approaches nearest God; which, incidentally, is why as a critic he ranks Vaughan above Herbert. We come to 'Report on Experience.' Here the bourne is crossed between *perhaps* and *is*. Of course, experience argues against the goodness of God; yes, but it is no matter, declares the poet:

> Say what you will, our God sees how they run.
> These disillusions are His curious proving
> That He loves humanity and will go on loving;
> Over there are faith, life, virtue in the sun.

It was not quite true of Mr. Blunden, even when he wrote *The Shepherd*, that 'he speculates and reasons hardly at all: his philosophy or his search for a philosophy is to be guessed—he does not even incite to the guessing'; but Mr. J. C. Squire's words—they had reference to *The Shepherd*—are much less true now. Nevertheless, Mr. Blunden does not often philosophise or dogmatise. He approaches Reality by another, the artist's, road.

Verse, after all, has not often been used to much effect to set forth formal reasoning. From Mr. Edmund Blunden's what we have come to look for is something very different; principally for the presentation of country sights, sounds, joys, sorrows: the new dug earth and 'patient ploughing horses,' the blue shadows of bream gliding, the tragic country sale, the farmer giving folks good-night. These things he has long done admirably well

That he can still do them 'The Meadow Stream' is sufficient evidence. But they do not constitute the whole range of his poetry, the scope of which is changing, becoming larger. Not only does he break new ground with 'The Nun at Court,' but Mr. Blunden is now obviously anxious not to be taken for 'a useful rustic' at best. *Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?* The eighteenth century, which knew its Horace, gave to the Town Mouse's exhortation first the one answer, then the other. Writers of our own day, who are getting to know their eighteenth century, are turning from the second answer to the earlier. Sometimes, despite verses like 'Chances of Remembrance' or the lovely sonnet 'Seen in Twilight,' it almost looks as if Mr. Blunden himself is. Even so the change would hardly seem to signify, if it be ultimately responsible for lines like these, from another sonnet, Sir William Treloar's Dinner for Crippled Children':

> Here walks the shade of Whittington in bliss;
> O greatness and good-nature, still you thrive.
> I thank my God, Charles Lamb is still alive
> In these new Londoners; they shall not miss
> The crown of life; here's Coram, Dickens, Hood,
> Christmas and Christ profoundly understood.

FRANCIS E. BARKER.

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THE TWILIGHT OF THE PARTIES

An eminent Indian, discussing the political prospects of his country with a group of Englishmen, expressed the opinion that the development of a two-party system was essential to the effective working of representative institutions in India. Asked why he held this opinion, he said that historically the two-party system had proved necessary in England; and what was good enough for England was good enough for India. Pressed to say on what lines he envisaged any possible development of two parties out of the chaos of classes and creeds and castes and nations which make up British India, he suggested tentatively that the dividing line might prove to be the natural opposition between the rural and the urban interests and outlook. Except possibly in industrialised Bombay, he regarded this division as a real and natural one, cutting across the whole field of Indian life, and destined perhaps to become politically its dominant characteristic.

It is perfectly true, of course, that the opposition between town and country has sometimes crystallised politically in the

form of parties. The difficulty is that in the modern world the country appears rarely to be strong enough to hold its own effectively in the struggle. South Africa is the exception; but there the circumstances are unusual, and it so happens that the racial lines run roughly parallel with the social division. But in Canada, the United States, and Australia, even under the pressure of deep-seated and long-standing grievances, the farming interest has not been able to do more than add a rather ineffective minority party to the political machine. Further, in this country at any rate, the division itself is becoming obscured. The country landlord is, as often as not, himself a manufacturer. Modern mechanised agriculture tends to become simply another form of industry. And generally the interests of town and country are rapidly becoming connected by so many intricate links that it will soon be impossible to treat them as really separate. This is particularly evident in this country, because it is so small. But in other civilised modern States also the same causes are working under more or less the same conditions; and they will produce the same results.

The obliteration of party lines is an obvious feature of contemporary British politics. The significant fact is that the new divisions which are constantly revealing themselves have no apparent meaning—they follow no recognisable lines. It is almost impossible to state in words, now that Mr. Baldwin has abandoned the Referendum, what is the difference in political theory between his followers and Lord Beaverbrook's. If there is any difference it must be one of accent or emphasis. The late Lord Oxford always maintained that he was quite as good a Radical as Mr. Lloyd George; and he could at least claim in support of his contention that the ground of the post-war quarrel, at any rate, was Mr. Lloyd George's association with Conservatives. The moderate Labour man would deny with warmth that he was any less sincere in his Socialism than Mr. Maxton; yet the proposals of the Labour Left as explained by Sir Oswald Mosley are much more favourably regarded by the Liberals than by the Labour Centre, and this although the Liberal group is popularly supposed to be rather to the right of the Labour Centre.

The picture presented at the moment by the party system is that of a kaleidoscope in which the various pieces jostle each other in seemingly quite meaningless juxtapositions, forming combinations also without meaning and continually changing. The inference to be drawn from this is surely that the two-party system has not been violently destroyed by a sudden catastrophe. It has not fallen, like a tower. It is just withering away, and the new forms have not grown up. This is not in itself a matter for tears. The two-party system is not, as old-fashioned people

are fond of saying, a 'natural' system. There is nothing particularly 'natural' about it. They mean only that it is the system to which they are accustomed. It is, in fact, a rare phenomenon which can work satisfactorily only in rather exceptional circumstances. It is open to argument whether it ever has existed in its perfect form, except for a relatively short time in England. Most of the Continental imitations have been palpable imitations: the two 'parties' have been mere factions without any real roots in principle. The great apparent parallel, the American two-party system, is really no parallel at all. For the American 'parties' have for years been nothing but machines; if, indeed, they were ever much else. Any great question of principle like Prohibition cuts right across these so-called 'party' lines: there are 'Wet' Republicans as well as 'Dry'; 'Dry' Democrats as well as 'Wet.'

If it is not necessary to lament over-much the passing of the old system, so it seems at least unreasonable to despair too soon of the possibilities of the new. The 'group' system is replacing the 'party' system. A 'party' system is a tidy arrangement of great blocks of politicians roughly bound together by common agreement on certain general political principles. A 'group' system is an untidy mosaic of small bodies of politicians bound together by some common interest. This interest may be a principle of general application; but more often it will be a particular 'concern,' the desire to see some specific reform undertaken or some definite set of interests championed. That is why 'groups' have been able to exist in the past in the bosom of parties—accepting rather indifferently their outlook, while agitating eagerly for the causes in which they happened to be themselves particularly interested.

This is a very important attribute of 'groups,' for it makes a form of combination possible which the 'party,' except shamefacedly, can scarcely attempt. A Free Trader cannot honestly enter a Government which he knows is bent on an orgy of Protection. He cannot have anything to do with it. But he can honestly accept office as the leader of a group bent on electoral reform in a Government pledged to electoral reform and pledged also to let the tariff question alone. He can do this though he knows many of his colleagues to be convinced Protectionists. A Roman Catholic cannot consent to take office in a Government bent on a campaign for the destruction of Roman Catholic schools. But he can quite well serve in a Government which he knows is not going to do anything of that kind and is going to do something that he earnestly desires to see done. It matters nothing to him that his colleagues are Protestants, or Jews, or atheists. And this is the sort of way in which the 'group' system

must work. The individual 'group' can never hope to govern in its own right: it will never be large enough. It will govern, if at all, by combination—that is, by compromise. An honest man will not consent to compromise on matters of principle; but there is no reason why he should not be willing to compromise on matters which cannot strictly be said to be questions of principle at all. There may be very good reasons why he should.

So defined, the advantages of the group system, a system rooted and grounded in compromise, seem, on paper at any rate, singularly clear in days like these. For in part the evident decay of the party system is due to the fact that it is almost impossible to apply it effectively to the problems of the day. On the simpler issues of other days—the extension of the franchise, Home Rule, Disestablishment, even Free Trade and Protection in its earlier, simpler form—it was possible for the wayfaring man, reasonably intelligent and tolerably well informed, to make up his mind. He could say 'Yes' or 'No' to these questions with some confidence that he understood what he was talking about and could give some fair grounds for the faith that was in him. But how is he to say what is the best way of handling the unemployment problem, or which is the most desirable form of Constitution for India, or whether import boards or a wheat quota are things to be desired, or how the activities of the League of Nations can most profitably be developed? All these questions require, even to understand them, a fair amount of specialised, if not absolutely technical, knowledge; and even then the answers can scarcely take the form of 'Yes' or 'No.' It is almost impossible, that is to say, to make them into party questions. The group system will not make it possible to answer 'Yes' or 'No' to them. What it will do will be to enable the plain man to choose for himself which particular action in the vast confused front really interests and concerns him, and, by concentrating his energy on this, to play his legitimate part as an intelligent citizen in the public life of his country effectively and with knowledge.

The popular prejudice against the group system is based on the belief that it will not work, or that it will work only very badly. This, in so far as it is not a complete delusion, is a gross exaggeration of the known facts. France has lived for the last sixty years under a group system. It has undoubtedly worked. It is said that the result has been an interminable series of feeble incompetent Administrations which are no sooner in the saddle than they fall off.

> One moment, and a kingdom topples down,
> Like an old woman.

But this very current notion is really a gross exaggeration. Some

of the modern French Governments—M. Waldeck Rousseau's before the war, M. Poincaré's since—have been long-lived even by English standards. Some, like M. Caillaux's just before the war and M. Briand's celebrated Government which crushed the threatened railway strike, have been as vigorous and able Administrations as any that have existed anywhere. The case of Germany is perhaps still more striking. The wretched German Republic, overloaded with debts, detested by a great and influential mass of its subjects, harassed by every kind of trouble at home and abroad, has had to work through a parliamentary system which looks like the group system gone mad. There are at present, I believe, twenty-three 'parties' in the German Reichstag: I think there have never been since 1918 less than fourteen, and they have frequently, and often at critical times, displayed a singularly obstinate spirit of faction. Yet the Republic has survived these twelve miserable years. It may be said—and it is true—that it has survived in spite of, and not because of, its 'groups.' It has been saved by three men—Ebert, Stresemann, and Hindenburg. But the point is not that the 'groups,' in the worst circumstances well conceivable, have not saved the State, but that even in these circumstances a deplorably bad type of 'group' system has continued to function. The wheels have not stopped. The notion, that is to say, that a group system is unworkable is simply untrue. It is perfectly workable.

The problem is how to make it work well. Mr. Ramsay Muir some years ago proposed a scheme of reforms designed to make Parliament safe for a three-party system; but they apply equally well, or perhaps better, to a fully developed group system. Summarised very briefly, his suggestions are that the Cabinet should abandon its practice of treating Parliament as very little more than a registry for its decrees; that it should no longer insist that its major Bills must be passed practically without alterations, on pain of instant dissolution if they are not; that Parliament should be given a free hand to propose and make such amendments as it sees fit in Government measures, and even to reject them altogether if it likes; and that the Government should accept the result and loyally abide by it and act on it. Finally, that, regarding itself as the trustee of the nation, the Government should not resign except upon defeat on a direct vote of confidence.

These proposals have in their favour common sense—for if they could be judged in an atmosphere free from the prejudice which surrounds these questions they would almost certainly be endorsed: constitutional right, for the powers which the Government nowadays claims and exercises are in reality a late usurpa-

tion: and the sort of justice which is a by-product of the honest recognition of realities. They have against them the vanity and self-conceit which makes any Government cling to any shred of power which it possesses even when it has become a nuisance to itself: the timidity and inertia which is a characteristic of all large mixed assemblies (the British Parliament not wholly excluded): and the rooted distrust of the British public for anything which looks like an ingenious theory. The more ingenious the theory is, the greater the mistrust of it.

With great prescience, Mr. Ramsay Muir's popular pamphlet *Robinson the Great* was published just about the time of the last General Election. The situation which resulted from that election presented an opportunity such as has never occurred before, and may never occur again, for the quiet realisation of the minor revolution which Mr. Muir advocated. In a time of profound depression a weak Government was returned to office—and to limited power; with no majority of its own in the House, with an abnormally large number of untried and inexperienced Ministers, and with a number of tasks ahead of it of enormous public importance, but not of the kind which give rise to violent party strife. It might have seemed that no circumstances more favourable for the quiet return to Parliament of some of its lost power could well be imagined. There were moments (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's exhortation to Parliament to consider itself a 'Council of State' was one) when the consummation in some form of Mr. Muir's reforms seemed imminent. In a very vacillating, half-hearted way, there have been faint movements attempted in this direction. The Two-Party negotiations behind the scene on unemployment, the abortive Ullswater Committee on Electoral Reform, and the Three-Party representation at the Indian Conference are examples. But on the whole it cannot be denied that Ministers have preferred to leave a tremendous and pressing problem unsolved, to ruin the credit and prestige of the great movement of which they are the representatives, and to condemn themselves to the thankless labour of men struggling with tasks too great for them under impossible conditions, rather than surrender powers which no modern Government ought to possess, or share responsibilities which no Government is strong enough to bear unaided.

It is worth remarking, in passing, that even in these circumstances the group system has not worked as its critics assume it will work. There has been no succession of weak Governments constantly overthrown by combinations of hostile groups. The group system has saved the Government. What has happened has been that whenever the Government's life has been in danger, individual members have, so to speak, 'flaked off' from the

various groups and by voting for measures of which they secretly, and sometimes quite openly, disapproved have kept the Government in being. But it is clearly a miserable method. Even as a temporary expedient it is very objectionable; as a permanent 'system' it is quite intolerable.

The truth is that the system under which we are living is a bad hybrid—a mixture of the party system and the group system which combines almost all the worst features of both with hardly any of the solid advantages of either. The first thing to be done is to get the corpse of the deceased party system decently interred. The late Lord Haldane once said to me that he thought it certain, not merely that the existing Labour Party would break up into groups, but that the present Conservative Party would do so also. I doubted the suggestion at the time, and I doubt it a little still. But I do not doubt that it would be for the good of the country, because it would make for honester politics, if the Conservative Party in its present form were to break up. I cannot see what public advantage is gained by calling things which are wholly different by the same name. Between the Diehards, the Conservative Right Wing, of whom the late Duke of Northumberland was so characteristically a representative, and the progressive young Conservative members known to mockers during Mr. Baldwin's Government as the Y.M.C.A., there is hardly anything in common. On practically every first-class controversial issue of the present day these two groups, if they were allowed to vote freely, would be found in opposite lobbies. Why, then, should they continue to appear before the public under the same banner? It is a kind of fraud upon the electors. Similarly, I think it would be a good thing from the public's point of view if the Press Lords' new party could be split off definitely from the old Toryism, with which it has really nothing to do. The difference between the economic theory of Mr. Baldwin and Lord Beaverbrook may and does tax the power of the nicest theological eye to discern. But the forces behind them are quite different and have different ultimate aims. The Press Lords' party is a 'big business' party marching under the gonfalon of a jingo Imperialism; it has scarcely anything in common with the older Toryism of Society, the Services, and the great landlords. Their aims are different. The new party cares little or nothing for the institutions for which the older Conservatives fought so resolutely—the Church, the Land, and the Trade. Though they both say 'Protection,' it is not certain that they mean in their hearts the same thing. The commercial Protection of the new Conservatism may possibly not prove compatible with the agrarian Protection, for which the older Conservative still sighs; and the shrewder farmers suspect this. The leaders of the Farmers' Union do not believe

that Empire Free Trade will really benefit them; and they may be right. But, finally, there is no evidence that the new party is really Conservative at all in the sense of being averse from change. On the contrary, it appears to be ready to face light-heartedly very revolutionary changes; and if it be argued that it is doing this to 'conserve' the Empire, the answer appears to be that it is changing completely the character of the Empire in so doing.

There appears to be no necessity to urge upon the Liberal Party the advantages of division. But it would be a public gain if the Labour Party could be compelled by internal dissension, and perhaps some external defeats, to recognise itself as what it really is, a combination of at least two and perhaps three groups—each important, each entitled to its full weight in the public counsels, but none of them singly, nor all of them together, entitled to dictate to the rest of the community nor to assume that the other sections which compose it are of no account. The body of the party system buried, the next necessity is to exorcise its ghost; to persuade the bigger groups, that is to say, to abandon their present secret hopes that somehow they may at some time swell and become parties again—possibly even (who can tell?) with an absolute majority. An effective end to these yearnings would be the long overdue reform of the electoral system—in any case essential if the group system is to become an accomplished fact. Proportional representation would of course end these ambitions for ever. One of the main reasons animating the stolid opposition to it is the knowledge that it would stabilise their groups.

The total destruction of a group would become a practical impossibility: as there are always some Liberals in the country, so there would always be some Liberals in Westminster. The action of the Alternative Vote would also tend to stabilise the groups (though by no means so relatively rigidly as proportional representation). But a condition of the acceptance of either system is probably the definite abandonment by the politicians of the ideas of the old party system. So long as they are still 'thinking of the "Old Un"' nothing is likely to be done. But when once they cease doing so, and an intelligent, though inexperienced, electorate is faced with the group system as an accomplished fact, then it may be possible to secure a public demand for reforms such as Mr. Muir has suggested, which neither the vanity of Governments nor the natural inertia and conservatism of Parliament itself will be able to resist. It may even be possible to use for this purpose certain strong currents of public opinion which are at present running to waste, if not worse.

There is one large body of public opinion which, exasperated

beyond measure by the apparent impotence and futility of politics at Westminster, is becoming hostile to parliamentary institutions altogether. It is growing daily, and becoming every day more outspoken. Shopkeepers and the smaller sort of business men, suffering from the bad times, are its chief recruits; and so long as the slump lasts it will probably continue to grow. It is unlikely ever to become so large or so powerful as to be a positive danger to parliamentary government; and if it did, it would be crushed by the stolid common sense of the rest of the community. The great strike proved that no one body of opinion, however well organised and powerful, will be suffered in this country to impose its will by force on the community. It is not the less deplorable to see such a quantity of quite valuable energy and public spirit wasting itself on a purely barren protest.

Another even larger body, in which the women electors probably predominate, regards the present scene at Westminster with bewilderment and perplexity rather than with downright anger. This body is acquiring the habit—quite intelligible from its own point of view—of throwing its weight solidly, whenever it gets the chance, on the side of the largest group in the hope of turning it into a party. It probably does not attend much to the programme of the group in question. It wants a stable Government with a sufficient majority. Mr. Baldwin owed his return to power in 1924 very largely to the support of these voters. The Labour Party made a bid for their support in 1929, with their cry for 'an absolute majority' which would put them in power as well as office; and they got a good deal, though not quite enough. The Liberals get almost no support from this body of opinion, because their group is too small to encourage the illusion that they might form a stable Government. The Communists get none at all: that is one additional reason why, even with a brilliant candidate like Mr. Gallacher, and in circumstances very favourable to them, they make such a miserable showing at the polls. For no one believes in the possibility of a Communist Government.

What these voters do not realise is that it is not possible to turn a group—even a large group—into a party Government of the old type in this simple way. The party system, for good and evil, is dead. A Government returned to power in this way will do one of two things. If it is self-conscious and realises that it is returned not to do anything in particular but just to be a Government, then it will endeavour conscientiously to do nothing at all—an ambition in which the last Baldwin Government very nearly succeeded. If it happens, on the other hand, to be guided by masterful and somewhat unscrupulous men, it may elect to turn a blind eye to the fact that it has been placed in power by the votes of thousands of people who are either indifferent to or

absolutely hostile to its programme. It will proceed to use its majority to force its programme upon a country which probably desires nothing less. And that will be not the less a tyranny because it will be effected according to the strict letter of the Constitution.

But if these and other bodies of opinion could be presented with the group system in being, it is probable that they would unite, with the practical instinct of Englishmen, in insisting that the conditions should be so altered as to make it work satisfactorily. And why not ? Our fathers won the just admiration of mankind by the skill and courage and energy with which they forged and wielded the political weapons suited to the conditions of their times. Why should we think, or allow others to think, that we ourselves lack either the skill, the courage, or the energy to fashion the very different weapons required by the totally different circumstances of our time ?

STUART HODGSON.

OVER-PRODUCTION AND CURRENCY

I

WE used to be told that the real wealth of the world consisted in goods, not in money, which was merely a means of exchange, and that a community could only advance its material prosperity by increasing its production of goods. Now we are told that this situation of distress and comparative poverty in which a considerable part of the world finds itself is due to over-production. To an amateur in economics this seems puzzling. But it sometimes helps to understand a problem if we can reduce its terms to a very simple example.

Let us follow this method and imagine an isolated community, the members of which eat nothing but oatmeal, and wear nothing but boots—like a sort of simplified Scotchman—and have no other wants. Part of them, it is to be supposed, will devote themselves to growing oats; the others to raising cows or pigs or some other leather-producing animal. To avoid complication we will suppose that the oat-growers turn their harvest into meal by their own labour, and that the cowkeepers make the hides of their beasts into boots. The oat-growers will have to produce enough meal to feed the cowkeepers as well as themselves, and the cowkeepers in their turn will provide boots for the whole population. Can over-production have evil results in such a community? Suppose that the oat-growers, by increased labour, by bringing more ground under tillage, or in some other way, keep on increasing their harvest. When everyone has had as much as they can eat there is still a surplus. If the community is absolutely isolated there will be nothing to do but to throw it away. Even so there is no harm done except that presumably there has been wasted labour and people have worked when they might have been idle. If the community has neighbours, the surplus oatmeal can be dumped on to them for what it will fetch. You may say, what shall be taken in exchange, since *ex hypothesi* the exporters have no use for anything but oatmeal or boots and already have too much oatmeal? First of all, they can take boots. But what if the cowkeepers also reach the stage of over-production, so that they can supply every person with a new pair

of boots a week and still have some left over? Then there will be boots to export as well as oatmeal. Well, they can then export both, if their neighbours will take them. It is true they can get no immediate return, for they want nothing else. But by some rudimentary form of international finance they can dispose of their surplus oatmeal and boots on credit, taking an obligation to pay them back at some future date, possibly with interest. That will give them a reserve fund, on which they can draw in case their own supplies run short in future. You may say this cannot go on for ever. Possibly not, but it can go on for a long time. The reserve fund may grow so large that the lenders or their happy descendants may be able to supply their wants completely from the claims which they have established on their neighbours, and to cease growing oatmeal or raising cattle themselves, and live a life of complete leisure. Or if they do not do this entirely they may do it in part, and to that extent they will get some good out of their over-production, if leisure is good. But even if they never have the need or the wish to draw on their reserve fund, but go on producing for themselves all they can possibly consume, there is no harm done. Materially speaking, they are as well off as they can be.

It would seem in this simple example that over-production can have no harmful result—certainly that it cannot lead to poverty or distress—so long as it is over-production all round. But let us take another case and suppose that, because the growing of oats is a more pleasant or easier or a more highly honoured occupation than the keeping of cows, the number and effort of the people employed in oat-growing comes greatly to exceed the numbers and effort of the cowkeepers—with the result that more and more oats are produced but fewer and fewer boots. From this it will presumably result that the quantity of oats demanded in exchange for a pair of boots will gradually increase, and that it may come about that the oat-growers, or many of them, may find their utmost exertion inadequate to produce enough surplus oats to purchase their requirements in the way of boots. In this way that part of the population, at any rate, will be distressed by being insufficiently shod. The bootmakers, on the other hand, will get all the oats they need and will also supply themselves with boots. But it may be that in such discouraging circumstances some of the oat-growers will acquire the habit of wearing their boots into holes or even going barefoot. In the latter instance they will no longer have any incentive to produce more oats than they can consume themselves, and eventually the number of boot wearers may so diminish that the bootmakers may have difficulty in finding people to buy even their scanty production of boots, and may have to offer their boots for less

and less oats, and so themselves in turn fall into distress and the state of being unfed while the rest of the population will be unshod. Here we have a case where there is maladjustment of effort. At first there is over-production in one line and under-production in another, with the immediate result that the producers of the first line are distressed and under-supplied, and with the ultimate result that their demands are discouraged by the difficulty of fulfilment, and so consumption of the second line falls off and distress spreads to the producers of that line also.

If it is permissible to generalise on so simple an example, our conclusion would be that it is not conceivable that economic distress can result from the general over-production of all articles, but that over-production of one line of goods, which is not balanced by a corresponding increase of production in other lines, may very likely lead to distress among producers of the first line, and that in time this may react on the producers of the other lines also through bringing about a reduction of demand and that a general falling off in material prosperity may ensue. To put it another way—over-production cannot lead to economic distress so long as it is general and takes place in all lines at once and more or less to the same extent. At worst it is a wasting of effort. But unbalanced production—that is, over-production in one line or more, which is not accompanied by a similar increase of production in other lines—may easily have harmful results and lead to an all-round decrease of prosperity.

One may speculate whether this—that is to say, an unbalanced production—is not the cause of some of the present economic evils. The index of over-production in any particular line or lines is to be found in the range of prices. When the price of an article goes on falling, not necessarily in terms of money, but relatively to the prices of other articles, it may fairly be concluded that that article is being relatively over-produced. Unless there is (as there may be in individual cases) some special explanation, such as an increase in the natural supply, which permanently reduces the relative cost of a particular article.

It was pointed out three years ago that the relative prices of most foodstuffs—especially cereals—had been steadily declining for a number of years. This has continued since. As the production of food is easily the largest and most important industry in the world, it would not be surprising if over-production in that particular line had come to have not only the primary effect of producing distress among the producers of food—that is, the farming community—but also the secondary effect of causing distress among the producers of other lines by reason of the falling-off in the demand of the food-producers for other

articles. Such an effect may well spread from one class to another until it reaches everybody.

It may be said, the matter will right itself; only leave economic laws to work. If foodstuffs are too cheap in relation to other products, less of them will soon be produced, and a certain number of those now employed in producing foodstuffs will turn to other lines and production on these lines will be increased, while that of foodstuffs is lessened. Gradually the balance between foodstuffs and other commodities will be righted and production will be balanced. In theory this should so work out, and probably will eventually. But we must not overlook the fact that people cannot or will not change their occupation very readily—certainly not in a year or two, sometimes not for a generation or two—although their occupation may have become comparatively unprofitable. There may be delay, therefore, in the transfer of energy to other lines, which is necessary if we are to get a better balancing of production. In the meantime there will be economic distress and discouragement among the producers of the line which has been over-produced. This will lead them, not to change their occupation, but to restrict their consumption of other lines, and the immediate result may be an all-round decrease of production rather than a rebalancing of it.

II

There is another factor in the present situation which not only has effects of its own, but also has a very important bearing on the matter of redistributing production. That factor is the effect of falling money prices. The quantitative theory of money, as it is called, is now coming into favour again. In general terms this may be stated as follows. Money prices are determined by the relation between the quantity of currency available and the quantity of goods to the exchange of which money is applied. If currency is abundant and exchangeable goods scarce, prices will be high. If currency is scarce and exchangeable goods plentiful, prices will be low. When the amount of currency available is increasing faster than the amount of exchangeable goods, prices have a tendency to rise. When the reverse is the case, they have a tendency to fall.

Now, the currency of the civilised world has for some time past been on a gold basis, which means, again broadly speaking, that the amount of currency is determined by the amount of gold available as backing for the currency. There are, of course, other factors of variation—*e.g.*, the proportion of gold which is considered to be necessary to back a certain amount of currency may vary from one time to another; but, in a general way, the

governing factor will be the supply of gold, assuming that gold is the sole recognised currency basis.

According to this theory, the world was in an era of falling prices some forty years ago because the production of exchangeable goods had overtaken and passed the production of gold, and therefore the amount of currency available was falling relatively to the amount of exchangeable goods available. It was this condition of things which led to the demand for bimetallism. This was especially strong in the United States, which at that time was a debtor country, paying its debts in produce, and therefore suffering most from falling prices. The discovery of the South African goldfields and their rapid advance into a large production reversed the situation. For the time being the supply of gold advanced more rapidly, relatively speaking, than the supply of goods, and an era of rising prices set in.

During the war the gold standard was practically abandoned as far as Europe was concerned. Most countries in varying degrees issued paper currency in huge quantities, without regard to the gold backing which they had for it. The natural result of this was a tremendous rise in prices. Since the war the principal countries have been gradually getting back onto a gold basis, in most cases after a devaluation of their issued paper currency. While the proportion of gold backing required for a certain amount of currency is now perhaps less exacting than it was before the war, a substantial gold backing is now considered essential, and it may be said that once more, as far as the civilised world is concerned, it is the amount of gold available which determines the amount of currency available.

But during the past ten years the capacity of the world for the production of goods has increased enormously. The progress of mechanisation, which is now being applied to agriculture as well as to manufacture, and the extensive development of power, seem to have removed the limits on production which existed previously. Production used to depend mainly on man-power. Now it is coming to depend more and more on machines and electricity.

Consequently we appear now to have reached the stage where the capacity for the production of goods is increasing faster than the supply of currency available for their exchange. For the gold supplies of the world have not been increasing in the same ratio as the production of goods. Nor does it seem likely that they will do so. The South African production will shortly be on the down grade, in default of new discoveries; and, as this constitutes half the world's production of gold, it is not likely that any increased production elsewhere from known sources will do more than make up the South African decrease,

if, indeed, it does as much as this. It is likely, therefore, if the quantitative theory of money is correct, that the world is faced with a long era of falling prices. For the supply of currency, being based on the gold supply, will be rigid or may even shrink, while the supply of goods is elastic, in consequence of the great productive capacity which now exists, and will always tend to rise whenever circumstances will allow.

It may be said, what harm will be done, even if money prices go back to the pre-war level or lower still? After all, the important thing is the supply of goods, and if there are plenty of these it does not matter whether they are exchanged at high money prices or at low money prices. It comes to the same thing in the end. The answer is that the end may be a long time in coming, and that in the meantime, and until money prices are stabilised, whether it be at a high or a low figure, there are very important differences to the world involved in the question whether prices are rising or falling.

In the first place, during an era of falling prices the burden on the community of those whom the Socialists call 'drones,' and the French more politely call 'rentiers,' is increased. During an era of rising prices it is diminished. The obligation of the productive community to the rentiers—considering them for a moment as a separate element, though of course, in fact, a great number of people are both producers and rentiers—is measured in terms of currency, and not of goods. This applies both to interest and to repayment of capital. If over a period of years a definite amount of currency comes to be worth twice the amount of goods at the end of the period that it was at the beginning—that is, if prices have fallen by 50 per cent.—then the productive community has to supply the rentiers with twice as much goods to discharge its obligation to them as it would have if prices had remained stable. If the contrary process takes place and money prices rise during the period so that they are twice as high at the end of it as they were at the beginning, then the rentier can only demand from the productive community half the goods he would have been able to demand if prices had remained stable, or a quarter of those that he would be able to demand in the case first quoted. By the inflation followed by the devaluation of their currency the Germans have practically wiped out the whole obligation of their community to supply goods to the rentier class as it existed before the war. The French by a similar process, but not carried to the same extreme, have reduced their obligations to their pre-war rentier class by four-fifths.

Evidently, therefore, it makes a great difference both to those who as rentiers have to receive and to those who as debtors

have to pay whether prices are rising or falling over a long era. The balance of interest in the case of an individual will depend on whether he is mainly a rentier or mainly a producer. The same in the case of nations. In the early 'nineties, for example, the United States, which owed enormous debts abroad and was a great producer of raw materials (which are first to be affected by falling prices), was most severely hit by the conditions then prevailing. Now that those conditions seem likely to be repeated the United States is a great creditor instead of a great debtor, and its national interest may be quite different from what it was then. Other countries also may have had their position in the matter reversed, or at any rate much modified.

The above effect of rising or falling prices is an important one. But there is another still more important, especially in present conditions. In an era of falling prices it is a fact, confirmed by observation as well as by theory, that business tends to stagnate, while in an era of rising prices it tends to be brisk. This does not mean that during an era of falling prices there will be a continuous slump, nor that during a period of rising prices there will be a continuous boom. For, apart from other factors which may enter into the question, both booms and slumps usually exaggerate themselves, with the consequence of reactions more or less prolonged, which will be felt, in spite of general conditions. But it does mean that in an era of falling prices the periods of business stagnation and depression are likely to exceed in number and length the periods of activity, and *vice versâ* that in an era of rising prices periods of business activity are likely to predominate. The reason for this is plain. When prices are falling, and seem likely to continue to fall, most people will hold off buying as far as they can, on the consideration that they will probably be able to get the same thing cheaper later on, and that if they buy now they will have something which is diminishing in value. Nor will they be anxious to engage in new enterprises of a productive nature. For they will feel that their capital costs will be high, and if the business proves profitable others will come into the field at a later date and at a less capital cost. When prices are rising, and are expected to rise still further, all this is reversed. People are inclined to buy at once for fear of having to pay more later on. Similarly they are ready to engage in new productive enterprises. In both matters there is a solid ground of reason for the attitude taken, and apart from this there is the psychological factor to be considered. When prices are rising most people are optimistic; when they are falling most people are pessimistic.

Assuming that it is the interest of the world to encourage the production of goods, it would seem to follow that, if we have to

choose between them, an era of rising prices is preferable to an era of falling prices, in spite of the fact that it is liable to lead to over-activity and to things being pushed too far, particularly if the rise in prices is rapid. A period of booms with occasional intervals of depression is, after all, better than a period of slumps with occasional intervals of activity. Assuming that either such period will end in stability of prices, the level of prosperity at the end of the first is likely to be much higher than the level at the end of the second.

This effect of falling or rising prices has a special bearing on the present circumstances of the world with regard to production. At a time when productive capacity has been so developed that it far exceeds anything previously known, it is not to be expected that it will be used in a balanced way from the start. Some forms of production will outstrip others. There will be over-production in those lines, not perhaps absolutely, but as compared with other lines. In other words, production will easily get out of balance. This cannot be helped, and we must look for the matter to be righted by the working of economic law, which, in spite of the difficulties mentioned above, will lead eventually to a redistribution of productive activities in a more balanced way. But such a redistribution will certainly take place much more quickly and more easily in an era of rising than in an era of falling prices. In the former, people will be ready to engage in new activities, and therefore will not be reluctant to invest their capital and their energy in those fields which are being under-exploited as compared with the others. In the latter, they are more likely to sit still and simply reduce their consumption. With rising prices the whole economic machine works easily and changes are effected with the minimum of difficulty and hardship. With falling prices the machine is clogged and expansion of any kind is much more difficult to bring about.

If human prosperity consists in the abundance of goods, it would seem strange that the development of an enormously increased capacity for the production of goods should result, not in an immediate advance in the general welfare, but in long periods of distress and restricted consumption. Yet, the latter may well turn out to be the case, if the readjustment of production is checked by a clogging of the machinery of exchange or by the effects of psychological depression, and both these things may arise out of a prolonged period of falling prices. If, therefore, the quantitative theorists are right, if a long period of falling prices is inevitable under the present currency system of the world, because the supply of gold, which is the basis of currency, is neither increasing, nor likely to increase, commensurately with the increase in the supply of goods, then the outlook is a poor

one unless some means can be discovered of expanding currency at any rate in proportion to the expansion in the supply of goods, or even, by preference, in a somewhat greater proportion, so that the fall of money prices may not only be checked but turned into a moderate rise. For, as pointed out above, a time of rising prices is more favourable than a time of stable prices—let alone a time of falling prices—to making the expansions which are necessary when production has to be balanced. That is to say, if we are to balance it by an all-round increase of goods and not by an all-round decrease.

Whether a means of expanding currency can be discovered which is not open to some insuperable objection is another matter. There are various means which have been used in the past, or could be used; but there are also objections to all of them. These means may be divided into natural and artificial. By artificial means is meant the expansion of currency by arbitrarily enlarging the superstructure which is built upon a given basis. To take a simple instance, suppose it were decided that a gold basis of 10 per cent. was sufficient to support the currency note issue of a country, instead of about 30 per cent., which is now regarded as the minimum of safety. Evidently currency could be greatly expanded without any increase in the quantity of gold. The objection to such methods is that, as the world is now constituted, it is impossible to control them. If one nation alone adopted them, it would simply mean inflation such as took place during the war, and this, once started, is difficult to check. Moreover, other nations would regard the nation which did such a thing as having gone off the gold basis altogether, and its currency would depreciate for international purposes. If all the gold standard nations agreed to act together, and to the same extent, this objection would disappear. But in practice that would mean setting up a supreme central authority over international currency; and no such authority exists, or seems likely to come into existence in our time.

Apart from the superstructure of currency in the form of notes which is built up on a foundation of gold, there is, of course, the further superstructure of credit, provided by the machinery of banking, which, though it is not, technically speaking, currency, serves the same purpose, and in fact provides the chief medium of exchange of goods in the world to-day. It may be asked, why cannot this superstructure be added to or diminished so as to regulate prices and prevent them from falling if it is thought advisable to prevent it? The answer is that the use of credit depends largely on the psychological factor. To use credit extensively you must have ready borrowers as well as ready lenders. In a season of depression caused by falling prices banks

may be willing to lend, but there are few people ready to borrow. When times are bad and seem likely to go worse, people will not invest borrowed money any more than their own, and a plentiful supply of money at low interest does not attract them. When times are good and seem likely to go better, they will borrow though interest rates are high. Thus, although the action of the banks in making money dear at one time and cheap at the other (that is, in making interest high or low as the case may be) may act as a corrective to some extent, it does not prevent the credit superstructure from growing when it is least needed, *i.e.*, when prices are rising; nor from shrinking when its increase is most necessary, *i.e.*, to correct falling prices.

By natural means is meant a quantitative increase in the basis of currency. The present basis for civilised countries is gold. An increase of the basis can only be brought about either by new gold discoveries—which is not a matter within human control—or by substituting some other substance more plentiful than gold as the basis of currency; or by adding to gold as a foundation for currency. The abandonment of gold altogether is hardly likely to be considered, so long as a material basis of any kind is retained, in view of the advantages which gold has in the way of indestructibility, non-variation in quality, and easiness of handling, though its advantage is less than it was, now that paper tokens are generally used for the purposes of circulation. The third alternative remains of adding some other substance to gold as a basis for currency and thus quantitatively increasing the basis. Of course, in order to be effective, the new basis would have to be recognised internationally, as gold is, either by all nations, or by the principal nations which carry on international trade.

Even if the nations were agreed on the desirability of broadening the basis of currency, it would not be easy to find a suitable substance to use for the purpose. Diamonds might serve but for one thing. While their production can be expanded, the expansion in all probability is limited. They have great value in small bulk, and, apart from any worth which might be given them as a currency, have, like gold, great intrinsic worth for purposes of adornment. But the fatal objection to them is the variation in quality. Silver was proposed by the bimetallists, and was in fact in use as a currency basis through a great part of the world's history. The chief objection to silver appears to be that it exists in too large quantities in the ground, and that if a fixed value were given to it the production of it would increase so rapidly that too much currency would be created—in other words, prices would rise too quickly. It is a question whether this objection to silver could be met by fixing the ratio of silver

to gold as a currency basis at a sufficiently low figure so that the low-grade silver deposits would be excluded. Platinum, again, might serve, but is open to the opposite objection that there is so little of it that it is doubtful whether the addition of it to gold as a currency basis would do much to relieve the situation.

But if the quantitative theorists are right, if the world is really faced with two or three generations of falling money prices, if at a time when the increase of productive capacity should be bringing about a much higher general standard of prosperity this improvement is to be seriously checked or even turned into a retrogression simply because currency is short, then it is incumbent on the body of financial authorities in Europe and America which guides and determines the policy of the world on currency to consider seriously whether some means cannot be found of averting the evil. For if no sound solution is provided it is not unlikely that an unsound one will ultimately be adopted in a hurry. It may be said that we should tighten our belts and sit still and bear it until the fall in the value of goods as compared with gold is over and some kind of stability is reached, even if it takes two or three generations. But as the readjustments which accompany falling prices are likely to be accompanied, for the reasons given above, by widespread distress and unemployment and under-consumption, the doctrine of 'grin and bear it' is not very likely to commend itself to the multitude, and in these days it is the multitude which has the last voice. The democracies of Europe may come to the conclusion, as the American democracy nearly did within the memory of man, that they will not be 'crucified on a cross of gold.' If public opinion should reach that frame of mind, it is possible that unconsidered measures would be forced on the Governments, either in the way of pure inflation or in the way of broadening the currency basis, without any provision of proper safeguards against too rapid a rise of prices, which would be harmful.

F. PERRY.

NOTE

In connexion with the main theme of this article it may be of interest to refer to the following suggestions which were published in a letter to *The Times* of November 20 under the signature 'Peregrinus.' These suggestions were based on the following assumptions:

(*a*) That it is necessary to continue to have a metallic basis for currency, in view of international distrust, which would prevent the adoption and international recognition of a fictitious basis on which there was no physical check.

(*b*) That the present metallic basis of currency, *i.e.*, gold, is

insufficient in quantity to meet the demands which are made on it, and seems likely to become more so in future, if a continuous fall in prices is to be avoided.

(*c*) That the adoption of a double standard is for various reasons undesirable.

The suggestion is as follows:

(1) *The leading nations should agree to demonetise gold, i.e., to abandon it as a currency basis, and to adopt instead, as the basis for their currencies, an alloy of gold and silver.*

(2) For the purposes of this alloy the relative values of gold and silver would have to be permanently fixed. This should be done as near as possible to the present relative values, subject to the consideration that the relative value of silver should be fixed sufficiently high to ensure that adequate supplies of that metal will be forthcoming For the purpose of illustration let us assume that the relative value is fixed at 40 to 1.

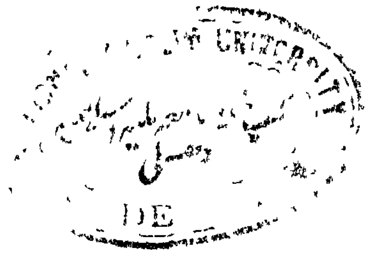
(3) While the relative values of the two metals contained in the alloy would always be the same, the proportion would not be constant, but would be varied as follows: There would be a series of alloys (a), (b) and (c), and so on. In the first year alloy (a) would be adopted as the metallic basis. This would consist of one part of gold to one part of silver. The value of the sovereign, the dollar and the franc, and so on, would be fixed in weights of this alloy. These weights would be nearly double (but not quite) their present gold weights. They would be not quite double, because there would be a certain value attaching to the silver in the alloy—*e g.*, taking the ounce of gold as equivalent to 4*l.* and the ounce of silver as equivalent to 2*s.*, an ounce of alloy would be worth 2*l.* 1*s.*, and the weight of the sovereign would be fixed accordingly.

(3) Supposing, again, for the sake of illustration, that the metallic gold currency backing of the world amounts to 10,000 tons. The effect of the change would be to add 10,000 tons of silver in the first year to the currency backing available. It would be doubled in volume and increased by 2½ per cent. in value. In the second year alloy (b) would be legitimised. This would consist of two parts of silver to one of gold. The weights attaching to the sovereign, the dollar and the franc in this alloy would be increased in proportion. This, again, would have the effect of adding 2½ per cent. in value to the metallic reserves available (assuming that no increase took place in the quantity of gold). The third year alloy (c) would be legitimised, which would contain three parts of silver to one part of gold. The quantity of this alloy, representing the sovereign, dollar and franc, etc., would then be increased proportionately.

Assuming this were done year by year for forty years, at

the end of that time the metallic basis of currency would be a mixture of 40 parts of silver to 1 of gold, and the result throughout the period would be the yearly addition of 2½ per cent. to the metallic currency backing available, apart from any increase in the gold supply. Even, therefore, if the annual gold production were absorbed by the demands of countries such as India, China, etc., which have not as yet established any metallic reserves, there would still be a substantial addition to the metallic currency reserves available. The effect, from the currency point of view, would be about equivalent to bringing a new Witwatersrand into gold production if the gold basis were to be maintained. On this should follow, not a rapid or excessive rise in prices, but a moderate and gradual one, which is most to be desired under the conditions of elastic production which exist in the world to-day.

F. P.



TWO YEARS OF THE FRENCH AIR MINISTRY

THE French Air Ministry was created in September 1928, immediately following the death in an aeroplane of M. Bokanowski, the Minister of Commerce in charge of Civil and Technical Aeronautics.

For the two years prior to its formation French aeronautical activities had been scattered among the Ministries of War, Marine, Commerce and Colonies, and the accident to M. Bokanowski merely brought to a head a long-standing dissatisfaction in Parliament and in the public mind with this state of affairs, which was alleged to be the root of the 'crisis of *matériel*' through which French aeronautics was then passing. On the creation of the new organisation the Air Minister, M. Laurent Eynac, issued a warning against expectation of a rapid improvement, pointing out that it would take at least two years before the effect of strong efforts in the technical improvement of French aircraft would be visible. M. Laurent Eynac, having been the Under-Secretary of Air in the Ministry of Public Works from 1921 to 1926, knew precisely what difficulties he would have to surmount. Not the least of these was persuading the headquarters of the combatant services that the Air Ministry was actually in existence. For many months following the decree creating this Ministry attempts were made to weaken its authority, and it has even now no power over naval air officers serving on board ship.

One of the first acts of the Air Minister was the appointment of M. Caquot to take general charge of all the Technical Services. It will be remembered that in the war M. Caquot, then a colonel, was responsible for the well-known kite balloon bearing his name, and at the end of hostilities he was in charge of the Technical Section of Army Aviation. After returning to civil life, M. Caquot took charge of a large engineering company, which incidentally built the concrete wind tunnel of the Technical Services at Issy-les-Moulineaux.

M. Caquot, in a speech before the Comité Français de Propagande Aéronautique shortly before the creation of the Air Ministry, had pointed out the fact that Parliament had appropriated only 40,000,000 frs. (320,000*l.*) for scientific research and

technical development (including the purchase of new types of aircraft) for each of the years 1927 and 1928, and strongly urged large appropriations for the development of experimental aircraft. After his appointment, M. Caquot was able to benefit by the results of his speech, as Parliament passed an appropriation of 120,000,000 frs. (960,000*l.*) for research and development in the fiscal year 1929, with permission to obligate from later appropriations a further 150,000,000 frs. (1,200,000*l.*).

For the year April 1, 1930, to March 31, 1931, a sum of 100,050,000 frs. (800,400*l.*) was voted, and for 1931-32 the Government is requesting a total of 136,120,000 frs. (1,088,960*l.*), divided as follows :

Prototype aircraft and engines, 106,600,000 frs. (852,800*l.*).
Research and experiment, 17,520,000 frs. (140,160*l.*).
Expenses of non - governmental laboratories, 12,000,000 frs. (96,000*l.*).

This sum is 6 per cent. of the entire aeronautical budget of 2,262,852,020 frs. (18,102,816*l.*) proposed for 1931–32, whereas the sum allotted in 1930–31 for research and experiment was 5 per cent. of the total appropriation of 2,024,852,020 frs. (16,198,816*l.*). For the production of series aircraft and engines the amount of 593,856,188 frs. (4,750,849*l.*) is being asked for 1931–32, compared with 562,199,785 frs. (4,497,598*l.*) voted for 1930–31.

The organisation of the central administration of the Air Ministry includes a civil and a military Cabinet, a General Secretariat, and the six following divisions :

(1) General Technical and Industrial Division.

(2) General Staff of the Air Force.

(3) Division of Organisation, *Matériel*, and Administration of the Air Force.

(4) Division of Personnel and Training of the Air Force.

(5) Division of Commercial Aviation.

(6) Division of Budget Control and Accounting.

Further offices directly under the authority of the Air Minister are the General Technical Inspectorate, the General Inspectorate of the Air Force, the National Meteorological Office, and the Central Office for Air Safety. The purpose of the last-named bureau is to maintain a complete documentation on air accidents and to draw conclusions from them of benefit to the various services of the industry by the issue of notes, regulations, etc.

As being of fundamental importance, the organisation of the Technical Services, the buildings of which are at Issy-les-Moulineaux, at the gates of Paris, deserves a rather detailed description.

At the head is M. Caquot, who is likewise the chief of division 1 above in the central administration. He is assisted by a co-ordination bureau and four offices. The five principal divisions in the Technical Services are as follows:

(1) Research Service.
(2) Technical Development Service.
(3) Production Service.
(4) Airport Service.
(5) National School of Aeronautics.

The Research Service is divided into four sections, dealing with inventions, aerodynamics, raw materials, and instruments. Its existing equipment includes a large concrete wind tunnel with a throat 9·8 feet in diameter. The propeller is driven by a 1000-horse power motor giving a speed of 164 miles per hour to the air. It is this tunnel which was built in 1922 by the firm of which M. Caquot was then the head. A small steel tunnel of 6 feet diameter has recently been added. The Aerotechnical Institute at St. Cyr, near Versailles, built by the late M. Henri Deutsch de la Meurthe, is attached to the Research Service. It comprises not only a wind tunnel, but also a track about a mile long for testing full-scale wing sections and propellers mounted on electric trucks. The Institute is under the direction of M. Toussaint, who is one of the greatest living aeronautical scientists, but whose work has been much hampered by inadequate personnel.

The Technical Service comprises sections for aeroplanes, seaplanes, lighter-than-air craft, engines, equipment and armament. The various metallurgical, chemical and physical laboratories, and the wind tunnels at Issy-les-Moulineaux and Saint Cyr, while administered by the Research Service, are likewise at the disposal of the other services. Flight testing is done at the Villacoublay field and engine testing at Chalais-Meudon under the control of the Technical Service. At Chalais-Meudon are being created a large water channel for testing seaplane floats and a huge wind tunnel of elliptical section having minor and major diameters of 29·5 and 59 feet. A one-sixth scale model of this tunnel has already been completed. The design is most unusual, the outlet cone opening into a large chamber from which the air is sucked by any desired number of fans, whereas in the usual Eiffel type of wind tunnel there is but one fan in the mouth of the outlet cone.

In the 1931–32 budget the Government is asking 14,000,000 frs. (112,000*l*.) for part of the expenses of the new research equipment, including that at Chalais-Meudon.

Among the most important work undertaken by the Research Service has been the development of the Clerget heavy-oil engine. A 100-horse power 9-cylinder radial air-cooled engine was success-

fully developed during 1929, and was flown in a Morane-Saulnier training monoplane. A 200-horse power model has now been successfully tested in flight. In order to have greater facilities for such experimental work a sum of 5,000,000 frs. (40,000*l.*) is being asked for a national workshop in the 1931–32 budget, a similar sum having been granted for 1930–31. The Research Service also encourages financially certain work done by scientists unconnected with the Government, and for scientific instruction courses have been created at the Institute of Fluid Mechanics in Paris, at the College of France, and at the Universities of Lille, Marseilles, and Toulouse. Research laboratories have also been established at the above universities, and the old Eiffel laboratory in Paris has been turned over to the Society of Aircraft Constructors for their use.

M. Caquot is the chairman of the Superior Council of Scientific Research created at the Air Ministry to give its advice on all questions regarding aeronautical research. This council corresponds in some measure to the British Aeronautical Research Committee at the National Physical Laboratory. The National School of Aeronautics is the successor of the former Superior School of Aeronautics, which was taken over by the Government and is to be housed in new buildings adjoining the Technical Services at Issy-les-Moulineaux. The courses beginning January 1931 will be given temporarily in the building of the former school pending completion of the new buildings. It is hoped that this school will remedy the deficiency alleged to exist in France in aeronautical instruction. For the fiscal year 1930–31, 10,790,000 frs. (86,320*l.*) was appointed for building this school, and the same figure has been requested for the year 1931–32.

It has been seen that over 100,000,000 frs. will be spent in the purchase of new types of aircraft and engines in 1931–32. The contracts have the following characteristics, which are intended to encourage the creation of new types and the development of design offices :

(1) The State pays for the expenses actually incurred during the construction instead of making advances the repayment of which was generally difficult to obtain. The design expenses are paid first, then the constructional expenses, and finally those for flight tests.

(2) The State assumes the principal risks. The constructor is paid for the industrial expenses, and if the aircraft fulfils the performances required he retains the right for licensing its construction. If the aircraft does not reach the required performances, the State becomes the owner of the machine, unless the constructor desires to reimburse the State for all its expenses. If

the aircraft is satisfactory in its performances, the constructor is paid for the expenses of tests and receives also a special grant. If the performances are above those required, an additional bonus is received. Further bonuses are paid in the event of early delivery.

(3) On account of its assistance and the risk which it assumes, the State acquires under the contract the right to construct the aircraft in any factories designated by it, provided that a licence fee is paid to the designer. The designs submitted to the Technical Services pass first before the Commission of Examination of Designs of New Aircraft, headed by M. Caquot. This commission may accept the designs as capable of realisation, may defer action pending the submission of improved drawings, or may reject the designs. The Commission for the Admissibility of Prototype Aircraft follows the tests of prototype aircraft both in the wind tunnel and in flight, and gives the Air Minister its advice on the advisability of continuing the tests.

The Commission for the Acceptance of Prototype Aircraft studies the performances of the aircraft by the previous commission, and gives each airplane a numerical value according to its quality. When an aircraft has been judged interesting, a contract may be concluded in view of its construction in series. The Central Commission for Aeronautical Contracts, charged with this work, already existed prior to the creation of the Air Ministry. Its mission is to draw up all the contracts prepared by the services of the Ministry. The Commission for the Control of Production must verify the agreement of the aircraft as built with the designs and drawings required by the contracts. The control of production has been reorganised by the creation of a corps of engineers, whose authority is greater than that of the former inspectors. The control of prices is assumed by a newly created office, which has a certain supervision over the estimates of constructors.

The Air Minister has encouraged concentration in the industry, and the first result of this policy has been the creation of the Société Générale Aéronautique, an organisation comprising the makers of the Lorraine-Dietrich engines and the Nieuport, S.E.C.M., Hanriot, C.A.M.S., Latham, and the Société Aérienne Bordelaise aircraft firms. He also desires to realise as soon as possible geographic decentralisation of the factories, too many of which are now in the neighbourhood of Paris for safety in wartime. For this object 10,000,000 frs. (80,000*l.*) was allocated in each of the years 1929–30 and 1930–31 to assist the companies in building new factories in the provinces (building of railroads to the plants, etc.), and half that sum is being requested for 1931–32.

The Air Ministry has submitted to Parliament five Bills regarding the organisation of the air force.

These Bills are on the following subjects :

(1) The general organisation. This Bill establishes the functions, composition and commands of the formations, as well as their relations with the military and naval commands, the air territory being divided into five zones.

(2) The composition of the officers and men establishing the peace footing of the air force.

(3) The classification of air personnel, which will be divided into separate corps of pilots, engineers, and administrative officers.

(4) Administration of the air force.

(5) Recruiting.

Pending the passage of these Bills, the Minister has taken a certain number of interim measures :

(*a*) Fixing at five years the maximum time in which an air officer may remain at one station unless on active service.

(*b*) Increasing requirements for receiving flying pay.

(*c*) Passing regulations similar to those for army and navy personnel regarding expenses incurred during flights.

(*d*) Creation of a new uniform.

At present the French military air force consists of a total of 144 squadrons—132 for military aviation and twelve for naval aviation. The total number of aircraft in service is approximately 1500, excluding those used for training.

The 132 military aviation squadrons comprise thirty-one day pursuit, one night pursuit, forty-four observation, eighteen day bombing and twelve night bombing squadrons. All these squadrons are for use in France ; for Algeria, Morocco, and the East twenty-six additional squadrons are provided.

The twelve naval observation squadrons comprise two for pursuit, six for bombardment, two for observation and two for patrol.

The air force has been divided into two parts :

(1) Aviation for co-operation with land and sea forces, comprising part of the day pursuit, observation and patrol aircraft.

(2) Day and night bombers and another part of the pursuit formations, forming an ' independent air force.'

The laws governing the independent air force were submitted for parliamentary approval over a year ago, but have not yet been acted upon. When authorised, this force will consist of eighteen day bombing and twelve night bombing squadrons. It will also include fourteen squadrons, leaving 100 squadrons for aviation for co-operation with land and sea forces. Each day bomber, armed with three machine-guns, can carry 970 lb. of bombs. As there are ten aeroplanes per bombing squadron, the 180 aeroplanes of the eighteen squadrons can carry about

87 tons of bombs. The night bombers can carry 1980 lb. of bombs; therefore the 120 aeroplanes for the twelve squadrons can carry 119 tons of bombs—a grand total of 206 tons.

From January 1 to December 31, 1929, French military aviators flew for 234,348 hours. Seventy-seven deaths were caused by sixty-seven accidents—one fatal accident per 3044 hours of flight. Between January 1 and October 1, 1930, the personnel of the French air force have flown 192,200 hours. Fifty-seven deaths were caused in fifty-four accidents, there thus being one death per 3372 hours of flight—a very favourable figure as compared with accident statistics of other nations.

For observation and day bombing purposes the standard aeroplane used in France is the Potez 25, which now equips one half of the observation squadrons, the Bréguet 19 being used in the remaining units. The successor of these machines is now being considered, and both Potez and Bréguet have entered the lists, the former with the all-duralumin type 39 and the latter with type 27—a sensational departure from normal practice, having a steel girder running back to the tail, the fuselage ending at the rear cockpit, thus greatly increasing the field of fire rearward. A third maker, Wibault, has presented his type 260 monoplane. All three models have 500-horse power Hispano-Suiza engines.

Within the last two years a new class has been developed called the multiplace fighter, and several squadrons have already received the highly successful Blériot 127 monoplane with two 500-horse power Hispano-Suiza engines. This aeroplane, built of wood, may be superseded in due course by the all-metal Blériot 137 (likewise with Hispano engines), or the Amiot 140, with two 700-horse power Lorraine 'Orion' engines.

For night bombing the standard two-engined type is the Lioré et Olivier 20, which is replacing the antiquated Farman 63. A certain number of a faster single-engined night bomber, the Amiot 122 (650-horse power Lorraine engine), are likewise in service. This machine has a range of 600 miles with 1980 lb. of bombs, and a speed of 120 miles an hour at 6000 ft.

As to pursuit aviation, one half of the squadrons are now provided with the Nieuport 62 (500-horse power Hispano-Suiza), which made its *début* in 1928, replacing the Nieuport 42. The rest of the squadrons are equipped with Wibault 7 and Gourdou-Leseurre 32 monoplanes, both with Jupiter engines, placed in service in 1929. Their possible successors may include the Dewoitine 27, Bernard 20, and Wibault 210 all-metal monoplanes, with Hispano-Suiza engines.

French naval aviation is equipped with Dewoitine and Gourdou-Leseurre aeroplanes for pursuit purposes, Levasseur 'marine' aeroplanes (with water-tight fuselages and detachable

landing gears) for observation, and twin-engine Farman 'Goliath' seaplanes and C.A.M.S. flying-boats for bombing. With regard to new types of naval aircraft now under study, special attention is being devoted to amphibians.

During the year 1929 a total of 162 new aircraft designs were examined, and among these seventy-two were ordered: thirty military aeroplanes, twenty-four aeroplanes for commercial or record purposes, nine naval seaplanes, and nine commercial or racing seaplanes. In 1930 this intensive development of prototypes has been continued, so that in two years 116 different types of aircraft have been ordered from the French industry. As far as motors are concerned, a total of twenty-three examples of eleven different types of new models were ordered by the Air Ministry during 1929, and a slightly greater number in 1930.

Prior to the creation of the Air Ministry all civil aviation matters were handled by the Service of Air Navigation. However, in April 1930 this service was abolished, and the work divided so that the creation and maintenance of airports are attended to by the Airport Service under the General Technical Director. Questions of air law and traffic are now handled by the Division of Commercial Aviation in the Air Ministry, the director being M. Chaumié. For the technical supervision of civil aeronautics there have been created three regional establishments for air navigation, based at Paris, Marseilles and Algiers, each one controlling a certain area and under the direct authority of the Air Ministry. It should be mentioned that the responsibility for the inspection of civil aircraft and the provision of air-worthiness certificates have been delegated to the 'Bureau Véritas,' the French equivalent of Lloyd's.

The six great subsidised French air lines are as follows:

(1) Compagnie Internationale de Navigation Aérienne (C.I.D.N.A.).

(2) *Société Générale des Transports Aériens (Farman).*

(3) Air Union.

(4) Air Orient.

(5) Compagnie Générale Aéropostale.

(6) Compagnie Transafricaine d'Aviation.

The lines operated by the respective companies are:

(1) *C.I.D.N.A.:*
  Paris—Prague—Constantinople.
  Prague—Warsaw.

(2) *S.G.T.A. (Farman):*
  Paris—Brussels—Amsterdam.
  Paris—Hamburg—Copenhagen—Malmö.
  Paris—Cologne—Berlin.
  Paris—Frankfort—Berlin.

(3) *Air Union:*
Paris—London.
Paris—Lyons—Marseilles.
Lyons—Geneva.
Marseilles—Ajaccio—Tunis.
Tunis—Bone.

(4) *Air Orient:*
Marseilles — Naples — Corfu — Athens — Beirut—Bagdad.
Bagdad—Basra—Karachi (to be opened in January 1931).
Calcutta—Rangoon—Bangkok (to be opened in January 1931).
Bangkok—Saigon (opened October 1930).

The mail will be transported by train across India from Karachi to Calcutta until agreement is reached with the Indian Government for an aviation service.

This company will also operate various lines in Indo-China, having absorbed the Compagnie Air-Asie, which had made preliminary surveys of the territory. The internal lines will eventually be extended to Canton and Shanghai.

(5) *Compagnie Générale Aéropostale;*
Paris—Bordeaux—Madrid.
Bordeaux—Toulouse.
Marseilles—Algiers (to be prolonged in 1931 *viâ* Oran to Casablanca).
Marseilles (and Toulouse)—Casablanca—Dakar—Natal—Rio de Janeiro—Montevideo—Buenos Aires—Santiago de Chile (with crossing of South Atlantic from Dakar to Natal by dispatch boat).

The following lines are operated in South America, the first two by the Aéropostale and the last two by one of its subsidiaries, the Cia. Aeroposta Argentina:

Maracaïbo—Caracas—Maturin.
Arica—La Paz.
Buenos Aires—Asuncion.
Buenos Aires—Rio Gallegos.

Various other lines in South America are under study by the Aéropostale, including Natal—Belem—Cayenne and Cayenne—Caracas—West Indies.

A great diplomatic success has been achieved by the Société Portugaise d'Études et Lignes Aériennes, a company under the joint control of the Gnome-Rhone Co. and the Aéropostale. This

group has obtained from the Portuguese Government, over the protest of other nations, a monopoly for thirty years for the transport by air of mail, passengers, and freight in Portugal, Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde Islands, Angola, and Mozambique. This monopoly will greatly increase the difficulty of establishing a non-French Transatlantic route on which the Azores hold a key position.

(6) *Compagnie Transafricaine d'Aviation :*

This company will commence in 1931 a service to the Belgian Congo and Madagascar from Brussels and Paris *viâ* Marseilles, Algiers, Colomb–Bechar, and Elizabethville. The Brussels–Paris and Belgian Congo sections will be operated by Belgian interests. One third of the shares of the Compagnie Transafricaine are owned by the Aéropostale, one third by the Société Air-Afrique, which did the preliminary survey work, and one third by the Government.

In addition to the above subsidised companies we should mention the Compagnie Aérienne Française, which, while specialising in photographic surveying, operates lines from Bordeaux to Geneva *viâ* Lyons, and Bordeaux to Genoa *viâ* Marseilles without any aid from the Government. Another unsubsidised firm is the Société de Transports Aériens Rapides (S.T.A.R.), which has a daily service between Paris and Geneva with fast Nieuport machines.

M. Laurent Eynac endeavoured up to the time of his resignation to bring about the consolidation of the French air lines into three great systems as follows :

A. Continental (lines 1 and 2, which have already joined forces).

B. Eastern (lines 3 and 4, which are closely allied through their boards of directors).

C. Western and South American (lines 5 and 6, already under joint control).

With the exception of the Air Union and Aéropostale lines, which have ten-year contracts expiring in 1934 and 1935, French lines operate at present under annual agreements. With the grouping of the lines into three great systems the Air Minister hopes to have Parliament approve a series of contracts of thirty years' duration, with the possibility of cancellation at the end of ten years and revision every five years. In return for its assistance the State would receive a quarter or a third interest in the company, the rest being distributed among railway and steamship companies, banks, etc. For instance, three-quarters of the stock of the Air Orient company has been subscribed by the Suez Canal Co., the Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway, the Messageries

Maritimes Steamship Co., and the Air Union Air Lines. The State would receive a share in the profits of the enterprises in increasing proportions, reaching as high as 60 per cent. of the total.

The question of subsidies has been treated with great flexibility in order to adapt itself to the necessities of operation. Every second year the subsidies would be altered according to the financial results obtained. Every five years they would be automatically reduced, so that at the end of fifteen years they would reach only one half of the original amount, and by the twenty-third year they would be only 15 per cent. of the original amount. A technical and financial control would be exercised by the State.

Specifications attached to the contract carefully define the obligations concerning the *matériel* and operation. The fulfilment of the contract would be supervised by the Superior Council for Air Transport, which was created in May 1929. Its function is to ensure the co-ordination and the rational development of civil aviation, and includes representatives of the Government, air lines, and pilots. The Council is assisted by two bodies—the Technical Advisory Committee and the Committee for Commercial Operation of Air Transport. Opposition has developed in Parliament to the long duration of the proposed contracts, and their reduction to ten years is under consideration. It may be mentioned that the subsidies for air navigation companies requested for 1931–32 amount to 200,000,000 frs. (1,600,000*l.*), an increase of 4,000,000 frs. over 1930–31, made necessary by the expansion of lines in Africa and the East.

The Air Ministry has decided to create a school for air navigation to maintain a high standard of air line pilots. The pupils of this school will be drawn from the air corps reserve and civil life. During the winter season pilots already in the employ of air lines will receive instruction. In this connexion the importance of the Farman school of blind flying may be mentioned.

In 1928 the French air lines had a total length of 14,750 miles; in 1929 their length was increased to 19,730 miles. In 1928 the total distance covered was 4,533,625 miles, and in 1929 5,862,275 miles. In 1928 the total number of passengers carried was 19,198, a figure raised to 25,256 in 1929. The increase in freight was even more striking, the figure of 2,549,462 lb. in 1928 being raised to 3,533,118 lb. in 1929. As regards mail, 287,449 lb. were carried in 1928 and 329,366 lb. in 1929.

The statistics for the first six months of 1930 are given below, together with the respective figures for the first six months of 1929 in parentheses.

Total distance covered	3,376,114 miles	(3,176,219 miles)
Passengers . .	16,307	(12,530)
Freight . . .	2,027,445 lb.	(1,671,061 lb.)
Mail . . .	233,398 lb.	(181,817 lb.)

As regards the vital question of safety in civil aviation, we may point out that a passenger or member of the crew was badly hurt or killed every 197,076 miles flown in 1928, and for every 325,685 miles covered in 1929.

Prior to the advent of the Air Ministry, passengers were wont to criticise the aeroplanes used on some of the French air lines, which were undeniably old-fashioned. Such aeroplanes are now, happily, almost extinct, and a number of satisfactory types are in operation. Among these may be cited the Bernard 190, the Farman 190 and 300, the Bréguet 280, the Latécoère 28, and the Nieuport 540.

M. Chaumié, the Director of Civil Aviation, hopes to place in service in the near future a number of new single and multi-engined types, most of which are built of duralumin. Aeroplanes in the first category generally have engines of about 500-horse power and carry 1600 lb. of commercial (pay) load for 500 miles. For the same capacity and range examples of the second type have usually 700- to 1000-horse power available, the greater power allowing the aeroplane to pursue its course with one engine stopped. Single-motored models completed are the Dewoitine 28 and 30 monoplanes, having respectively 500- and 650-horse power Hispano-Suiza engines.

Notable new aeroplanes in the second category are the three-engined Dewoitine 31 and Caudron 180 monoplanes, the Bréguet 390 sesquiplane with three 'Titan' 230-horse power engines, the Wibault 280 low-wing monoplane, and the twin-fuselage Blériot 125 monoplane. In this most interesting machine the crew of three is placed in a centre nacelle above the wing between the two 500-horse power Hispano engines arranged in tandem. Six passengers are housed in each of the fuselages. Projecting slightly below each fuselage are two Blériot spring wheels in tandem.

The largest French commercial aeroplane which has made its appearance is the Dyle and Bacalan 70, equipped with three 600-horse power Hispano-Suiza engines. Its total weight is over 14 tons.

The construction of single and multi-engined aeroplanes designed especially for carrying mail has also been encouraged. Among the new single-engined types may be mentioned the Dyle and Bacalan 80, the Lepère C.200, and Guerchais 6. Among the three-engined types may be included the S.P.C.A. 218, Nieuport

740, and Bloch 6, all monoplanes with small Salmson engines of from 95- to 120-horse power.

A considerable impetus has been given to touring and sporting aviation by the adoption by the Air Ministry of a method of assistance to clubs and private owners of French nationality. The scheme, which includes payment by the State of approximately 40 per cent. of the cost price of certain approved types of aircraft bought since January 1st, 1930, has resulted in an addition of 150 private owners in nine months. The scheme also comprises payments of 10*s*. per hour for flights after the first 100 hours and 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. per hour after 250 hours. For the purpose of encouraging private flying 5,000,000 frs. (40,000*l*.) was appropriated in 1930–31, and double that sum is being requested for 1931–32.

A word should be said regarding the National Meteorological Office. This office has a large number of provincial stations and meteorological posts, and its operations are considered a model. As accurate weather forecasting is the basis of safety and regularity of service in air transport, the French Government rightly believes that no sacrifice is too great to attain this object. The office is under that great authority General Delcambre. For the transmission of weather messages, the ordinary telephone, telegraph, and wireless telephone are used. The radio services are of three types:

A. A radio network assembling the data from the branches of the National Meteorological Office and from foreign countries.

B. A wireless telephone service to aircraft, giving them information on atmospheric conditions, landing fields, location of aircraft by wireless direction finding, and receiving information with regard to any incidents in flight.

C. Ground radio for the inter-airport service.

Three types of radio sets are furnished—the first, with a power of 2 kilowatts, with a range of 500 miles for telephone and 1000 miles for telegraph messages; the second of 500 watts and ranges of 250–500 miles; and a third of 250 watts, with ranges of 125–250 miles.

Night lighting follows the prescriptions of the 1919 International Air Convention, and the principal routes are lighted every 10 to 15 kilometres (6 to 9 miles). Emergency landing fields are indicated by blinker beacons. In addition to the above, extremely powerful searchlights have been provided at points near Paris, Lyons, and Dijon.

Further aids to navigation, including the Loth electromagnetic cable and radio beacons, are being adopted. The first radio beacon in France was recently placed in service near Le Bourget, and further examples will be installed at Cherbourg, Biarritz, Marseilles, and Lyons. According to present plans,

three Loth cables are to be placed at Le Bourget for the use of aeroplanes coming from the north, east, and south. However, this equipment would not be completed if the contemplated transfer of the Paris airport to a site near Versailles is carried out. This move may be necessary on account of the difficulty in enlarging Le Bourget, due to the presence of the 34th Regiment of Aviation. A further disadvantage of the present location is the length of time (almost one hour) taken to reach it through a congested section of the city.

It is hoped that a slight idea may have been gained of the enormous task which M. Laurent Eynac has faced and the really remarkable results he has obtained in completely reorganising many branches of French aeronautics. The scope of this article has been deliberately restricted to a consideration of the policies affecting *matériel* and civil aviation, no allusion having been made to the vital problem of personnel, which has occupied much of the Minister's time. It is devoutly to be hoped that Parliament will second his efforts by passing without further delay the various Bills submitted to it, especially those on the status of the air force and the civil aviation subsidy agreements.

JOHN JAY IDE.

MOSCOW TRIALS AND 'WAR PSYCHOSIS'

A READY explanation has been widely offered of the trial in Moscow last December of eight technical specialists accused of sabotage. There was (and is) a crisis in the Russian Communist Party. This last year's programme of the Five-Year Plan has failed (though not, considering the ambitious nature of the plan, so ludicrously as the Press would have us believe). What, then, could be simpler than to divert attention from party quarrel and government failure by directing it to individual sin ? It is an attractive explanation, made the more so by its conformity with other cases, some in other climes. But in its simplicity it neglects essential facts. If the Soviet Government had wished merely to divest itself of the blame for industrial failures, it might have executed these specialists without trial and then have announced their crimes through its Press—which could be trusted to give as much attention to them as to party dissensions. Such, indeed, was the method it followed with the forty-eight food specialists executed two months before. And, the trial over, the death sentences there passed were at once commuted. This clemency, unusual in a State where industrial sabotage is the greatest of crimes, has been attributed to the pressure of foreign opinion. The attribution is natural in countries where foreign views have a weight proportionate to the state of economic and diplomatic relations. But it has little relation to a Russia where foreign opinion is not generally made widely known, and where in the past the Soviet Government has not shown itself unduly sensitive to it. It is probably more correct to assume, as many Russian *émigrés* have done, that the specialists were guilty of some peccadillo—the acceptance of a present while giving an order is an occurrence not unknown in other countries—that the Soviet Government made use of this circumstance to compel them to take part in a mock trial with more political than judicial significance, and that, the trial having served its purpose, it in effect absolved the prisoners from the consequences of the major crimes of which they were found guilty, contenting itself with sentencing them for a minor offence which is still in Soviet eyes a crime. From the evidence at the trial it may, however, be taken

that its purpose was not only to divert public attention from industrial failures.

The evidence given by Dr. Ramzin, at once chief witness and chief prisoner in the trial, was prearranged from beginning to end. The introduction of a dead man's name into the indictment is proof enough of that. But it is to be noted that, although the Soviet Government might reasonably be supposed to have known what Dr. Ramzin was to say, his evidence laid more emphasis on plans of foreign intervention than on the failures in the Five-Year Plan, which, in the eyes of English apologists, the trial was designed to excuse. His description of the plans was vague and by no means consistent: he is an engineer more accustomed to discuss technical than political problems. Colonel Lawrence—now no longer Colonel, nor even Lawrence—had conducted negotiations with an 'industrial party' in London. The object of the negotiations was to prepare a revolt against the Soviet Government within Russia, to be accompanied by armed intervention in favour of the rebels on the part of Great Britain, France, and the border States. France was to take the lead in an invasion of Soviet territory from Rumania, while the British Navy was to support the movement from the Black Sea and to make an attack on Leningrad from the Gulf of Finland. Dr. Ramzin's account of the course of events after intervention was uncertain and contradictory: at one time Miliukoff was to be Prime Minister, at another no more than Foreign Minister. But if the evidence was uncertain on points of military and political strategy, it was more definite when it came to the rewards France and Great Britain were to receive for their aid. 'Imperialist French circles would have received payment of the Tsarist debts,' while 'imperialist English circles were to receive the Caucasian oilfields.'

The tale is fantastic enough for the most romantic of fiction (and incidentally—for the sake of those who read signs—had been forestalled in an English novel). It is doubtful whether, thirteen years after the revolution, the British public really takes any interest in Russia's internal affairs. And it is certain that the politicians who conduct the many 'crusades' against Russia are none the less wise enough to have learned the lesson of previous interventions. But for the issues at stake some of those interventions might, indeed, have been comic opera. One day some British participant will tell the full story of Yudenitch's advance on Leningrad. We have already been told how the Provisional Government of Northern Russia—supported by Mr. Churchill—was never sure whether to arrest its own officers or to flee from arrest by those officers. And even when the White Armies were under the command of such competent soldiers as

Denikin, they had in them all the elements of failure. The Allies were foreign invaders then, and now, after a decade of curiously nationalistic internationalism in Russia, they would be foreign invaders still. The White Armies were not always careful of national susceptibilities—officers in Yudenitch's army had the witty thought to refer to a newly liberated Estonia as the 'potato republic'—and the memory of those days remains in the Baltic States, as well as in a Poland which feared the unifying doctrines of Denikin. In South Russia and Siberia White methods, of necessity more straightforward than gentle, alienated peoples who at the time were indifferent to the nature of the central Government so long as it was not, like some Governments under the Tsars, unnecessarily repressive of national aspirations. Should intervention come again, ten years is not too long for those peoples to remember that requisition and execution were practised by Whites as well as Reds. And since then there have been changes which make the prospects of successful intervention even more slight. The Russian emigration is scattered over three continents, and many of its former members have abandoned their nationality. If within Russia there are many thousands of discontented people, there are many others who have a vested interest in the new *régime* and are bound to it by a party discipline which no outside organisation could hope to achieve. In Western Europe, where Socialist ideas—sometimes disguised under dictatorial forms—have made great progress since 1918, a new war would almost certainly be regarded by large sections of the population as a move against organised labour. Stalin himself laid his finger on this weak point when he told a congress of the Russian Communist Party that 'a campaign against the Soviet Union would kindle the fires of revolution in many a land, and these foci of revolt would be a menace in the rear of the imperialistic armies, disintegrating and demoralising them.' And lest his words be dismissed as an idle Communist boast, it may be recalled how after the first intervention soviets sprang up in Kiel, Berlin, and Budapest, and after the last a Council of Action in Britain.

But if foreign Governments have learned one lesson from intervention, the Soviet Government has learned another, recited in part in the Moscow trial. After Trotsky had reorganised the Red Army, the White Armies were soon pushed back. But before then Kolchak had ruled in Siberia and Denikin in the Ukraine. British troops had garrisoned towns in the Caucasus; Rumanian troops had occupied Bessarabia; Yudenitch had been within striking distance of Petrograd; and there had been a war with Poland. The White Armies had been supported at one time by the Germans, at another by the Allies. Trotsky calculates that

at one period the Red Army was fighting a dozen nations. In a military sense none of the White Armies ever seriously threatened Moscow, which the Bolsheviks had wisely again made the capital. But in taking over the government the Bolsheviks had taken over some of the problems which had beset the Imperial Government during the war and which would again beset Russia in time of crisis. Two months after the October Revolution the Ukraine stopped its supplies of wheat and sugar to Petrograd, and during the Civil War Northern and Central Russia, always unable to produce food enough for their towns, were cut off from the wheat of the Ukraine, the cattle of Siberia, the coal of the Donetz Basin, and the oil of the Caucasus. The blockade cut off from abroad the supplies—even, it may be recalled with shame by Englishmen, medical supplies—which before the war had to some extent counterbalanced the lack of mobility within the Empire. And in the comparatively small part of the Russian dominion left under their control the Bolsheviks had in consequence to resort to requisitions which were resisted then, as they are being resisted now, by a peasantry which lacks neither cunning nor determination when its mode of life is threatened.

These are factors always to be reckoned with in the development of the Russian State—or, if not always, at least until the development of transport shall have made Russia an organic as well as a political whole. There are others less permanent which nevertheless operate with equal force from the peculiar conditions of Soviet history. By its nature as well as by the circumstances of its foundation the Communist State is irrevocably allied with the Communist International. The degree of closeness of the alliance varies from time to time. Under Lenin there were few Soviet officials who were at the same time officials of the Comintern. Under Stalin, himself at once a member of the executive committee of the presidium of the Comintern and a member of a Soviet administrative body, the links have been drawn closer. But always, whether open or disguised, the alliance has been a source of discomfort to States in relations with Russia whose native or colonial populations offer fruitful soil for Communist propaganda. Even if personal convictions were to be left out of account, the Soviet Government could not afford, for internal reasons, to dissociate itself from the Comintern. And as a result there is a constant strain in relations with such States as Great Britain and France, and a more or less permanent lack of relations with the United States. Sometimes the strain becomes direct friction, as in 1927, when the British Government severed diplomatic relations and the Chinese police raided the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Always it induces in Soviet minds a fear of the possible consequences of isolation. That fear is increased by

conditions within Russia. The crisis in the Communist Party may only be temporary. There have been many such before. But old Russia was a conglomeration of many races and nationalities, speaking different languages, with widely different customs and at different levels of civilisation. New Russia has shed some of them—Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Poles. Others remain. For the moment they are, if not content with, at least acquiescent in a *régime* which has allowed more room for national development than any Russian Government before. But the Bolsheviks have uneasy memories of Enver Pasha's adventure in Central Asia and of the days when Georgia was a republic without their union, and they are not blind to the existence within and without their borders of an Ukrainian separatist movement. Their rule seems strong enough to control their vast territory. But in the last twenty years other agglomerations have broken up. Austria-Hungary is no more. China is a collection of provinces owing doubtful allegiance to Nanking.

In addition to these latent politico-geographical fears, there were others mentioned more directly at the Moscow Trial. The Tsarist debts are still unsettled. Among the millions of Russians living abroad is to be found the cream of the country's intelligentsia. And in an industry so highly unified as that of Soviet Russia a few ' wreckers ' could in fact, if they existed, work more extensive damage than anywhere else in the world. There has never been the slightest evidence to show that specialists employed by the Soviet Government have any intention of ' wrecking '—considering the consequences, they would be imbeciles if they had—but for the greater part they are still men of the old *régime* who by the Communist gospel are enemies of the Communist *régime*.

Most Europeans realise, of course, that intervention and destruction are not the surest ways of securing the payment of debts. European political intelligence has developed since Versailles. But the extent of that development is unknown in Russia, which to all good purposes has been a closed country since the Civil War. The events of the Civil War are in consequence stamped on the Soviet mind as types of European activity : France is interventionist ; Great Britain hankers after her debts ; border States are potential allies of the Whites. News from abroad has gone into Russia since : the official Tass Agency has an army of correspondents. But that news has more propagandist than informative value. Soon after the ' International Red Day ' of May 1 last year I had occasion to look at a copy of the Leningrad *Pravda* of May 2. Its front page was taken up with reports of the day from a dozen capitals. Each report told, with

the necessary circumstantial variations on the general theme, of conflicts between workers and police. In Warsaw there had been bloodshed, in London riots. As these disturbances were not reported anywhere else I could only assume that they were at least somewhat magnified in the description. Yet in other respects the Leningrad *Pravda* is a good paper; its reports of industrial activities within the Soviet Union and abroad are well informed. Where political news is concerned, however, it is as much liable to error as the rest of the Soviet Press. As it is from this Press that the peoples of Russia obtain their information, it is perhaps natural that their conception of conditions abroad should differ a little from our own. Their rulers are little better off. Of those who have lived abroad, some have stayed there, refusing to return. Others are in exile. The few who, like Litvinoff, still hold high office refrain from contradiction. Stalin himself sees few people from abroad, and those few Communists who, from Communist optimism or for the sake of their own good fortune, are not likely to enlighten him. The remnants of the intelligentsia still left in Russia may know better, but are unlikely to say so. While the millions who have grown up under Bolshevist education believe implicitly in a world divided between Communist Russia and capitalists arming to attack her.

It is not, therefore, surprising that Stalin, speaking at the sixteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party last year, should express a fear that in consequence of the economic crisis of capitalism—*anglice*, world trade depression—'the capitalist State' (note the singular) was 'furiously arming and rearming' with a view to making war on the Soviet Union And if it seems surprising to us that anyone in Russia should take him seriously, that is because our view of post-war history is based on substantially accurate information and uncoloured by memories of a civil war which split Russia into a dozen republics. The 'war psychosis' is a natural development in Russia, and is indeed the thread which runs through Soviet foreign policy. It is at the root of Soviet proposals for complete disarmament. It inspired the Soviet Press to interpret Locarno as a move to detach Germany from her Russian alliance. More recently it has been shown in Soviet opposition to the Latvian-Lithuanian Treaty—a small matter, but one in which Soviet politicians, with the exaggeration customary in people suffering from delusions, see an attempt to draw Lithuania into a Polish-Baltic orbit.

It is therefore possible—in dealing with people of such tortuous mind certainty is the last thing to be expected—that in preparing the Moscow Trial the Soviet Government was sincerely inspired by a fear of intervention. That motive, of course, did not go

alone, and the manner of its expression has led many people in England to regard it as a blind. But to the people of Moscow it was an act in the drama of that 'theatricalised life' which Evreinoff long ago preached to the Bolsheviks. And their cheers when the prisoners were sentenced suggest that they at least saw some reality behind the drama.

W. H. HINDLE.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA AND AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION

It is thirty years since the six Australian Colonies, by a majority of the votes of the parliamentary electors in each colony, agreed to unite in what is described in the preamble to the Commonwealth Constitution as 'one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.' Unquestionably there are numbers of people, especially in Western Australia, who are to-day dissatisfied with the working of the Constitution then established. Prior to federal union it was generally understood that the institution of the Commonwealth meant that the national concerns of Australia would be controlled by the national Parliament, whilst the domestic concerns of each of the Australian Colonies would be left to the control of the then existing Colonial Parliaments or, as they later became, State Parliaments. In other words, each Colonial Legislature, whilst surrendering to the Commonwealth Parliament the exclusive right to deal with national affairs, would still have full power regarding the sale and settlement of land, education, municipal government, administration of justice, public health, and other such matters, including all those matters not specified in the Commonwealth Constitution as coming within the range of Commonwealth control. In short, the States were to have an ample measure of Home Rule, and State Parliaments were not to be subordinate to the Commonwealth Parliament. The general interpretation of national concerns during the struggle for federal union were defence, external affairs, postal and telegraphic services, naturalisation, lighthouses, quarantine, immigration, currency and coinage, patents, trade-marks, copyrights, marriage, and a few other similar questions. Even a casual examination of the powers of the Commonwealth Parliament as set out in the Constitution shows that they extend beyond that, but the great mass of the federal electors who voted in favour of Federation did not study the Constitution closely, and were largely influenced by the sentiment of nation-building as expressed by the cry 'One People, One Flag, One Destiny,' and, as Mr. Barton expressed it, 'A Continent for a Nation and a Nation for a Continent.'

In practice the powers of the Federal Parliament have been interpreted to extend far beyond what seem to have been the intentions of the framers of the Constitution. Commonwealth legislation and administration now both directly and indirectly affect not only national but also domestic concerns. It is but human to seek power, and the Commonwealth, at the instigation of Commonwealth members of Parliament, has been extending its powers further and further. Its aggrandisement has been assisted by certain High Court decisions. For example, the Commonwealth Constitution, section 51, provides that the Commonwealth Parliament may deal with :

> Conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of one State.

The limitation that was evidently intended has been rendered almost nugatory by a High Court decision that there is 'an invisible bond' that unites people engaged in the same class of work in the different States. Furthermore, Federal jurisdiction, as regards wages, hours of work and conditions, prevails over State Government employees, including those engaged on State Government Railways, in a way that would probably surprise the framers of the Commonwealth Constitution were they alive. As a result of the existence of Federal and State Arbitration Courts overlapping, there is much confusion and often contradictory decisions. As another example of a High Court decision extending Commonwealth powers it may be mentioned that the Commonwealth Constitution, section 114, states that

> a State shall not impose any tax on property of any kind belonging to the Commonwealth nor shall the Commonwealth impose any tax on property of any kind belonging to a State.

Despite this, the Commonwealth collected Customs revenue on importations by State Governments such as railway requirements. The action of the Commonwealth was brought before the High Court, which ruled that the imposition of Customs duties was not a tax as contemplated by section 114. This decision has caused enormous sums to be collected by the Commonwealth on loan expenditure on imports for State Governments.

Adverse critics of the Commonwealth Constitution also urge that the aggrandisement of the Commonwealth has been fostered in consequence of the Senate failing to be the guardian of the rights of the States. Each of the States has six members in the Senate, so that there is equality of State voting power in that Chamber. What has happened is that to a considerable extent the Senate is more influenced by mere political party considerations than by the idea of State rights. Labour members have

been often in a majority there, and they are controlled by decisions of the Australian Labour Party, which is dominated by the industrial workers of the Eastern States, most of whom favour Unification.

Fault is found with the treatment of the States by the Commonwealth in the matter of finance. Section 94 of the Commonwealth Constitution lays down that the Commonwealth Parliament

may provide on such basis as it deems fair for the monthly payment to the several States of all surplus revenue of the Commonwealth.

Legislation was passed appropriating the surplus to a trust account for future needs. This meant that there was no surplus to be handed over to the States. The constitutional validity of the practice was challenged in the High Court by the State of New South Wales, but unsuccessfully. An arrangement was made whereby for a number of years 25*s*. per head of population was paid to each of the States, with a special grant to Western Australia by reason of the large *per capita* contribution of the western State to Customs revenue. Subsequently other financial arrangements were made, but in all of these it is contended by advocates of State rights that the Commonwealth has not given the States as substantial a share of Customs revenue as the importance and expense of the work of the State Legislatures deserve. The latter have to carry out unremunerative services such as free education and the administration of justice, as well as land settlement, with all the heavy cost that it entails. The extension of settlement calls for new railways, additional funds for agricultural bank advances, provision for water supply, further schools, and other heavy expenditure that has to be provided out of State money.

In addition, advocates of State rights urge that the Commonwealth has not confined its money-raising efforts to the field of indirect taxation, but has also imposed heavy taxes on incomes, land, and property of deceased persons. In this way citizens have to pay Federal as well as State income and land taxes, and there are also two sets of probate duties. Another action of the Commonwealth authorities that excited indignation was the institution of a Commonwealth Savings Bank, with branches at post offices, that came into competition with the Government Savings Banks of the six State Governments.

In Western Australia and other States that depend chiefly on primary industries much hostility has been aroused by the exorbitant protective tariff. For many years prior to Federation, Victoria had a high protective tariff against the other Australian Colonies and the outside world. Several factories had been established in Victoria, and the people of Victoria when Federa-

tion was established, influenced mainly by the late Mr. David Syme, of the Melbourne *Age*, sent to the first Commonwealth Parliament an almost solid block of members pledged to support a protectionist federal tariff. Victorian factories wished to be protected from competition outside of Australia whilst securing, through the medium of inter-State free trade, access to the markets of the rest of the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister, Sir Edmund Barton, favoured protection, and his views were supported by Mr. C. C. Kingston, of South Australia, Mr. Deakin and Sir George Turner, of Victoria, Sir John Forrest, of Western Australia, and Sir William Lyne, of New South Wales. Sir George Reid, who favoured a revenue tariff, led the Opposition, and only a few votes divided the two parties on the fiscal issue in the first Commonwealth Parliament. What Sir George Reid predicted has been borne out by results. Protection having been once established, the cost of living rose and wages increased without bringing extra advantages to the wage-earners, and then further protection was demanded to meet the increase in cost of production, and that was followed by further wage increases, and so the vicious circle was established.

To-day protection in Australia has been productive of extraordinary results. Senator Sir Hal Colebatch recently showed that, as the outcome of a Commonwealth duty, a bonus, and certain railway preferences enjoyed by the one company manufacturing galvanised iron, the direct and indirect advantages over imported galvanised iron amount to 10*l*. per week for each of the 900 men employed by the company! Yet the imported article was a successful competitor, and it was lately said that only the prohibition of the importation of galvanised iron would save the galvanised iron industry. On September 27 last the company closed its works, and then the Federal Cabinet decided to cease payment to the manufacturer of the bounty of 3*l*. 3*s*. a ton, but to prohibit importation. Several similar cases can be quoted. The enormous prices charged in Australia for machinery, tools of trade, fencing, and all the requirements of the mining, agricultural, and pastoral industries have been a heavy handicap on primary producers. Sugar costs in Australia four times the price at which it can be purchased outside of Australia, and Australian butter is selling in London at 6*d*. per pound less than Australian butter can be purchased in Australia.

The advocates in Western Australia for secession from the Commonwealth claim that the disabilities of Federation fall on the western State with special severity. They believe, and not without justification, that their State has the brightest future of the six States of the Union. Its area covers one-third of the Australian continent; its climate varies from that of the tropics in the north

to the mild temperature of the Albany and Esperance districts, where the atmospheric conditions are not unlike those prevailing in Devon and Cornwall. It is the least developed of all the States, and the sparseness of its population, especially in the north, is a menace to the safety of Australia, in view of the earth hunger amongst foreign nations. The filling of its vacant spaces is as much a national as a State question, and in promoting land settlement and the development of Australia's national resources no State has so heavy a task as Western Australia. Nowhere in Australia is there more scope for legitimate expenditure. The population of the State is but 420,000. Factories that have resulted from the Commonwealth's protective policy are established in the eastern States, mostly in the neighbourhood of Melbourne and Sydney. A tariff that may suit New South Wales or Victoria, and create employment there, does not in any way benefit Western Australia, but, on the contrary, often creates unemployment by shutting down mines or lessening agricultural activity in consequence of increased prices. A Federal Royal Commission, consisting of three members in no way associated with Western Australia, appointed in 1924 to inquire how the finances of Western Australia were affected by Federation, reported ' that whatever benefit the Commonwealth protectionist policy may have conferred upon other States of the Commonwealth it has not benefited the State of Western Australia.' The report added : ' it is impossible to give the primary producers of Western Australia relief by way of reduced Customs tariff without injuring the secondary industries of the Eastern States.' Western Australia suffers all the disadvantages and none of the advantages of Protection. When Western Australian people sought to establish a jam factory, inter-State free trade permitted eastern States jam manufacturers to sell jam in Western Australia at a lower rate than it was sold in Melbourne and Sydney, until the local factory had to shut down. Western Australian boot and textile industries were also destroyed by similar means.

The Navigation Act, in limiting to Australian vessels the right to carry passengers and cargo from one Australian port to another, has been strongly objected to in the island State of Tasmania, and also in Western Australia, which has scattered settlements along a coast line of 3500 miles. The Federal Royal Commission already referred to recommend that the portion of the Navigation Act having reference to the coasting trade should be repealed. Nothing in the direction of carrying out that recommendation has been done so far. The Commission also recommended with reference to the tariff that ' the only effective means of removing the chief disability of Western Australia is to restore to the State for a period of twenty-five years the absolute

control of its own Customs and Excise.' Inasmuch as the Commonwealth Constitution provides for inter-State free trade, it would be difficult to give effect to this recommendation, even if it were thought desirable. One of the three Commissioners, Mr. Entwistle, gave encouragement to the secessionists in Western Australia by a minority report in which he said:

> In my opinion Western Australia should never have entered the Federation, but having done so I feel convinced there is only one complete and satisfactory remedy for her present difficulties, viz. secession.

The objections to Federation referred to in this article constitute the main source of the dissatisfaction manifested in the talk of seceding from the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Constitution provides no machinery by which any State can secede, and to amend the Constitution is a difficult task involving the approval of a majority of the electors in a majority of the States and a majority of the whole of the electors of the Commonwealth. As the Commonwealth Constitution is part of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, some advocates of secession in Western Australia say that what the Imperial Parliament can do it can undo, and urge that an appeal be made to secure the passage of Imperial legislation to enable Western Australia to withdraw from the Federal partnership. That is mere speculation, and it is by no means certain that Western Australia really wants secession. It certainly has some formidable supporters. The Premier, Sir James Mitchell, who favours it, has said that he would prefer Western Australia to be one of the Dominions of the Empire rather than a State of the Commonwealth. On the other hand, the Labour Party, who form a large body of the people, would not be likely to support secession, neither has it met with the approval of the Returned Soldiers' Association, whilst the Australian Natives Association has definitely declared against it. The sentiment in favour of Australian unity has been always powerful, and it was greatly strengthened during the war, in which the troops fought, not as Victorians or Tasmanians, but as Australians. However, though there are but few supporters of unification in Western Australia, the movement in Sydney and Melbourne towards unification appears to be growing. The ex-Labour Premier, Mr. Collier, is reported on January 28, 1928, to have said:

> We have six States, poor and needy, and a rich bloated Commonwealth ending each year with fat surpluses that are the sign manual of bad government. . . . Bit by bit the Federal authority is growing at the expense of the States. We are drifting as sure as fate towards unification. That means ruin. This enormous country cannot be governed from a political centre by men almost entirely ignorant of conditions in the far corners of the land.

The idea of a Parliament such as would exist under unification sitting at Canberra to control the domestic affairs of Western Australia is repellent to Western Australians, and there are many of them who support secession as a counterblast to the eastern States' advocacy of unification. They dread the growing power of the Commonwealth Legislature, and fear the views expressed by the *Australian Worker* of May 7, 1930:

> State Parliaments will go in the inexorable process of the years. The Senate also will go because it was created as an anti-national spirit to preserve the inviolability of the parish pump. But the job confronting us of the present generation is to secure complete power to the whole united people of Australia and thus pave the way to the final and unlimited triumph of the Labour movement.

If the above proposal were to be put into operation, there would no longer be a States House, such as the Senate should be, in the Federal Parliament, and the local as well as the national affairs of Western Australia would be in the hands of a Parliament at the Federal capital, which is some 2000 miles distant from Perth. There have been proposals for a convention to consider amendments to the Commonwealth Constitution, but such a convention, if it be held, will resolve itself into two factions—one for confining the national Parliament to duties of a national character, and the other for making the Federal Parliament supreme and substituting for the State Parliaments a number of country councils with specified powers of local government. The feelings of the great majority of the people of Western Australia have been expressed perhaps best by the Chief Secretary, Mr. Norbert Keenan, K.C., who recently said:

> It is a matter not to be wondered at that the people of Western Australia, appreciating the fact that, no matter which political party is in power in the Commonwealth Parliament, the policy which such party carries out is a policy designed to foster and promote the interests of Victoria and New South Wales without giving any care whatever to the fact that such policy is ruinous to Western Australia, should turn to secession as a method of salvation. I do not blame them for doing so, nor do I presume to allege that there is not a time limit to patient endurance beyond which no one is entitled to ask the people of this State to remain quiescent. But I do most earnestly urge that secession is a last resort, and that, until all possibilities of amending the Constitution in such measure as will secure fair conditions for Western Australia are exhausted and proved to be ineffective, it would be almost a crime to destroy Federation.

JOHN W. KIRWAN.

PROSPICE: THE NEW INDIA

WHILE 1931 is still very young, the delegates to the Round Table Conference will have turned their faces to the East once more; the legions will have thundered past; the last echoes of the shawms and trumpets will have died down in St. James's Palace; and the British Parliament will be left, not to its slumbers, but to a nightmare of activity. For the real work of the biggest political transaction the world has ever seen will then be in its final stages. This seems, therefore, the right moment at which to look forward, and back and all around us, not only for the information of the British Constitution-makers, but in the interests also of the courageous band of Indians who will have to man the Great Experiment.

To begin with, is it understood in London that we have nothing corresponding to the political parties known to Westminster? There has, indeed, never been a consolidated India until Great Britain secured this for us. The only pronouncement of democracy ever made in India was made by Queen Victoria in her Proclamation of 1858—*i.e.*, equal opportunity of privilege for all her subjects alike, of whatever race or religion; and the acknowledgment of a right to individual liberty in regard to religion and the concerns, in India, of religion—namely, inheritance, marriage, and succession. For the realisation of the democratic liberty and freedom thus enunciated Great Britain then, as I read history, immediately set out to equip both the country and the individual (if he would). When India takes over the reins of government she will be taking over a *going concern*, the machinery and fittings of which Indians themselves have already, in partnership with Englishmen, been learning to handle and control in every single department through the years as they passed.

Since 1884 a little body of English-educated Indians calling themselves 'The National Congress of India' has, however, devoted itself almost entirely to the question of the political machinery of the country, and has demanded that it shall be 'made in England,' so to speak, and on British parliamentary lines. These men, among whom have been found from time to

time the most brilliant examples of what England has done for India, whether by education, inspiration or recognition of ability, have studied English politics, the speeches of Burke and Gladstone, and the history of Western political institutions. They know more about Great Britain in relation to the growth of political freedom and political institutions than many members of Parliament know themselves, and they have always contended that Indian freedom would be realised by as close a copy of the British parliamentary machinery as could be manufactured for India.

Of this fact we must not lose sight. It was the spirit of the Indian demand which was being satisfied when from time to time the door, set ajar to political freedom by the Proclamation of 1858, was pushed wider and wider with the years.

Legislative Councils were created (1861); and the power to make laws and to criticise the policy of the Government, even with regard to finance, followed in due course. In 1909 Lord Morley, our most democratic Secretary of State, and Lord Minto—the Viceroy under whose understanding influence we went forward in such friendly co-operation and courtesy, and with such eminent success—did consider that last and greatest gift of self-government, namely, representation and the franchise; but they rejected it because of the impossibility, as it then seemed, of framing constituencies which would at all be manageable. They contented themselves with enlarging legislative and other powers. And it was thus that the attainment of representation—that is, of 'Government by the People'—came with dramatic fitness in the wake, not of compulsion, but of the free and generous gift of His Majesty the King-Emperor to his peoples of India in royal recognition of their service in the Great War. 'Progressive Self-Government within the Empire' are the words used by His Majesty. The Act of 1919 implemented this promise, and since 1919 the Government of India, whether run by Englishmen or Indians, has begun to be responsible, not to the British Parliament as heretofore, but to the people of India. And the Congress dream, so often quoted in the words of Abraham Lincoln, has at last its opportunity of realisation, and has it at the hands of our King—*freely* without need for strife or violence (this cannot be emphasised too often) and *opportunely*, that is, at the moment when it can be taken (if men but will), without fear of discouragement through too disproportionate immaturity and unreadiness.

That we have not been allowed to see how perfectly smoothly the political machinery, Indian-manned, could work has not been the fault of the few courageous Indians who were in control during the trial run; and this seems the appropriate moment for register-

ing one important difference between the model machines of Westminster and the Indian duplication. We have no political parties in India. As long as the British Government functions and is in charge there will be *the Government* and *the Opposition*, whether the opposition calls itself 'Congress,' 'Extremist,' or what you will.

One of the first considerations of the new Indian Swaraj (since the British model is apparently adhered to) must, therefore, of necessity be this vital matter of parties. Will the Congress-Extremists continue to be in opposition to the Swaraj Government? Will a party opposing the Extremists come into being and have the temerity to crystallise, to declare a policy and adhere to it? If so, will these two parties represent the necessary concomitants for a reproduction of the British parliamentary system? There certainly was a so-called 'Moderate' Party formed under the leadership of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the cold weather of 1928–29. But it was more a difference in degree than in policy; it occupied the twig just vacated by the Extremist bird, and continued to do so with each forward move. If newspaper reports speak truly, Sir Tej Bahadur has, however, now renounced leadership, and this would seem to mean the death of the party—if party it ever was.

The trouble in India has always been leadership. The modern Indian, young in political sense and instinct, is unable to follow a lead, and will not look for guidance or contentment with discipleship into the wisdom of the Eastern fable of leadership. It is a lovely and humorous fable, but the young Indian will have none of it. I know it as 'The Fable of the Camel-driver and his Drove.' It is worth telling. A traveller in the desert saw a camel-driver walking beside a most extraordinary caravan. It was a long line of camels led by a donkey.

'Tell me,' said he, 'the meaning of this; why does a donkey lead your camels? Do they not object to this indignity?'

'No,' said the driver, yawning at the stupidity of his questioner. 'No—for they perceive nothing unusual. They do not know that the donkey leads them.'

'How is that?' asked the traveller.

'Oh,' was the reply; 'the first camel is blind, so he cannot see whose lead he is following; and each succeeding camel follows the camel before him; and the line is kept.'

'But how about that obstreperous camel at the very end, straining to get away from the others?'

'Oh! *that*,' said the camel-driver, 'is the real leader. He is no good on an accustomed road; he has too many ideas, too much initiative. For the accustomed road a donkey is best, and my leader I put at the very end where he needs must follow. But on an untried path he is invaluable, and changes places with the donkey. I could not then do without him.'

We have yet to find, not only our camel-driver, but our leading camel, our blind dummy, and our useful donkey leaders in India.

Another difficulty to be faced even before the new Government begins functioning, will be the acceptance by the Gandhi Party (which claims to be the lineal descendant of the Congress of 1884) of the conclusions placed before Parliament by the Round Table Conference as the Indian demand. Gandhi's propagandists in America are emphatic in disowning this delegacy. They say that the National Indian Congress will never consent to be bound by anything to which the Conference may consent. They say it was not elected by the people, or by any political party. They describe it as 'the menagerie selected by the Viceroy for the St. James's Palace Zoo,' and suggest that on return to India it should tour the country as a circus party. For themselves they mean to go forward with their own programme, of which, in America at any rate, they make no secret. This is India without the British and outside the Empire.

'Have you, then, no use for the British?' they are asked in packed meeting after packed meeting.

'Oh, yes—for the present; and until we have the Indian Army hitherto denied us, we will employ them. We will pay their soldiers to defend us. We have practically killed British trade, and have frightened the British to such an extent that a Viceroy is on his knees to our leader Gandhi begging him to cease his campaign. But Gandhi knows what he is about. He is an astute politician. He knows that terrorism must continue till we get what we want, which is freedom. There can be no freedom till a subject race is absolutely quit of the race which has kept it in subjection. Look at Egypt! Look at Ireland! There can be no half-way measures. To cut clean away at once is the only remedy. If the cutting-away is by war and bloodshed, that will be the fault of the British Government. We continue to fight under the banner of Mahatma Gandhi, which is "Passive resistance and non-violence".'

Syed Hossain, one of the extremist official representatives, puts the strength of this party at 24,000 for all India, though he admits that all the 24,000 are not concerned with the details of this programme as set out above, but are just 'followers of Gandhi.' 'By this time next year,' said H. T. Mazumdar, speaking at the Foreign Policy Association in New York at the end of November, 'the President of the United States of America will be exchanging greetings with the President of the United States of India—of a free and liberated India.' Again they say: 'England in India will be as dead and extinguished as England in America after the War of Independence.' This being so, it is important to consider

what will be the position of the new Indian Government as against these revolutionaries.

We know what happened in 1919 and after to the Indian men of goodwill who tried to work the first instalment of the Reforms. What provision is being made against a like situation after the new Constitution comes into being? But let us suppose the best —*i.e.*, that the revolutionaries have somehow been converted to a constructive programme. Even so, very careful thought must still be taken for the future. For all the handicaps which the British have had to face in governing India will be emphasised tenfold for the Own-Government Control. Take some of these handicaps:

(*a*) *The Hindu versus Moslem* situation. This must be the more acute in circumstances in which either may be top-dog. Even where there are no religious scruples to overcome (that is, among the educated and liberal-minded and non-orthodox of both Communities); we have seen at the Conference in London how agreement and reconciliation has taken time, and has had to depend upon the mediation of the Prime Minister.

What about the real religious antagonism among orthodox fanatics in India, which bursts into flame upon no provocation? Facts must be faced, if only that some way of peace or prevention may be thought out beforehand. It is no use glossing over facts. The Hindu is, at bottom, a dreamer; the Moslem a statesman. To the Orthodox Hindu the cow is his 'mother,' an object of worship; to the Moslem the cow is an article of diet. When Indians are self-governing, old memories will quiver, especially at Delhi. Does the British Parliament understand the implications of these racial antipathies sufficiently to take the indispensable precaution?

(*b*) *Progressive versus Orthodox.* To my mind this opposition is the chief danger of the new *régime*. The Out-of-Caste men, *i.e.*, the men originally Brahmin, or Kshatriya, or of whatever caste, *who, having broken caste* and become Brahmo Samajists, etc., *are really no longer Hindus* in the eyes of the Orthodox practising Hindus, will practically be the only representatives of Hinduism in the Government.

These Progressives do not understand or approve of the Orthodox Hindu point of view in matters vital to Orthodox Hinduism. They call it 'gross superstition,' and they have already begun to legislate against it. Take the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill, thrown out once, but promised at the earliest opportunity. Take the Child Marriage Act and the Act allowing a daughter's sons to inherit a man's property. Both these instances of social legislation are claimed, and rightly so, by the Progressive Indians as their achievement. Yet the Orthodox

Hindu (in regard to 'daughter's sons' the Hindu governed by the Mitakshara and Dayabhagha systems of law) regards both Acts as a direct violation of Queen Victoria's Proclamation and promise of religious liberty.

Does the British Parliament realise the implications of legislation of this nature? And what about Queen Victoria's Proclamation? Will it be a dead letter when Indian self-government is an accomplished fact? This is the keystone of the new situation. Yet one has never heard it even mentioned.

(*c*) Again, take *Caste*. I do not for a moment believe that caste is understood in England and in the British Parliament.

That a member of the depressed classes is a guest in a king's palace, and is listened to with respect and deference by an historic assembly in London; that he has the education and equipment which has made this possible; that any out-caste may rise to any position in British India; and that out-castes have proved themselves worthy in many departments of service—all this is due to Great Britain. But to give equal opportunity to all is the utmost that can be done towards emancipation from religious tyings and bindings—for that is what caste is. It is not snobbery. It is to the Orthodox Hindu a God rule, not a man-made convention. Yet, what about this?

Dr. Ambadkar is reported to have suggested at the Round Table Conference that the British had not served the out-caste as he would be served, since he is still forbidden to draw water from the Brahmin's well, and since he is still forbidden entry to the temples of Hindu caste-men. He is reported to have got a promise from the Progressive Indians, both of the Hindu and Moslem races, not only that out-castes would get representation in the new Government proportionate to their numbers (that is a comparatively small matter, though one does not see how any *guarantees* could be given by the delegates), but that the use of wells and temple-entry will also be secured. Gandhi promised this, and his followers went a march through South India two years ago defiling caste wells. We know the result. Only as lately as 1930 his followers tried to force entry into Hindu caste temples. We know the result. Riots and bloodshed, till even Gandhi urged forbearance, and that the time was not ripe. No single member of the Round Table Conference is reported to have referred to these experiments, and to have pointed out the implications of caste and the utter impossibility of interference with the authority of Hindu priests in these matters.

Does the British Parliament realise the significance of this dialogue between the out-caste and the out-of-caste ex-practiser of Hinduism? Does the British Parliament realise that the

representatives of Orthodox Hinduism in the Indian Government, even as is now the case, will be units against tens and hundreds of tens of Progressives?—although the Orthodox Hindus 'represented' happen to form the greater number of the 200,000,000 listed as Hindus in the census.

Lastly, what provision is being made for the political education of the Indian electorate?

While Great Britain is still in control, should not a definite programme be framed towards this end—talks in schools and colleges, and through social service societies, and in the vernacular at village centres, about the use of a vote? Many tales could be told of the polling-booths in the various provinces, which are not the tales of English polling-booths, and to be therefore ignored as a necessary stage in the history of every franchise. What provision is being made for enlarging the woman's franchise? At present the property qualification makes the woman's vote almost a dead letter. The largest number of women enfranchised is *Purdahnashin*, and cannot come to even a 'Purdah' poll. There are professional and other non-orthodox or emancipated women who can vote, and do vote: but their number is small; and in certain districts such women are badly outnumbered—*e.g.*, in two Eastern Bengal districts lately the returns were as under:

2 to 90,
4 to 84—

by the women of the town, who are able to satisfy the property qualification and are taken to the polls by men who are entitled to their allegiance. To give the vote to graduates, *as such*, would in measure cure this inequality.

There are many other questions which need deliberate consideration; but if by these inadequate words I have been able to put those better qualified to judge than myself upon their inquiry, I shall indeed 'thank whatever gods there be.'

I am not of those who think that we are yet ready, as a country, for the *final* experiment; but the one thing to secure, as far as human effort can secure it, is surely the success of whatever programme may be the outcome of the Round Table Conference; and first as last, to this very end, the one thing to bear in mind is as surely the words of our King-Emperor in giving India her charter—'*Progressive Self-Government within the Empire.*' I should have thought that if we took our stand upon *that*, all formal difficulties would resolve themselves, and the essential things become easy of achievement.

King Feisul said, it will be remembered, to Gertrude Bell: 'My lady, no one can give a man independence. He gives it to himself.' He spoke of the true independence *of the spirit*, which

alone of old was wont to matter in the East. Did not a Hindu Saint put that into words for us long years ago?

None can injure Self. Only Self can injure Self.

Are we perhaps forgetting that, in this modern talk of our rights and our dignity? Are we perhaps in danger of denationalising ourselves in ways far more serious than the adoption or exploitation of cotton goods not woven on Indian hand-looms? This is not a question for the British Parliament, but for myself and for my own countrymen and countrywomen. And the answer? No man need whisper that, except to his own soul.

CORNELIA SORABJI.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEW BILL

A NEW Educational Bill has been introduced by the Government, and there are critics who suggest that it is uncalled for, and a luxury which the nation can ill afford. The object of this article is to show that the new Bill is no bolt from the blue, no luxury, but the inevitable result of a movement that was initiated by Mr. Balfour at the very beginning of this century, when he carried through the Education Act of 1902, and that it is demanded by masses of our countrymen, whose eyes have only been opened to the importance of higher education during the last thirty years, and who see in it the one bright prospect for the future.

It is to be feared that the general public, as distinguished from those of it specially interested in education, or in touch with public elementary and secondary schools, is quite unaware of the astonishing change in the educational situation in this country wrought by the great Act of 1902. This Act at last set free local education authorities to carry out their desire to develop that branch of higher education known as secondary education, in which this country was admittedly backward. When the notorious *Cockerton* judgment of 1901 pronounced that what spasmodic efforts the old school boards had been making to meet the popular demand for a higher than elementary education were illegal, there was but one course open to Government in a democratic country—namely, to change the law and to provide a legal channel for the aspirations of the nation. This much can be said for the *Cockerton* judgment: it cleared the ground for the Act of 1902, under which secondary education came into its own.

The full import of this comfortable phrase will be indicated by the following table, which gives for a series of years since 1902 the numbers of young people in England and Wales, boys and girls, receiving secondary education in schools maintained or aided out of public funds, and will show what remarkable progress has been made:

Year.	Number of Pupils.
1904	85,973
1913	187,647
1918	269,887
1925	367,564
1929	401,505

The Board of Education watched closely, and it must be admitted somewhat jealously, the administration of the Act. The Board was certainly out for thoroughness, and it was perhaps just as well that when local education authorities might have been inclined to run somewhat wildly outside the coop, in the enjoyment of their new-found opportunities, the Board was there clucking reproach and warning from Whitehall, and on occasion administering a vigorous peck at some troublesome chick. The working definition of a secondary school laid down in connexion with the Board's regulations for secondary schools, issued in 1904, was undoubtedly a good one. Such a school was defined as one 'which offers to each of its scholars a general education of a wider scope and higher grade than that of an elementary school, given through a complete progressive course of instruction continuing up to and beyond the age of sixteen.' The regulations laid it down that the course must be at least a four-year course in a group of subjects so selected as to ensure due breadth and solidity in the education given. These subjects were to be: (1) the English language and literature, together with geography and history; (2) a language other than English; (3) mathematics and science, both theoretical and practical; and (4) drawing. For girls housewifery had to be added, for boys manual instruction, and as regards both boys and girls provision had to be made for physical exercises. It is upon this foundation that the structure of secondary education in England and Wales, whose imposing dimensions are indicated in the foregoing table, has been reared.

There can be no denial that, so far as increase in numbers of schools and pupils goes, the effectiveness of the Act of 1902 has been clearly proved. But what about the young people for whom this whole apparatus of secondary education has been designed? What progress have the young people in themselves made?

Since 1917 there have been available two tests of efficiency which may be accepted as valid. In 1917 the Board of Education secured from the Treasury moneys to be ear-marked for the encouragement of real sixth-form work. The method devised by the Board for the application of these grants was sound enough. To schools where a sufficient number of advanced pupils and the services of a competent teacher could be guaranteed a grant of

400*l*. was made in respect of each three advanced courses—namely, in science and mathematics, in modern studies, and in classics. At first some heartburnings were occasioned by the rigidity of the regulations, the narrowness of the range of subjects, and the precise selection of the schools to be the first recipients of the new bounty. But the principle of selection adopted had the sanction of Holy Writ—namely, 'to him that hath shall be given'; and the system developed so rapidly that before long practically every school which could submit a fair claim obtained recognition, and representations in favour of further alternatives in the choice of subjects received some satisfaction. The following figures show clearly the rapid rise in the number of advanced courses in England and Wales in the three main subjects:

Year.	Science and Mathematics.	Modern Studies.	Classics.	Total.
1917–18	82	25	20	127
1928–29	229	185	38	452

One interesting feature of these figures is that they show that modern studies and classics in grant-aided schools have now broken down the wholesale predominance of science and mathematics, which persisted until 1917–18. Invaluable as the study of science is in the modern State, and prominent as its position in the school curriculum must be, no one can desire that science should monopolise education to the exclusion of humane studies.

The second valid test of quality in the education given was undoubtedly the institution in 1917 of a system of examinations which has done wonders for efficiency. Two examinations were recognised by the Board of Education—a first examination suitable for pupils of about sixteen, and a second for those of about eighteen. The first was designed to secure that all successful candidates should have had a broad general education up to sixteen years of age; they were required to pass in *each* of three groups of subjects—namely (1) English subjects; (2) languages other than English; (3) science and mathematics. The second, designed for pupils who, having passed the first examination, were qualified to take up sixth-form work proper, provided for a degree of specialisation in one group of subjects. Eight examining bodies were recognised, seven representing the English universities or combinations of them, and the eighth the Central Welsh Board; and an Examination Council was constituted to co-ordinate their work. A prime condition of the examinations at the outset was that whole forms, and not merely selected individuals, should be entered for them, but since the scheme was fairly established this requirement has been relaxed.

Very striking are the figures showing the growth in the

number of young people sitting for the two examinations since their institution:

Year.	First Examination.	Second Examination.
1917–18	14,232	550
1928–29	59,584	9,089

But the important question is, how have the candidates fared who sat at these examinations? The following table gives the percentages of passes with credit secured at the first examination in most of the subjects which drew a substantial number of candidates in the given year:

Subjects.	1919.		1924.		1929.	
	Number of Entries.	Per cent. of Credits.	Number of Entries.	Per cent. of Credits.	Number of Entries.	Per cent. of Credits.
English	28,479	71·4	50,176	61·5	60,136	58·9
History	25,539	57·0	45,797	49·2	52,024	48·6
Geography	24,486	52·3	35,285	43·0	39,230	45·1
Latin	10,102	48·7	19,768	44·8	25,456	44·4
French	25,762	58·3	48,233	48·9	57,635	51·7
Mathematics	26,438	65·7	46,604	48·7	55,747	54·8
Botany	8,017	57·9	18,524	39·8	13,878	46·5
Chemistry	9,110	49·6	19,962	49·9	24,345	49·4
Physics	5,059	41·1	11,064	49·9	15,736	50·5

The following table gives the comparative results in each group of subjects taken for the second examination in the years 1920 and 1929:

Groups.	1920.		1929.	
	Number of Entries.	Per cent of Passes.	Number of Entries.	Per cent. of Passes.
Classical	462	69·5	808	64·1
Modern studies	1,266	76·5	4,412	70·5
Mathematics	498	57·6	489	59·3
Science and mathematics	957	67·6	3,271	63·3

It is natural enough for a steep rise in the number of entries to be accompanied by the fall in the percentage of credits or passes to be noted in the foregoing tables. Shy of one another at first, schoolmasters and examiners feel they can take liberties as they grow more familiar.

Let us now proceed to consider what, from the academic point of view, must be regarded as the crowning test of the work of the grant-aided secondary schools. How they stand this test is shown in the following table:

NUMBER PROCEEDING TO A UNIVERSITY

Year.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
1908–9 . .	695	361	1,056
1920–21 . .	1,674	1,214	2,888
1926–27 . .	2,057	1,312	3,369
1928–29 . .	2,336	1,302	3,638

The total number of entries to English and Welsh universities in 1928–29 was 9757, and thus more than a third of these came from grant-aided secondary schools, a creation of this century of which little more than a quarter has run. Still more striking than the figures given above for individual years is the total figure for the five years 1923–27. This amounts to no less than 16,565, a figure which makes it clear that the pressure from grant-aided secondary schools, and in the ultimate resort from the elementary schools, has been one of the main factors in bringing about the increase in the number of English universities during the lifetime of most of us now living.

A finer analysis of the figures for 1928–29 is instructive. Of the total number 3638 no fewer than 2233 were ex-elementary school children. The number entering the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge was substantial enough—namely, 731, and of these 367 were ex-elementary school children. It may thus be taken that now in any one year close on 1200 of the undergraduates in residence at Oxford and Cambridge have sprung from the elementary schools. Some of them have been gaining high distinctions, and have won their way to fellowships, so that in the highest spheres of academic work pupils from elementary schools have begun to join the governing classes. The general position as between fee-paying and free pupils of grant-aided secondary schools proceeding to a university is thus summed up in the Board of Education's report for 1926–27:

> In spite of the fact that the number of free pupils whose financial circumstances are such as to enable them to proceed to a university without extraneous substantial assistance must, in the nature of things, be smaller than in the case of fee-paying pupils, yet the number of free pupils is not far short of double the number of fee-paying pupils who proceeded to universities.

It is, therefore, clear that the public money spent on free education in grant-aided secondary schools is not being wasted, but that ability, whatever its social condition, is being discovered and given its chance.

After the array of facts and figures already furnished, all who become seized of them must be profoundly impressed with the advance of secondary education during the last twenty-five

years. But all the efforts of teachers and officials must have failed had not the parents in the country responded, and the striking figures (from official sources) in the following tables show clearly the upheaval in society that is quietly and surely taking place as opportunities for higher education are being more freely offered and more readily accepted. The table given is one for boys. One for girls could have been furnished, but numbers and proportions correspond so closely that conclusions drawn from the one are almost invariably applicable to the other, and in many cases, of course, a father has both sons and daughters at school:

OCCUPATION OF FATHERS OF BOYS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN GIVEN YEAR.

Occupation.	1909.	1913.	1921.	1926.
1 Ministers of religion	1,562	1,815	2,404	2,464
2 Teachers	2,742	3,649	5,383	6,487
3 Other professions	9,579	11,990	20,827	23,629
4 Farmers	3,869	5,147	9,215	8,657
5. Wholesale traders (proprietors and managers) . . .	8,420	9,323	15,443	13,405
6. Retail traders (proprietors and managers)	14,419	17,809	30,625	30,749
7 Traders' assistants . . .	677	894	1,401	3,789
8. Contractors	1,960	2,119	3,804	5,084
9. Minor officials	3,196	4,547	8,312	7,643
10. Clerks and commercial travellers and agents	10,036	12,915	24,026	26,910
11. Postmen, policemen, seamen and soldiers	1,369	2,034	6,526	7,244
12 Domestic and other servants .	1,325	1,788	3,020	4,188
13 Skilled workmen	10,849	15,112	33,815	39,857
14 Unskilled workmen	1,522	2,254	4,795	7,623
15 No occupation given	1,745	1,527	2,178	1,928
Totals	73,270	90,923	171,774	189,657

Perhaps the most striking feature of this table, and the most encouraging, is the great rise in the figures for the classes of shop assistants, postmen, etc., domestic and other servants, and unskilled workmen. They deserve to be set out separately:

Occupation.	1909.	1926.
Traders' assistants	677	3,789
Postmen, policemen, seamen and soldiers .	1,369	7,244
Domestic and other servants	1,325	4,188
Unskilled workmen	1,522	7,623
Totals	4,893	22,844

Thus the total numbers from these four classes have risen from 4893 in 1909 to 22,844 in 1926. No clearer testimony can

be afforded than by these figures to the immensity of the debt owing to the elementary schools. But there are three other, and most important, considerations that demand attention: (1) One of the boasts of the secondary schools is that they train for 'leadership.' It is clear from the above tables that the classes from which our leaders are to be expected are rapidly widening. (2) It is one of the gloomy commonplaces propounded by certain eugenic philosophers that what may be called the governing class of to-day, the intellectual class, through the inability, or unwillingness, of its members to propagate their kind, is dwindling rapidly, and surrendering the country into the hands of an ignorant uncultured mob. The truth may be that we are digging deeper and turning up the soil to find, like the farmers, new sources of life and fertility in the humus that lies beneath the exhausted surface, or that a new world is being discovered within our own country to redress the balance of the old. (3) Hitherto the schools known as the public schools have enjoyed a great advantage through the play of what is known as influence, a force not always malign. But it is certain, as more and more of the pupils of the new secondary schools find their way into high place, and as more and more of them qualify for official posts and preferment in the professions, that the sphere of influence will also widen. What we have to see to is that the new order is not evolved by a process of levelling down, as some reactionaries fear, but by a process of levelling up.

There can be no expectation that the growth of secondary education on academic lines will proceed for the future anything like so rapidly as it has done during the last twenty-five years. But its growth on other and parallel lines will be prodigious, for there is now a widespread belief in education such as has never existed in our country, and the national call, the urge, for more and higher education is insistent. The call expresses not merely some vague aspiration, but is a demand for certain definite facilities, which after dangling in the air for years are now felt to be within our reach so soon at least as we jump to seize them.

The path has been cleared for a new advance by the general acceptance of three conclusions of the Committee on the Education of the Adolescent (known as the Hadow Committee), whose report was published in 1926: (1) that eleven *plus* should be regarded as the normal age separating primary from post-primary education; (2) that the school-leaving age should be raised from fourteen to fifteen; (3) that a new, and modern, type of school should be developed, giving a practical bias to the curriculum in the third and fourth years of the course. With regard to the first of these conclusions, it is right to point out that the change in educational landmarks has only been rendered possible by the

great advance in the standard of elementary education, due to the native ability, industry and skill of an army of elementary school teachers who have done hard spade-work for over fifty years.

In anticipation of the essential step of raising the school age from fourteen to fifteen, many local education authorities have been hard at work in the effort to provide a modern type of post-primary school such as the Hadow Committee calls for. The types of schools, including secondary schools, which are now busily engaged on the task of post-primary education may be set out as follows :

(1) Secondary schools the curriculum of which is predominantly literary and scientific, and which carry their pupils on at least to the age of sixteen *plus*, many of them doing post-matriculation work up to the age of eighteen *plus*.

(2) Selective central schools with a four years' course from the age of eleven *plus*, most of them with an industrial or commercial bias in the last two years.

(3) Non-selective central schools which may either serve as the one central school in non-populous areas, or may exist side by side with a selective central school and make provision for children not found likely to profit by admission to a selective school.

(4) Central classes attached to some elementary school conveniently situated or better equipped than most, and providing post-primary instruction for children of eleven *plus*, either for pupils from the one parent school, or for pupils from other neighbouring schools, for whom, owing to local circumstances—*e.g.*, sparseness of population or financial strain or the religious difficulty—it is not found possible to make provision in one or another of the types of school mentioned above.

(5) Trade schools, dealing with industries in which manual skill is of vital importance, and providing from the age of thirteen *plus* a two years' course of training in the craftsmanship of a particular trade, which may serve as at least a fair substitute for a corresponding period of apprenticeship or learnership.

(6) Junior technical schools, which provide a two to three years' course from the age of thirteen *plus* in mathematics, science and mechanical drawing, and which prepare pupils either for engineering alone, or for the group of constructive trades, which, according to local circumstances, comprise building, special branches of engineering, and occasionally shipbuilding, and might also be made to include an initiation into scientific agriculture and estate management, both of which subjects call for development.

These types of school cover a wide field, and it is difficult to

imagine a new type of school that future developments may seem to demand which will not fall naturally into one of the three main groups—secondary, central, and junior technical. Perhaps the one type among them which appears to provide a real and a full alternative to the secondary school of an academic type is the junior technical school. In the past the way has not been made too easy for it. It was only expected to provide a three years' course at most, and the introduction of a modern language into the curriculum has been frowned upon as an intrusion into the sphere of a secondary school. If junior technical schools were fostered as secondary schools have been, allowed to retain their pupils to the age of eighteen, and, during the last two years, to do advanced work fitting them to enter universities or technological institutes of university rank, their growth in the next ten years would be prodigious. As it is, the figures in the following table show a striking enough advance on their position in 1913–14 :

Year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Pupils.
1913–14 . . .	37	2,896
1925–26 . . .	92	12,704
1928–29 . . .	108	18,243

The numbers would be swelled if the figures for junior housewifery schools, junior departments in art schools, and schools of nautical training were added. On the side of the humanities there is no reason whatever why the pupils of a junior technical school should not be as well grounded in English and a modern language as the pupils of any secondary school, and by encouraging them we shall remove the reproach inevitably brought against us by everyone who has seen the progress of technical education for the young in foreign countries—namely, that we are not ten years, but more than ten years, behind the times.

This brief survey may fitly close with one final proof of the recognition by this country of education, and that not merely on the academic side, as the main hope of future well-being. Attention was called in the last paragraph to the growth of junior technical schools. That of higher technical schools has not been less remarkable, and one particular feature of their development deserves speoial notice—namely, day classes for apprentices. Every industrial centre in the north of England can tell the same tale, but here are the facts set out in the annual report for 1929–30 of one of the largest of them, namely, Liverpool.

(1) At the Central Technical School the number of students enrolled reached 3000 and the student hours totalled half a million, which represents a 10 per cent. increase in the number of individual students and a 20 per cent. increase in student hours over the previous year. This development is largely due to the

enlarged enrolment in the day classes for apprentices. Over 100 firms in the building trades allow their apprentices 'time off' during the day in order to attend for instruction at the school; the same action is taken by twelve firms in the engineering trades, thirty in the pharmaceutical trades, thirty in the meat trades, while some thirty others pay the prescribed fees for the admission of their apprentices to evening classes.

(2) In the day classes for apprentices the numbers increased from 250 to 400. New classes were provided during last session for apprentices from the Engineers' and Tramways' Departments of the Corporation, and for young people engaged in the flour milling industry. During the present session new classes have been provided for over 100 apprentices in the electrical trades, in the heating and ventilating trades, and for boy gardeners. Thus there are now well over 500 apprentices in attendance under schemes arranged jointly by the Education Committee, employers, and the trade unions. These schemes provide for an attendance of seven hours on one day per week in the employer's time, and of two hours on one evening in the apprentice's own time. An attendance of close on 90 per cent. has been served at the day classes, and 78 per cent. at evening classes.

Parliament is now called upon to meet the wishes of the country, and to give legislative sanction to the next step in educational progress demanded by public opinion—namely, the raising of the school age to fifteen. Mercifully, education has long ceased to be a political issue. Educational progress is now the accepted creed of all parties. If we take the great educational landmarks of this century we find that the sponsor for the Act of 1902 was Mr. Balfour, a Conservative; for that of 1918, Mr. Fisher, a Liberal. For the present Bill, Sir Charles Trevelyan, a Labour Minister, stands sponsor. The members of any party who oppose its passage will do so at their peril. To those who hesitate at a leap forward in the days of financial stress it may be pointed out that even in times of shrinking capital it is wise to spend money on the one enterprise that is absolutely certain to bring in a good return. Those whose religious denomination makes them shy of entering frankly and fully into a national system will be wise not to push too far their claim to what amounts to ex-territoriality. Threats levelled at the head of the Government either by financial or denominational interests should rally sufficient support from the civic feeling of the majority of the House to secure the new Bill a safe passage.

An adverse vote, brought about by any unsatisfied sectional interest, may briefly delay, but will not defeat, a reform which has irresistible forces behind it.

J. G. LEGGE.

SAVING LONDON'S SQUARES

THAT zealous champion of a Better London, the late Sir Laurence Gomme, used to say that London had as many squares as there are days in the year. But if we enlarge the term so as to include open spaces there are over 460, though, to be sure, many are not square at all. Nor is their size any more uniform than their shape. They range from Lincoln's Inn Fields, measuring close on seven acres, to sundry strips and triangles that remind one of the 'tablecloth' dimensions of Dr. Johnson's bit of garden in Gough Square. The best way to appreciate them at a glance is to take a large-scale map, or to scan the London area from an aeroplane. Then, and not till then, the metropolis is seen to be spangled with green or grey patches such as occur in no other capital—certainly with such frequency or refreshing effect.

Henry James wrote of Washington Square in New York city: 'The ideal of quiet and of genteel retirement, it has a kind of established repose which is not of frequent occurrence in other quarters; it has a riper, richer, more honourable look—the look of having had something of a social history.' This fairly represents the squares of London at their best, and though they have fared somewhat variously, for one reason or another, nearly all are rich in famous associations. A roomy bookshelf might be filled with literature that deals with this historic aspect on the personal side. But this aspect is only one of many, and all of them tempting, if one had the leisure to examine them. To take the standpoint of architecture alone, they reveal its evolution on the domestic side during the past three centuries. They begin with the aristocratic type exemplified by St. James's Square, which was completed in 1665, and devised for 'the dwellings of noblemen and other persons of quality.' Cadogan Square, laid out some sixty years ago, was the last of the series, unless we include the few on London's margin which have come into being as part of some garden-city plan. In between these dates came many with less genteel pretensions, and some of them the wear and tear of time has reduced to a humbler level still. Perhaps the most glaring feature in the schedule of these more or less 'protected' squares which has been prepared as an

indispensable basis of negotiation, is that there are between eighty and ninety in the Royal Borough of Kensington alone, whereas there are only two enclosures worth preserving in Bethnal Green. It may not be easy to add any more enclosures in the future under the conditions of growing congestion, though the creation of a few in the less-favoured parts of London would be no mean investment. For in proportion as these enclosures have shared the decline of their surroundings they have gained in value as open spaces, and therefore have grown all the more precious for the sake of the part they play in the way of public recreation, amenity, and health.

They are a source of warrantable pride to the Londoner, and the envy of the foreign or Dominion visitor. For they are proof demonstrative—as in the case of Bloomsbury Square, for instance, where the north side was left open at first, for the sake of the view towards the northern heights—that the art of town-planning is no new discovery. They are also a reminder that the Stuart and Georgian eras had a shrewd idea as to what was worth bequeathing to the London of a later day. For a variety of reasons we no longer build the 'magpie' type of Tudor mansion, all oak and gables, but it is safe to say that the example of these squares of ours will enter more and more into well-considered urban plans in every enlightened community of whatever age or race. This perhaps, apart from any consideration of greenery or plan or architectural harmony, is why, in the nomenclature of thoroughfares, the word 'square' retains an unquestionable charm that is all its own.

For another thing, London's squares have served to arrest the headlong rush of indiscriminate building, and are worthy of preservation on this account alone. They cover some 400 acres, all told, and the ground could hardly have been turned to better advantage, because, incredible as it may seem, they were contrived to save land, not to squander it. It must be borne in mind that the type of residence they were designed to contain demanded gardens for its completeness, and the renunciation of separate allocations for the sake of a garden enclosure common to all effected a definite saving of land. Take the plans of the old river-strand mansions like Montagu House, with lawns and terraces sloping to the water, and you will see that some of them appropriated garden ground enough to make a square apiece. Even on a lesser scale, the arrangement of one house, one plot, was extravagant, and well worth superseding by the laying out of squares, apart from the benefit of promoting neighbourliness and mutual help in times of trouble.

London has often been praised for cultivating these community gardens of hers, but her appreciation of these possessions

was slow in coming. The first of these enclosures fell sadly into neglect, and public measures had to be taken to restore them to decency. An Act passed in 1720 described the condition of St. James's Square as 'rude, waste, uncleanly and in great disorder.' If a haunt so aristocratic deserved this condemnation, it is easy to conceive there were worse instances elsewhere, even if we had not Hogarth's prints and other evidence to hand. In the end trustees were appointed to 'clean, repair, adorn, and beautify the same in a becoming and a graceful manner,' and in return for granting exclusive use of the enclosures these trustees were empowered to levy a rate on the inhabitants for the purpose. Here we have the beginning of an era of intelligent conservation. But a series of such Acts was needed to ensure proper maintenance and management, usually by means of group action among the residents themselves. As the movement developed, these Acts grew in scope so as to deal with estates and cover the repair of roads. The office of the trustees, or commissioners, as they were generally called, was to enclose, improve, and maintain the middle of the square, or else to reimburse the expense of such action on behalf of the freeholder. The trustees also had power to protect the iron rails or other fencing material, as well as the shrubs and trees, for which they were authorised to cover any necessary expenses by levying a rate on the occupiers.

This was an important development and one that was fraught with issues at law. When in 1904 the well-known dispute arose over Edwardes Square, Kensington, and was referred to court, it was ruled, notwithstanding the expiration of a lease granted in 1820, that the enjoyment of these enclosure rights lay with a garden committee acting on behalf of the resident ratepayers, and not with the new owners of the fee simple. Mr. Justice Warrington's view was that the Act of 1819 set no limit in point of time, and that the Act of 1851 had perpetuated its provisions. He therefore declined to consider contingencies such as the disappearance of inhabitant householders. The practical view, therefore, is that this very decision gave the squares of London a continuing and valuable life. Yet, the wiles of the conveyancer being what they are, the law as it then stood could not set the London squares out of the reach of speculation and encroachment.

It would take up too much time and space to enumerate the forty Acts that by the usual palimpsestic process formulated the law in this regard. One important stage in this evolution of enclosure rights came in with the Metropolis Management Act, 1855, which revolutionised London's local government. But instead of sweeping away the limited trusteeship over these enclosures it left the trustees as they were, and continued the charge as embodied in local Acts, or else vested it in a committee

of inhabitants whose expenses were met with a rate levied by the vestry or district ward. The London Government Act, 1899, repealed a number of special statutes in this connexion in favour of schemes made and confirmed by Order in Council. Cases of neglect still remained under the force of the Town Gardens Protection Act, 1863. This enabled local authorities to deal with gardens or ornamental grounds which had been set apart otherwise than by the revocable permission of the owners thereof, but not with enclosures for which special provision is made in the way of due care and protection by any private or public Act. These powers under the Act of 1863 were and are still exercised by the Corporation of London so far as concerns certain parks and possessions, covering 6739 acres in all, and including remoter areas, of course, like Epping Forest and Burnham Beeches.

The distinction must be clearly appreciated between what we may fairly call guarded and unguarded squares, though they are all technically classed as 'protected' now. It was this division that confronted the Parks and Open Spaces Committee of the London County Council when it came into being with the Local Government Act, 1888, and brought, for the first time, the affairs of Greater London under unified control. Fortified by the result of the Edwardes Square case, it prepared a Bill to prevent building on these enclosures, but this Bill had to be amended so as to confine its application to the enclosures of owners who expressed agreement, and as such it became law as the London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation) Act, 1906. In all, it scheduled only sixty-four enclosures, thirty-eight of which were vested at the time in local authority, and as regards five more in private ownership the operation of the Act was limited to the tenant's lifetime. It was unfortunate, perhaps, that the scope of the Act was so narrowed down, but at least a code of control was established, and a veto was set up against the erection of buildings other than those required for garden or recreational uses. Moreover, the principle of inheritance was preserved, and the force of compensation recognised as unaltered wherever the lands came under compulsory purchase.

We now come to the point where the *rationale* of modern town-planning and administration was brought to bear upon the problem of the London squares in the light of up-to-date administration and the public interest. At the instance of the London County Council the Royal Commission of 1927 was appointed under the chairmanship of the Marquis of Londonderry to report on squares and open spaces in the London administrative area, with 'special reference to the conditions in which they are held and used, and the desirability of their preservation as open spaces'; as also to recommend 'whether any or all of them

should be permanently safeguarded against any use detrimental to their character as open spaces, and if so, by what means and on what terms and conditions.'

The Commission proved itself diligent as well as representative, and its report must remain a permanent budget of special information which is likely to remain unequalled. Orally or by correspondence, it examined a number of important witnesses, chiefly representing owners (some twenty-four in all) of the great estates concerned, or public societies and movements, proprietary companies, professional institutes, or fiduciary bodies like the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Foundling Estates. It soon became apparent that the divergence of interests thus assembled was as wide as the area under survey, and it was highly creditable to the Commission that it stowed away so much material in a succinct report of fifty octavo pages. One of its findings was that further protection against building was urgently needed, and hard experience since has driven that lesson home. Between inhabitants who put up no real or combined defence of their rights and local authorities who could not put down the high purchase price demanded, the public have already been heavy losers. They have had to watch the displacement of stately old residential property by cubes of utilitarian ugliness, and the departure into selfish control of land which carried private or public rights that should never have been left in abeyance.

Next we come to the question how far concurrence may be expected on the part of private owners, and here the testimony given to the Royal Commission was of special value. While strongly hostile to the acquisition of enclosures for conversion to public open spaces, the owners expressed themselves favourably towards co-operation, and in some cases towards the admission of children to the use of the enclosures—that is, under suitable supervision and control. Something like fifty-one examples in the possession of great estates were cited, where the owners consented to sterilisation of these enclosures without compensation, but under certain conditions. The Duke of Bedford, for instance, as the possessor of nine important squares in Bloomsbury and Paddington, allowed the lessees of surrounding houses to use the enclosure in Belgrave Square, though he admitted no such rights on their part and has maintained the square at his own expense. This attitude has set a salutary example to other owners, and has drawn the fangs of contention to some extent in respect of the difficult matter of compensation.

In this particular field certain adverse arguments were put forward, nevertheless. One was that the rise in local value which has accrued for years past should be sufficient compensation; but benefit can hardly be denied to owners who have pursued a sound

policy of conservation, and have refrained from the selfish course of sale for development with enclosure destruction, which is so generally condemned. The other argument was that the admission of compensation claims would threaten the preservation of the enclosure and involve the local authority in lengthy and expensive arbitration proceedings, especially where the complicated question of 'betterment' arose. One obvious answer to this point is that the declaration of such a wholesale policy would probably aggravate legal proceedings in the very direction that the objectors pointed out, and might close negotiations altogether. The cases where such enclosures have been already lost to the public emphasise the advisability of proceeding with caution rather than aggression, and the unlikelihood of obtaining assistance from the law, or from Parliament either, if rights already recognised are put in jeopardy. That is why the Commission expressly deprecated the granting of 'any general powers of compulsory acquisition,' and with certain reservations recommended the non-alteration of 'the inheritance of property in the enclosure, and any rights or interests therein.' The advice tendered and accepted by the Commission was that, apart from the Inns of Court, liability for compensation should not exceed a total of 600,000*l*., and might be substantially less; but, of course, costs of administration would have to be reckoned as well. On the whole, therefore, the Royal Commission showed a sense of law and equity, with due regard for financial economy and the public interest, and in upholding the principle of reasonable compensation definitely strengthened the practical side of the report.

Development is another important aspect, and here again the Commissioners showed themselves equitably disposed. They recommended that provision should be made for reasonable expansion where the rear of buildings abutted on to enclosures, or where the enclosure skirted important roads that demanded widening in the future. They also paid attention to the prospect of estate redevelopment, and endorsed the principle adopted in the London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation) Act of 1906, where an old enclosure adopted for building should be replaced by a new one of equal advantage to the public, and approved as such by the Ministry of Health. Furthermore, the Commissioners assented to the indemnification of owners against taxation or rating on certain enclosures so long as they were not built upon, but added the reminder that Parliament could not bind their successors. As to the future construction of underground garages with entrances that might restrict any open space, the Commissioners again assented on condition that the amenities were not permanently affected and the encroachments were not of a material nature.

The London County Council, which had sponsored the Royal Commission, was recognised throughout its deliberations as the body best qualified to carry its recommendations out. But, as negotiations soon showed, a Socialist Government may be disposed to further a policy of public benefit and advance public money, but not be so ready to countenance the payment of private or proprietary claims. Six months ago, after receiving a deputation and promising a Bill, the Minister of Health withdrew this undertaking because of the pressure of other business and his fear that the Bill might prove controversial. Finding there was no prospect of introducing a measure of its own, the Government suggested that the Council should prepare a Bill, and this is now in shape. It enlists the help of the metropolitan borough councils in contributing to the cost of preserving enclosures in their own jurisdiction, as has been done in certain cases with success already. In regard to throwing these enclosures open to children, it sets aside the use of compulsory powers in favour of securing voluntary arrangements under suitable conditions. Where road widenings are necessary and reduce the open space to useless dimensions the London County Council may permit the remainder to be built upon. The use of the underlying earth for underground garages or structures must not encroach on the surface or the verdure of an enclosure, except in a temporary way, and under approved conditions. Owners shall not be prevented from redeveloping estates where the enclosures form a part without providing an alternative open space acceptable to the Council and the Ministry of Health, and of equivalent advantage to the public.

The working out of the compensation problem follows the lines already laid down, but where adjacent property is increased in value by the Council's action the amount of this increase is to be recoverable from the owners. In all disputes as to compensation and betterment, unless there is agreement in favour of some other method, arbitration shall be employed according to the Acquisition of Land (Assessment of Compensation) Act, 1919. There are sundry reservations in these compensation clauses which cannot be enumerated here for want of space, but if the text of the Bill is examined it will be found to have been framed in a fair and tolerant spirit, and the Council admits the justice of penalties against itself wherever it errs or shows neglect. But this contingency is likelier to occur on the other side, if at all, and the measure provides for maintenance and management passing into the hands of the Council or borough council, with power to frame bye-laws for the regulation of an enclosure wherever it has fallen into a neglected condition.

There may be quarters where the admission of children and others to the use of the enclosures may prove unpopular, but the

Council has shown a wise discretion in such matters hitherto, and it conceives that this permission, as a means towards public health and welfare, is of the essence of the whole reform. It may not be possible or advisable to exercise this right over some of the enclosures, but there is a strong case for adopting it wherever these enclosures occur in parts of London with no parks or playing-grounds available. It is believed that the principle will justify itself and spread with beneficial results; and where there is private maintenance by the owners, the Council knows better than to make unwelcome stipulations. Private owners and committees and local authorities will be asked to consider, however, the desirability in suitable cases of removing heavy railings in favour of lighter and more attractive ones, and of replacing a circumference of shrubbery and hedge with grass verges. This elimination of the hedge has proved such a boon in urban development policy in America and the Dominions that it is high time it was introduced over here; and, although it disturbs a long-established convention in this country, use and education should make it popular in the long run.

The financial aspect of the Council's Bill is certain to provoke controversy, as far-sighted expenditure always must in straitened times like these, nor will objections be confined, we may depend, to the Ministerial side. So far as the Government is concerned, it cannot in conscience oppose an enlightened measure which establishes and secures public rights in regard to so valuable a portion of the London area. The Bill is designed to prevent encroachment on 461 enclosures without arresting the development of surrounding property, and where such development gains by the present action it bids fair to recover the public share of such advantage. We have seen how precious opportunity has been lost already in more than one important instance in recent years, and the indignation then expressed should be an earnest of general support for the proposed reform.

For one thing, the Government may be said to stand committed to the principle of compensation when we remember how Mr. Lansbury, speaking at the annual dinner of the National Trust, said there would be no expropriation in regard to lands recovered for the purpose of safeguarding Hadrian's Wall and other monuments or sites of national importance. And this fair-minded undertaking should make for agreement when the political parties come together to consider the preservation of these urban enclosures. Much depends, of course, on the conferential and transigent spirit in which the Council and the owners or part-owners meet, and here the Council has accumulated experience that should prove of the utmost value.

We may never reach the stage of progress where London

acquires an advisory and referential senate of its own, consisting of men like Mr. John Burns and Dr. Raymond Unwin, who have for years helped to educate their fellow-citizens up to a forward and intelligent appreciation of the various needs and opportunities for London's improvement. The London County Council has been wise in discouraging recourse to party conflict, but it has long done sterling work in improving the metropolis, its streets and monuments, its health and general well-being. Its mission certainly includes this new province of urban conservation ; moreover, its magnificent record in the way of extending and beautifying the London parks and working towards the green circumferential belt of the future are its best credentials for being entrusted with this new field of administration. That claim the Royal Commission handsomely endorsed, and Parliament should do no less. We have not produced so much of late that we can confidently look forward to being honoured as a generation imbued with a creative sense in the way of art. But we have certainly improved London in various ways, and here there is an opportunity to keep the good work going. Let us at least, in the matter of these enclosures, be honest brokers between the past and the future.

J. P. Collins.

AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

For several years since the war public attention, both in Great Britain and in America, has been largely occupied by the subject of 'farm relief,' as it is sometimes called—that is, the problem of so improving agricultural conditions as to provide an adequate return for farm labour. The matter well deserves attention, for there is unemployment both in Great Britain and in America, and a policy, if one could be found, which would furnish work for farm labourers would reduce the burden of idleness throughout the nation—in the city as well as in the country.

Lately, the price of wheat has been so low that there has been much distress among wheat farmers, and most of the discussion of farm relief has centred about proposals for a tariff, subsidy, or new methods of marketing, by which it has been thought that the business of producing wheat could be made profitable. Inasmuch, however, as it is not desired on either side of the Atlantic to raise the cost of living or to levy new taxes, the problem of giving to wheat farmers for their grain an increased return which shall come neither from consumers nor from taxpayers has made little progress toward solution.

In the meantime, the whole subject of agriculture demands attention, not merely for the sake of the daily necessaries of life which agriculture supplies, but quite as much because we should have in political life the benefit of the influence which a successful and independent farming population exerts—a steadying influence which has been responsible in no small degree for the success of democratic government in the past, and which democratic government in the future will surely need. The importance of agriculture, as Mr. W. E. Heitland, of Cambridge University, well says, is not merely economic. 'Its moral value as a nursery of steady citizens, and at need of hardy soldiers, should be recognised by thoughtful men.' Its conditions and its relative prosperity or decay deserve, therefore, the attention of all who are concerned for the welfare of their country.

This broadening of the question may perhaps make the problem seem harder, not easier. An increase in the cost of living, it may be said, which would not willingly be borne if the price

of wheat only were raised, would surely be disastrous if all farm products became more costly. A subsidy which would be too great a burden for taxpayers, if given to wheat farmers alone, would surely be a crushing burden if enlarged to maintain all agriculture by public grants. And, nevertheless, we must have food and we must have farmers. We must reduce taxes while at the same time we increase the farmers' profits, provide work for agricultural labourers, and supply the necessaries of life at prices within reach of all. How can this be accomplished, and how are these irreconcilables to be reconciled ?

There have been times when such miracles could be effected by the simple expedient of decreasing cost of production, and, very fortunately for the modern farmer, the agricultural world affords an opportunity for just this miracle to-day. It is possible, by the new methods which recent genetic science has made available, greatly to increase—perhaps to double—the average production of dairy cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, besides establishing a market for the new kind of breeding stock which would bring the world to our doors. Developments of this sort are moving rapidly in America, and, because the methods which promise so much advantage to the American farmer would be equally valuable to farmers in Great Britain, they are well worth the study of all who are interested in British agriculture. In order, however, to understand what these methods are, and what they promise to the entire agricultural world, it is necessary briefly to consider the relation of animal husbandry to agriculture in general ; to examine the breeding methods now commonly in use ; and finally to study the new methods from which we hope for nothing less than a revolution in agricultural affairs.

Sir James Sinclair, in his *History of the Shorthorn Breed*, says that the rise and progress of this breed are closely connected with the industrial development, not only of the United Kingdom, but likewise of those numerous countries for which it has done so much and where it has materially raised the standard of living. It has been, he says, the chief agency for increasing the animal wealth of the greater part of England, ' and if the monetary value of the improvements which it has effected could be ascertained, it would rank as one of the greatest sources of financial profit that has ever been discovered.'

If this could reasonably be said of the effects produced by the development of beef cattle, whose improvement was begun 150 years before the birth of the science of genetics, what should be said of the possibilities now before breeders of domestic animals ? The new science began its existence only thirty years ago with the discovery in 1900 of Gregor Mendel's writings. Many years

were needed thereafter to bring the science to a point where it could give practical aid in commercial operations, but, as a result of the work of investigators in many lands, among whom William Bateson and others in England are conspicuous, that point has now been reached, and, in a world accustomed only to the ineffective and slow methods of the past, new and effective methods are now available. Consider for a moment the possibilities which such an extraordinary situation holds out, and take as an illustration the production of milk in New England.

There were in 1929 about 763,000 cows and heifers kept for milk in New England. If these animals produced an average of 4500 lb. of milk per year (which, in the absence of close culling, is approximately the average production of milch cows in America, and probably is not far from the British average), and if by new methods we can breed a race of cattle which will produce an average of 7500 lb. of milk per year—and modern methods are capable of more than this—it would take but 457,800 cows to produce the amount of milk now produced by 763,000—a reduction of 305,200 animals. It is probable that the annual saving thus effected for the dairy industry in New England would be between $20,000,000 and $30,000,000.

In 1928 there were 2,422,321 cows and heifers in milk in Great Britain, and, if figures applicable to New England are applicable also to Great Britain, the same quantity of milk produced by these animals could be produced by 1,453,392 cows and heifers, with an annual saving of about 15,000,000*l*. In a very able article on 'British Agriculture and Rationalisation,' contributed by Lord Lymington to the *Nineteenth Century and After* in September 1930, the statement is made that wheat farming provides only 10 per cent. of British agricultural output, and that even under a subsidy wheat could provide no more than 16 per cent. of the output nor directly re-absorb more than 17,000 men. 'On the other hand,' Lord Lymington says, 'if we were to produce economically (as we could do in time) all the condensed milk, butter, and cheese now imported, together with all our own bacon and pork, we could re-absorb in direct labour alone over 400,000 workers.' The fertilising material from cattle is valuable for all crops, particularly for wheat, and on root brakes for sheep. 'But a really successful pig industry is interwoven with the by-products of the dairy industry and is connected in glut seasons with the potato industry, market gardening, and fruit farming. Thus it becomes an axiom that if you benefit one part of agriculture you benefit all parts, only for expediency it is best to begin at the centre rather than the fringes.'

Improvement of agriculture depends, then, upon efficiency in producing and managing live-stock. It is by means of animals

that we secure the highest returns for the roughage of the farm, that we dispose of pasture, hay and mangels in the form of dairy products, meat, eggs and wool, and provide fertiliser for field crops, market gardens, and fruit.

To do this to best advantage we must have dairy cattle free from breeding troubles and able to produce large quantities of rich milk, healthy poultry that can make a flock average of over 200 good-sized eggs a year, swine whose litters will yield over a ton of dressed pork in six months, and sheep of rapid growth that have been bred to produce twins.

Is this too much to ask ? Nevertheless, it is the kind of animal industry that is coming. There have been swine whose litters in six months have weighed nearly two tons and a half, hens that have laid over 350 eggs in a year, cattle that have produced in a year more than seven times as much milk as the average cow ; and the important fact about it all is that we now know how to breed animals so as to bring these results. High production in the past has been rare, and has just been luck. High production in the future will be system and knowledge.

The subject, however, goes far beyond the business of producing and selling milk and milk products, with allied industries, for it is possible by effective use of the new knowledge at our command to establish valuable markets for breeding stock such as would constitute a new source of national wealth. If one way to make agriculture profitable is to raise high-priced crops, the way by which agriculture can be made most profitable will be by raising the highest priced and most valuable of all crops. This is farm relief of the most effective character, and it is here for all in Great Britain, as well as in America, to take advantage of those who have the energy and ambition so to do. No governmental aid is needed, no subsidy, no appropriation, and no revolving fund. Prosperity is again offered to those who have the will and strength to improve their opportunities. Real prosperity rarely comes in any other way.

It is impossible briefly to deal with the subject of breeding as related to all the different kinds of domestic animals, and for this reason the present discussion will be limited to the breeding of dairy cattle. It must be understood, however, that genetic methods can be used also with sheep, swine and poultry, and that cattle are dealt with here merely as an illustration of what can be done, with varying details, in all branches of animal industry.

There are in America six great breeds, commonly called breeds of dairy cattle, all of European origin and named for the places from which they come—Ayrshires, Brown Swiss, Durhams (or

Shorthorns), Guernseys, Holstein-Friesians, and Jerseys. The breed associations which maintain the records of these cattle permit registration to all animals coming from a registered sire and a registered dam, without any test whatever of the productive ability of females. They call the cattle which are registered on their books 'pure-bred'; but, since, so far as dairy qualities go, good, bad and indifferent are accepted and registered without discrimination by all breed associations, it is clear that registered cattle are 'pure-bred' only so far as pedigree is concerned, but are not 'pure-bred' for dairy qualities. The result is that the average production of registered dairy cattle in America is below the requirements of any successful dairyman, and the further result is that over 96 per cent. of the dairy cattle in America are unregistered. It is for this reason that Professor Barton, of McDonald College, Ontario, recently remarked that 'the terms "pure-bred," "registered," and "pedigreed" have lost some of their old-time lustre,' and that Dean H. L. Russell, of the College of Agriculture in the University of Wisconsin, says that 'something must be done, or the grade will become the more important.

Requirements for registry of dairy cattle in Great Britain differ in some instances from requirements in America, but the figures for average annual production of British cattle, as stated in the edition of Black's *Veterinary Encyclopædia*, published in Glasgow in 1927 (Guernseys, 5000 lb., 5 per cent. milk; Jerseys, 4500–5000 lb., 5 per cent. milk; Ayrshires, 6000 lb., 4 per cent. milk; and Shorthorns, 6000 lb., 3·8 per cent. milk), are close to the average of these breeds in America. It is obvious that this production is much too low, and that the system of breeding which leads to these results is an unsound system.

It is impossible briefly to give all the reasons for the failure of the dairy breeds, but we should notice three important facts.

In the first place, the problem before the breeder of dairy cattle is very different from the problem before the breeder of beef cattle, for the qualities which make beef, both in sire and dam, are evident to the eye, while in dairy cattle the quality sought—that of milk production—comes to expression only in the female.

In the second place, the prevailing system of mating high-record cows to sons of high-record cows is a system that is incapable of developing a race of high-producing cattle. Of course, the practice, at first thought, seems reasonable; it is so plausible, indeed, that breeders of dairy cattle have clung to it for generations, though to their great cost, for the inherited productive ability of dairy cows is probably no greater now than it was 500 years ago. Poultry breeders have learned the inadequacy of this so-called 'best to best' system and are discarding it; for with poultry there are many offspring in a generation, and the work-

ings of the system are disclosed. To understand this method of breeding, take the case of two 300-egg hens, each from high-producing ancestors. Are these birds good breeders? Most poultrymen a few years ago would have said that they were; but suppose that one of these birds had many poor sisters and no good ones, while the other bird had many good sisters and no poor ones. These are not facts which pedigrees of the birds' ancestors would show; and, nevertheless, it is clear that in such cases the inheritance in one family is good and in one family is poor. Moreover, since birds like the high-record hen with good sisters are practically unknown unless there has been a long course of technical modern breeding, it follows that whenever a 300-egg hen is mated to a son of a 300-egg hen the breeder is dealing with birds like the hen with poor sisters, and the result is disappointment. It is for this reason that the New Jersey Experiment Station in its annual report for 1925 said:

> Viewed strictly as a mass proposition, in no instance is it possible to show an existing relationship between the production of daughters and the production of their sire's dam, or between daughters' and dams' production. . . . Such records are of no great importance, unless something more is known of the ancestry.

Breeders of dairy cattle have found that they are not free from the operation of this rule. A 900-lb. cow mated to the son of a 900-lb. cow brings no better results as a matter of breeding than the mating of a 300-egg hen to a son of a 300-egg hen. The history of dairy cattle breeding is full of matings on this theory of inheritance, and the result has been failure. Something more is needed if we are to develop a race of high-producing animals than the mere mating of good cows to sons of good cows.

In the third place, it is clear, so far as registration is concerned, that a superior breed cannot be maintained if registration of inferior animals is permitted. As Professor E. L. Anthony, of Michigan Agricultural College, said several years ago:

> It is a generally accepted opinion that our present system of cattle registry here in the United States is fundamentally unsound in its basic principle, in that, just because the sire and dam of a calf may be pure-bred and registered, it follows that the calf is automatically qualified also to be registered and worthy to be used for breed development. Such a system continues in ever-increasing numbers to propagate and carry on undesirable animals, and thereby lessens the value of the registration of all animals. The system is genetically unsound, and one of the greatest drags to breed improvement that it is possible for us to practise. It is daily becoming worse.

It is not surprising, then, that pedigree registration has failed to achieve practical results. Genealogies and ancestor worship are barren when separated from relation to practical qualities.

Obviously, however, dairy breed associations should not become mere genealogical societies; therefore the system of advanced registry testing of selected animals was introduced. This system, which permits a breeder to publish whatever is favourable and to withhold from publication whatever is not favourable, clearly has one feature in common with pedigree registration—that it is well adapted to serve as a means of breed advertisement. Sweet are the uses of publicity. As a means of making known to purchasers of breeding stock the actual transmitting qualities of animals there is little, however, to be said in its favour. It is essential in breeding, as in other matters, if the truth is to be told at all, that the whole truth be told. If a breeder is to judge any strain of cattle, it is as important to know its faults as to know its excellencies. A system which publishes good performances and tells nothing of failures and averages gives no sound basis for breeding work. Advanced registry testing has therefore done little or nothing to raise the average production of registered cattle.

The dairy breeds contain some very good animals and many poor ones. Their present average production is below the requirements of a successful dairy business, and their breeding methods are unsound. Whatever these breeds were worth to begin with, they are not meeting present-day demands, and unless they take up modern methods their work has been done. For these reasons they are giving way to more modern organisations.

It is stated in one of the publications of the United States Department of Agriculture that Cow Testing Associations (also called Dairy Herd Improvement Associations) have done more directly and indirectly towards raising production and placing dairying on a sound basis than any other single agency. The functions which the registry associations of the dairy breeds failed to perform, these associations are now actually performing. Beginning in 1906 with one association which did nothing more than test the production of all cows in member herds, these associations have spread throughout the country and have increased their functions, until now they deal with all the operations of practical dairymen. The average production of cows in these herds in 1928 was 7464 lb. milk—285 lb. butter-fat. It is well known, however, that cattle are able to go far above those figures. If the right bulls can be found it would easily be possible to double the average production of all cows in the United States, and greatly to increase the average of Improvement Association herds. Where can these bulls be found ?

Mr. O. E. Reed, chief of the United States Bureau of Dairy Industry, says that the present average production of Improvement Association herds has been reached largely through close

culling and careful feeding, and that it is doubtful that further gains can be made in this way. If production is to be pushed above 300 lb. of butter-fat, the work must be done by improved breeding methods and a more careful selection of herd-sires. It is clear that the average registered bull of the dairy breeds does not meet present requirements, for the average production of registered cattle is below the 300-lb. line. As Mr. Reed said:

> It may be satisfactory to select bulls on the strength of type and pedigree for low-producing herds, but for herds averaging 300 lb. of butter-fat or more only bulls that have already demonstrated their ability to increase production in such herds should be selected.

Here is the key to the whole situation. It is not registered bulls that are needed, nor 'typey' bulls, but proved bulls, whether registered or not; and so Proved Sire Associations are forming in America throughout the dairy States, judging every bull by a comparison of the average production records of all his daughters with the average production records of their dams. This practice is followed also in Denmark. In Norway, of the bulls registered during the years 1910–20 in the books of the Telemark breed of dairy cattle, 45 per cent. had sires that were six years old or over; and even in Russia the use of proved sires in the dairy industry is part of the Soviet programme. How great a change this is from the methods of the past may be seen in the fact that hitherto comparatively few bulls have been kept for use after they were three years old. Young bulls are easier to handle, and old bulls have not generally been wanted. The movement in favour of proved sires which now gives preference to older bulls of known breeding quality completely reverses former practice; and nevertheless the new movement is logical, being based on the doctrine that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. It is good business policy, for it is guided by the rule that nothing succeeds like success; it is inevitable, because it gives dairymen a sure method by which they may raise the production of their herds, and it makes way rapidly, for in a highly competitive business it enables breeders to stop their losses and increase their income. When using a proved bull the breeder is on sure ground, for he knows by actual test what productive ability the bull has transmitted to those of his daughters that have been tested; he knows, too, that the genetic constitution of animals does not change, and that the bull will transmit to future daughters, on the average, the same productive ability which he has transmitted to his daughters in the past. With this information the element of hazard is removed from breeding, and pedigree—which at most is but a promise—becomes unimportant.

The comparison of records, nevertheless, makes necessary

some method of allowing for the influence of the dams. If all bulls were bred to cows which transmitted to their daughters the same productive ability, the influence of the bulls would be shown when the daughters were placed in the order of their average production. Since cows vary in the quality of the inheritance they transmit, a method of computing the bull's index is necessary.

At the Maine Station it was proposed, in 1919, to plot the curve of variability of the records, dividing it into equal areas and classifying the offspring of each sire according to the position of each dam-daughter pair. This plan has proved too complicated and too indefinite for general use. In a given case the question for which a breeder seeks an answer is, how many pounds of milk and of butter-fat does this bull tend to transmit to his daughters? The method of the Maine Station gives no definite answer to this question.

The Yapp–Hansson Index, suggested by Professor Nils Hansson, a Swedish investigator, and modified by Professor W. W. Yapp, of the Illinois Station, is $x = 2a - b$, in which x is the bull's transmitting ability, a the daughters' average production records, and b the dams' average production records, both corrected to a 4 per cent. basis. The formula is good, but has the disadvantage that it conceals in a single figure the several factors involved. System in breeding work requires that, so far as possible, the different factors should be known and distinguished.

Dr. Gowen, of the Rockefeller Institute, and Professor Warren Gifford, of the University of Missouri, have recently suggested that the daughters' average records be accepted as the bull's index, ignoring the influence of their dams. As a rough-and-ready rule of thumb the method is useful, and will always be better than the current practice of judging bulls by looks and pedigree. Nevertheless, the Gowen–Gifford system is wrong in principle, for inheritance of dairy qualities comes equally from sire and dam. It is wrong also in practice, for to many breeders it would seem to imply that inheritance from the sire is dominant, and that in breeding dairy cattle careful selection of females is not necessary.

The suggestion which offers the best practical solution of the problem is known as the Mount Hope Index, suggested by Dr. H. D. Goodale. Comparison of a large number of production records has led to the conclusion that in matings between animals of different levels of production the quantity of milk produced is on the average about seven-tenths of the distance above the lower parent, while butter-fat per cent. is about four-tenths of the distance above the lower level. Inasmuch as records are made by animals of different ages, it is necessary to reduce all records to mature equivalents. Applying this rule, for example, to the

case of a bull that had six daughters averaging 11,100 lb. of milk testing 5 per cent. from dams which had an average production of 9000 lb. of milk testing 4·6 per cent., the bull's breeding index, based on six dam-daughter pairs, and showing the inheritance of production which on the average he transmits to his daughters, would read:

Six pairs; 12,000 lb. milk—5·6 per cent. 672 lb. butter-fat.

This method, then, makes it possible to classify all bulls listed by Proved Sire Associations. Registered bulls of each dairy breed can be listed under the name of that breed, and unregistered bulls can be listed separately. Some such lists have been made, and it is already evident that the average registered bulls of the various dairy breeds—' pure-bred ' bulls, as they have been called—are no better than the breed averages of production heretofore stated would lead us to expect. The first step to the improvement of dairy cattle, then, is taken when we learn that we cannot rely on a bull because he is registered, but must find one that has a good index. Breeders will soon understand that, when the index is known, the pedigree of a bull is unimportant, for the most that a pedigree can do is to raise a hope of good dairy qualities in the offspring, while the index shows, as a fact, the average inheritance which the bull has actually transmitted to his daughters. Improvement of dairy cattle therefore requires:

(1) That the productive ability of every female be tested, and that her record of production be preserved;
(2) That the average production of all daughters of different bulls be compared by an index method with the average production of the dams of these daughters, in order to discover the breeding value of their sires; and
(3) That the results of these comparisons—whatever the index method adopted—be published in lists of proved sires available to breeders.

There is, of course, some expense involved in keeping bulls until they are at least six years old, as must be done if they are to be proved, and breeders accustomed to old methods who do not fully appreciate the advantages to be gained by use of proved bulls hesitate to incur this expense. It is possible, however, to avoid much of this burden by leasing young bulls to dairymen for test on the agreement of the dairymen that the production of all mates and all daughters of the leased bull shall be measured and their records reported to the owner of the bull. In many cases the indices for sires of present-day herds can be computed; and if young bulls from good, indexed sires out of high-producing dams whose sire had a good index were chosen to lease in the manner

described, dairymen would procure at small expense the use of young bulls of excellent promise, and breeders would have their bulls kept for them until they are either shown to be poor animals or are available as proved sires with known indices. The system is, in fact, neither difficult nor expensive, while, on the other hand, its benefits are almost beyond estimate, since to breeders of dairy cattle the inherited productivity of whose herds has long been stationary it opens a method of securing steadily increasing productive ability of which neither we nor our grandchildren will live to see the limit. When dairy bulls are known by their indices a new era will begin in the history of the dairy industry.

So much for the possibilities before breeders of dairy cattle. For breeders of poultry, sheep, and swine the story is much the same, since genetic methods which can do so much with cattle are available and effective in breeding work with the other domestic animals.

The world is not as simple as it used to be. We have new ways of doing old things—vastly more effective than the old ways, accomplishing results that were unthought of not long ago, but demanding study and system which persons brought up in simpler, more comfortable times find it hard to learn. Nevertheless, scientific methods are as inevitable in the dairy industry and in all breeding of domestic animals as they have shown themselves to be in other industries. The only question is when these methods shall be introduced. In this matter profits go to the leaders. Competitive business is a race. First-comers can easily take possession of a market which armies may be unable to take from them. Lord Lymington well says that 'Lack of leadership has wasted the farmer's opportunities in the past'; and also that there would not 'be much of an agricultural problem if the great industrial leaders had realised the importance of agriculture to them . . . or if millionaires in private life had worked like the old eighteenth-century landlords, using their wealth, not to subsidise amenities, but to make agriculture self-sufficient.'

There is great force in that suggestion, and, very fortunately, the farmers' opportunities are not all in the past. The greatest opportunity that agriculture has known in two centuries is here before us now, awaiting, both in Great Britain and in America, the appearance of a leader.

E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

PERSIAN PRINCES IN ENGLAND A CENTURY AGO

As red wine in a golden cup, so is English cheerfulness, and their faces are like the rising full moon.

SUCH is the note in the Diary of Prince Najaf Kuli when he arrived at Damascus and met the British Consul there. The Prince was on a journey to the English Court accompanied by two brothers, grandsons of the late Fath Ali Shah. Their father, Firmân Firmân, was a captive in the hands of Mohammed, actual king at Teheran. For on the death in 1834 of Fath Ali (whose life-size portrait is now at Burlington House), several princes, who were almost sovereign rulers of their respective provinces in Persia, disputed the succession to the throne, until Mohammed Shah, with the advice and help of both England and Russia, achieved a bloodless victory and was acknowledged as Lord Paramount. He treated his chief rival, Firmân, kindly: but Firmân, knowing that his head sat very loose while the princes, his sons, were still under arms, wrote urgent letters advising them to cease warring and to make all speed overland for England, there to solicit the mediation of His Britannic Majesty with Mohammed Shah.

The three princes, who were splendidly mounted, fled, and after baffling hordes of pursuers entered Baghdad in safety. The rest of their land journey across the desert and over the Lebanon mountains was rich in adventure; but the manner in which they toiled through snow-bound passes, swam icy rivers in flood, and plunged through half-frozen morasses proved their mettle and their hardihood. The test of the sea, 'whose waves roar in anger against their riders,' was yet to come.

They reached Beirut early in April. There the English Consul, Mr. Moore, called, and on their return visit received them in his drawing-room. When his wife entered,

Behold, an English moon [1] appeared, like a blossoming rose. When I saw this lovely lady, I rose up and seated her near me. On the one side I cried *Defend me*, on the other *Welcome*. In the light of the beauty of this

[1] The ordinary Oriental term for a beautiful face.

lady, I gave up my soul. From the sun of the splendour of youthfulness I was enraptured : from the sweetness of her smiles and the bloom of that moon my heart received strength.

They had to wait a fortnight before the mail packet-boat *African* (Captain Goldsmith) put into port on her monthly visit. She was a paddle-wheel steamer, already fifteen years old. The steam-vessel, writes the Prince, is one of the extraordinary inventions of the world, and he gives a description of the 'house of iron' amidships, the boiler, 'the pipe like a mast on top of the room of iron to carry the smoke,' the turning of the wheels which open a canal in the sea and make the vessel to fly, while the noise can be heard two miles away. The first thought of the Persians was to visit the engines ; but when at sunset the vessel cleared the harbour,

our whole being was instantly deranged, and vomiting became our only occupation : every one of us so suffered in spite of ourselves and was obliged to fling down in any place, knowing nothing of the world or whether we were alive or dead. Our servants fell one upon another like dead men. At night we knew not of what would happen to us in the morning.

They had a troubled passage to Alexandria, where they saw many windmills along the coast and in the harbour 'above 5000 vessels, great and small,' including 'six ships, each of 180 guns,' and many other warships belonging to Mohammed Ali Pasha.

As they were about to weigh anchor two boats came alongside, one bearing two turtles 'as large as bullocks,' for 'in London they eat the flesh of this animal in soup and prefer it to mutton.' In the other boat was a mummy-dealer with a sample of his wares, who said that selling dead bodies had been his only trade for the last thirty years—a fact which shows how easy and profitable was the plunder of ancient tombs at that period.

The dealer found no market for dead bodies on board, and the ship sailed for Malta. Three days out, bad weather was encountered.

All the waves of the sea rose up in mountains with ceaseless roar till they were exalted to the planet Jupiter. Sometimes we saw the vessel lifted up to the seventh heaven and sometimes sunk down to the seventh earth, or to the shoulders of the bullock which carries the world : sometimes our feet were above us and our heads below. Every moment we thought ourselves doomed as a sacrifice to the dwellers in the sea : our bones from being tossed about were nearly broken.

The Prince, however, had some 'holy dust' from the tomb at Kerbelah ; so he got four of the crew to carry him on deck, and, shutting his eyes, cast a little of the dust on the waves, 'which in a moment became much calmer.' But worse was to come. The ship's coal gave out and the vessel could not move, though

they were still over 200 miles from Malta. The captain explained that there was little hope of sighting a merchantman, as sailing-vessels followed the coast, and that, although steam had been used for forty years, he never knew such a breakdown before. To all of which the Prince answered, 'May dust be upon your head!' or 'May your house tumble down!'

But relief came next day; for the captain saw a speck on the horizon, hoisted a flag of distress, and when within signalling distance was able to say, 'She is a steamer of the King—the *Spitfire* bound from Corfu to Malta with Government despatches.' Much astonished were the Persians when the captain showed them his signal books and lists and designs of ships, by which he was able to obtain his knowledge at such a distance. Meanwhile the *Spitfire* came on 'like a lion, roaring with her wheels,' and transferred to the *African* coals and fresh provisions, among which was 'a new kind of fruit, very soft to the touch, of a red colour like the mulberry: they eat it with pounded sugar and call it strawberries.' It is interesting to note that tinned salmon and mutton were provided, and the princes found the fish more delicious than any they had ever tasted.

At Malta they saw a fleet of seven ships of the line, with the *Caledonia* as flagship. Of this the diarist writes:

> The eyes of time and the revolutions of day and night have never beheld such a ship. It takes rank before all the ships of Europe. It is the largest in the world, and the English Emperor by having such a ship takes pre-eminence over all the Shahs of Europe. He can in a moment destroy all the kingdoms of Europe and of Turkey with this ship alone. It has cost millions of money. . . . When we drew near to the *Caledonia*, praise be to God, she appeared like a great city on the face of the sea. The mind is astonished: she has several stories: her masts, reaching to the sky, are so lofty that an eagle could not fly above them.

After a tedious period of quarantine at Malta, the Governor secured passage for the princes on board the *Spitfire*, which was homeward bound. Gibraltar greatly excited their imagination. It is

> such a place that if all the troops of the whole world assemble against it they will never be able to take it. The King that has possession of it will oblige all the other Kings of Europe to sue for his favour: for without his permission no boat could pass the strait. . . . To the English it is the key of their empire, and as all the other Kings keep their eyes upon it, they have used all their wisdom and skill to render it impregnable. The mountain presents a wonderful sight, tiers of guns rising one over another in such an astonishing manner. Say what thou wilt: One half of all the ammunition and war material is in all the rest of the world: the other half is in Gibraltar. . . . In short a city in such fine order, with such powerful fortifications, is not to be found elsewhere in the whole world,

and the greatest travellers have never seen anything like it, nor does it ever enter their minds that there is such a castle upon the earth. Even the swift-winged wind has never passed a place like it.

At Gibraltar the princes were entertained in royal fashion by the Governor. They were taken through the galleries, where 'the enormous cannon are so skilfully pointed that even if a fly should attempt to pass the strait, it could not escape the balls.' A review of the garrison, state dinners at Government House, and a garden party proved no less interesting. The garden was like a paradise, where all kinds of roses and elegant flowers were smiling in full bloom and music was being prepared, nor were young ladies with graceful forms and beautiful faces and ambergris hair wanting. These houris were taken by the hand by fine young men who led them into the garden and seated them under the roses, 'where their own fair cheeks and the blossom of roses gazed proudly at each other. The nightingale also was jealous of the singing of the musicians.' After the princes had sat down 'the moonlike faces with scented hair' made a ring round them, and one and all were complimented. Dancing followed, and as the dance ended every man took the lady he loved to the tables of refreshment and gave her whatever she desired, while they conversed on the things of the heart.

Much of this language sounds curious to us as the scenes described were unfamiliar to the Persians. But it is worth remarking that even in the Diary there is no word of disparaging criticism for anything which might have clashed with their Oriental ideas, and nothing but praise for the friendly entertainment offered to them.

They were escorted to their vessel in due course, and as much ceremony was shown at their departure as at their welcoming. On the Bay of Biscay they have some unflattering remarks, but arriving at Falmouth they gazed from the deck on the shore as a lover gazes upon his mistress. Their quarters there were the Green Bank Hotel, which is described as a splendidly furnished house, with everything comfortable for life, and with fine-looking women serving in it. But their ideas of the English hotel were much enlarged at Exeter, where the hotel had many rooms royally furnished, and each one with hot water, clean towels, and scented soap awaiting the traveller, while in the dining-room everything you may desire or imagine is placed upon the table. 'We were quite astonished at this house, and were told it belongs to a man whose business it is to entertain strangers and travellers . . . and that there are in this city about 5000 such public places. Each of them gains about 1000 tomâns per day [500*l.*] : indeed money here is like dust.' Asiatic arithmetic multiplies ciphers to express wonder, and here was in a generous mood ; so also the

number of stage-coaches in the United Kingdom is put at 2,000,000. But the princes all enjoyed the journey to London in summer-time. They saw not one bit of land uninhabited all the way, and not one hand-breadth of bare soil, but all covered with delightful green, with roses and all kinds of flowers guarded by singing nightingales. 'Such air and water are scarcely elsewhere in the world: the scene is enough to take away one's senses.' In the fields or parks along the road they saw partridges, gazelles, deer and other game grazing without fear; and as Prince Najaf had his gun at hand he was preparing to shoot, when he was told first that it was the close season, and next that no one may shoot game on another man's land: even the Shah of England may not hunt on the land of the lowest peasant.

Coming to Bath, which greatly stirred their admiration, they lodged at York House Hotel, which was furnished in a royal and majestic manner. Thence letters were forwarded to the King, to Lord Palmerston, and to Lord Glenelg. Meanwhile vast crowds used to assemble in the streets, and their curiosity became annoying, though many people showed their respect by bowing the head. But one day as he was sitting by the window in the afternoon the Prince saw from the east

> a sun shining and flashing. On beholding this incomparable beauty, this lovely face like the full moon, I lost my senses in admiration. Not that I lost my sight: no, my eyes by beholding her smiling became a hundred times more powerful. The delightful odour of her hair fell into my heart, and I was forced to rise up and invite her to sit by my side, paying her all honourable respect. My heart died away, and unless my mind had gained strength to maintain conversation with my visitor, I should have appeared quite bewildered. I asked who she was. This full moon was the daughter of a captain in the East Indies.

So for three days they had nothing to do but to continue looking at the beautiful Christian daughters, and the smallest number they ever saw in one day was about 5000. Mine host asked if they would receive the ladies, and the answer was, 'Let them come.' On one occasion there came a planet which dazzled their eyes as it rose to view, and the Prince, taking courage, touched her beautiful jasmine hands and invited her to sit down; but could even the courage of a dervish stand before such majesty? The ladies were requested to write their names in a book, which showed that about 1000 of these illustrious houris came as visitors.

Meanwhile Wali, accompanied by the secretary, was sent as the princes' envoy to London. Letters accrediting the mission were despatched to Lord Palmerston, who shortly afterwards called upon Wali and spoke kindly but plainly to him.

> As you are the first members of the Royal Family of Persia to visit this country, [he said] and as the most friendly relations prevail between the

two kingdoms, we will gladly use our influence in presenting your case before Mohammed Shah, provided that it accords with the policy of our Government. But, if otherwise, I must tell you that we cannot encourage disturbance in Persia and we strongly desire her welfare.

Explanations and assurances being given, Lord Palmerston closed the interview, allowing the princes to hope that the British Government would do its best on their behalf. At the same time Mr. Fraser, who was familiar with Persia and spoke the language, called to say that the princes would be guests of the King during their stay in London and would be lodged in a majestic building specially prepared, where other royal princes were entertained, such as the brother to the King of Naples and the heir to the throne of Holland. This seems to have been Mivart's Hotel.

On receipt of Lord Palmerston's formal letter of welcome and invitation, the two princes who had remained at Bath resumed their journey to London, which they reached after a long drive through beautiful country. A day or two later they went to see the Zoological Gardens. A society of noble and wealthy men had collected an enormous treasure of gold and sent out clever hunters and other men to gather in every creature known or unknown, from an elephant or rhinoceros to a cat and from an ostrich to a bat or a gnat. There was even a monkey which played chess with a Jew, beat him, and laughed aloud in triumph. Of birds there were more than 30,000 kinds, including some elephant birds just like elephants with no proboscis, but having wings 15 yards long ; forty kinds of peacocks, twenty-five sorts of nightingales, cocks from all parts of the world. In short, by a visit to this place the mind was astonished, the heart was agitated, the eyes were dazzled, and curiosity was sated.

On June 10 some of the ' Pillars of Government ' called upon the princes, who later in the evening went to a fancy dress ball—apparently at Lord Melbourne's. There they met the Russian Ambassador and Mohammed Ismail Khan, Ambassador of the King of Oude. Lord Palmerston again called and asked the princes to put down their requests in writing, which was done, and in the end he promised to do all possible in the King's name for their advantage with Mohammed Shah.

Although a very good account is given of the three Estates of the Realm and much shrewdness is shown in estimating and describing the customs of the English, more amusement will be found in many lighter remarks of the Diary. Thus of the Thames : ' The water of the river Thames is very heavy and not at all good for the digestion, nor could it ever produce an appetite. But the people of this country do not use water as a drink : when it is necessary they take a little—once in three or four days.' Elsewhere wine is described as the staff of life in England ; and all

fruits from all parts of the world, either grown in hothouses or imported, are found on the tables of the wealthy in or out of season. Like the fruits, so all the arts of the world meet in England. The people are of gentle nature and refined habit: most of the ladies are more delicate and refined than the blossom of roses; their waist is more slender than a finger-ring, their form is beautiful, and their voice is winning. The men are very particular in their disputes, which are very cleverly managed. Even where there is the most acute misunderstanding, they keep up the rules of politeness; and even though vengeful feelings are stirred, still the quarrel moves in ceremonious style, and bad language (God forbid it!) is not used. A duel is described, which, says the Prince, is not condemned by the law, and which 'has been a well-known practice among the fools of this nation from ancient times.'

Charities, almshouses, and hospitals for the sick poor are highly commended, but all these institutions have arisen within a period of 290 years—*i.e.*, since about 1550. 'Before that time the people were wild beings, while now they cultivate all branches of science, so much so that their children are scientifically educated and speak twenty languages.' Then there are several thousand colleges and schools; and 'verily such a magnificent kingdom and lofty nation is not now and never has been in any part of the world, nor has one like it been known in ancient times or recorded in history.' Praise of this sort, though serious enough at the time, must needs seem to us in the twentieth century strangely exaggerated; but we may at least feel ashamed of a decay of manners which often makes even the House of Commons a place where grossly vulgar brawling and grossly vulgar language flourish. But two other English characteristics are noted by the Prince. First, the love of peace. The English like to be on good terms with all foreign Powers and desire peace to prevail all over the world, because war would take away their security and happiness and ruin their commerce. Next, freedom of speech and recognition of merit. A man may say what he likes of the Government, and nobility of birth is no title to greatness: the high are those that are superior in intellect. Often a man of learning without station becomes Prime Minister, and the son of a Prime Minister, if mentally inferior, would be rated a fool.

When King William had returned to town, Lord Palmerston, who all through was very kind and polite to the princes, told them that His Majesty would receive them in audience. On entering the royal hall where the 'Shah' was standing they bowed their heads and were warmly welcomed with the assurance that the King regarded them as his own sons and would be pleased to order everything for their welfare. They left the palace thinking

him a most gracious, kind, and affable monarch, and shortly afterwards received an invitation to visit Windsor Castle, where the Queen would be in residence. This heavenly palace they describe as situated in a park fifty-two miles in circumference and having forty gates. It is watered by several brooks like rose-water, has most noble trees, is carpeted with green velvet, and abounds in gazelles and antelopes and every kind of game, as well as singing birds. 'My pen tells me, do not proceed,' says the writer: 'it passes description: it is Paradise.' The palace is built on a hill in this Eden, about 2000 yards in height. No human voice could even tell of this splendid edifice, whose brilliancy reproves the sun of the world. 'Art thou a garden and a palace, the abode of victory? or a Paradise which God hath planted on the earth? In truth thou seemest an everlasting Paradise.' The interior was no less astonishing—all imperial splendour, the furniture all gold and precious stones. Every king for the last 200 years had a separate palace within the Castle with distinct majestic glory of sovereignty. Each of these palaces contains a beautiful statue in marble or jasper of its king seated on a jewelled throne with all the most precious gems of his day about him. The thrones are of pure gold, and weighty crowns of gold are hung over their heads by golden chains. The library was visited and the ball-room, in which the King himself dances and the Queen to the sound of music which is heard twenty miles away; and finally the King's own apartments made them forget all they had seen before. No monarch ever possessed such splendour—not even Solomon, who commanded the Jinn to search out all the treasures of the world for him, nor Alexander the Great. However, before departing the princes saw and thanked the Queen, regretting that their time had been so short, as it would require more than ten years to examine closely one third part of the splendour of the palace.

In London they received another invitation from the Queen to an evening Court. Mr. Fraser, their guide, stopped at an entrance where the Prince Riza Kuli asked him to announce their arrival. He returned saying that the King and all the Royal Family were present in full robes of state with all the great nobles. As they entered they saw the King sitting crowned upon his throne in jewelled robes, and the Queen in equal splendour. The Prince, thinking that he must make obeisance as he would to his own Padishah, bowed low; but the King took no notice. He then asked Mr. Fraser why the King was so uncivil; and he replied, 'I do not know; perhaps because it was the Queen who invited you.' Very vexed and ashamed, the Prince moved to where the Queen was enthroned amid her maidens. There he renewed his courtly bow—which again was totally ignored. One

of the Ministers, magnificently dressed, was standing before the Queen, and the Persian desired Mr. Fraser to tell him that he now understood that he had no invitation from the Queen, and that Mr. Fraser's intermeddling alone was to blame. Even this produced no answer.

> Praise be to God, how curious! I then took the Minister's hand saying, 'Why do you not reply?' Thereupon he fell down, and I found he was dead and all the others also were dead persons. Now my brother princes and Mr. Fraser laughed aloud, saying, 'These are not dead persons but artificial figures of wax.' . . . So wonderful are the arts of the Franks.

The two brothers were in the secret, having been to the waxworks before, and they had arranged their little joke with Mr. Fraser.

However, they passed on to the royal palace, where a number of the most distinguished nobles of the kingdom had the honour of standing before the Princess Victoria, heiress to the throne, who received the Persians with the utmost courtesy and kindness, as did her mother, the Duchess of Kent. Prince Riza related the story of his visit to the waxworks in a manner which provoked much laughter. Before they left England Princess Victoria sent miniatures of herself and her mother with a request for some verses of Persian poetry in the handwriting of the princes, a request which was readily granted. Where now are those Persian poems or those miniatures?

Many other entertainments offered to the visitors are described with much appreciation and good humour—the panoroma of London at the Coliseum, Astley's Circus, an artillery review at Woolwich, and the Duke of Wellington's review of troops in Hyde Park on the anniversary of Waterloo. But, strangely enough, few sights moved them more than the Opera. There the house was lighted with forty chandeliers of cut glass, each bearing fifty lights, which could be dimmed at a touch, as the illuminant was gas. A great company of young ladies with faces like moons and beauty fit to darken the sun; young men, too, handsome enough to make the sun pale; and below musicians whose playing nourishes the heart. The ladies, with their jewels and fine dresses, ravished the eye.

> My whole soul cried out that it might quit the body and go near those houris. . . . There are also rooms where fine-looking young women, with arms like jasmine and faces like a shining mirror, sell refreshments; and taken all together this place seems to furnish the nourishment of life.

The scene-shifting was also astonishing, as one moment a beautiful landscape was revealed, or ships tossing on a stormy sea, or the clash of hosts in battle amid the smoke of war.

All the princes were susceptible to the charms of the English ladies but Timur Mirza fell violently in love with one particular

beauty, renounced all thought of returning to Persia, and, forgetting all else, resolved to live in London. His love was so open that at last kind hosts made a point of asking the damsel to meet him; but on one occasion on entering the saloon he missed her. His lament was bitter, as he prayed first for death, then for life in hope to see her again; finally he rose and asked his host about her and was told that she was married two days ago. His friends had sore work to restore his heart to life.

But the princes were no less interested in libraries, paintings, and sculptures. The Duke of Sussex had a room in his palace lined with Oriental books from floor to ceiling, mostly Persian. The East India Company showed them a collection of 12,000 volumes, many of which were beautiful Persian manuscripts of the best authors and finest writers, such as they had never seen even in the Shah's library; and in the same house were portraits of royal princes of Persia. Sir Gore Ouseley, too, had a fine library of Persian and Arabic books, some quite new to the visitors and not in the Shah's collection.[2] The princes were, in short, men of highly cultivated taste and noble demeanour. But after nearly four months in London, they departed early in September with hearts full of regret and gratitude. We cannot, they say, describe one tittle of the friendship and hospitality which we received from the people of this kingdom, from the King to the poorest, from the highest to the lowest. During our stay we made such friendships and acquaintances that it caused us insupportable pain to take leave. All the time we were the King's guests; indeed, the kindness and friendliness which he ordered to be shown us has laid us under an obligation for ever.

Does the original of this Diary still exist in the royal archives at Teheran? At any rate, it is a happy circumstance which enables us to recall with vivid sympathy the impressions made by English art and life upon the first of the Persian Royal Family to visit England, at a moment when, largely by favour of the reigning Shah, many thousands in these islands are receiving from the collections at Burlington House their first impressions of the life and of the immemorial art of Persia.

A. J. BUTLER.

[2] Most of Sir Gore Ouseley's manuscripts, splendidly bound and illuminated, are now in the Bodleian Library.

OLD HARROW DAYS[1]

II

In 1877, when I went to Harrow, Dr. Butler's reputation stood at its zenith. My own family's connexion with the school was slight. But two of my grandfather's nephews, Herman and Charles Merivale, with their Drury kinsfolk, had been famous Harrovians in earlier days. And Edward Mallet Young, a connexion and an old friend of my parents, had been a Harrow master since 1863. It was to Mr. Young's house that I was first sent, a small house now vanished, but then opposite the Park. It does not seem, if I may judge by my son's experiences thirty or forty years later, that conditions for a new boy have altered greatly in the half-century since. There is, no doubt, rather more material comfort now, though a small house in 1877 was better off than a large house in that respect. But for most shy or sensitive boys the plunge at first must always be chilling and the sense of loneliness rather keen. Fagging in my time was light, in a small house almost non-existent. Bullying in extreme forms had gone out of fashion. Boys were no longer roasted like Tom Brown at Rugby, or hung out of a window in a clothes-basket, or flogged with thorn-sticks to make them follow up at football, as had happened at Harrow even under Dr. Vaughan. Compulsory boxing had ceased. The old milling-ground below the school yard was almost deserted. Public opinion would not have tolerated prolonged brutalities of any kind. But the instincts of the bully and the tyrant are not always in boyhood easy to extinguish. And the power and will in certain grosser spirits to abuse their strength and make frailer spirits suffer had not vanished from Harrow in the last century. I do not suppose it has vanished in this.

Edward Young, my first housemaster, was essentially a scholar and a gentleman, well-bred, high-minded, kindly, a charming and devoted friend. To Montagu Butler, his ideal of what a head-

[1] The statement made in the first part of Sir Charles Mallet's article on 'Old Harrow Days' in the January number, that Montagu Butler went as a boy to Mr. Oxenham's house at Harrow, is, of course, a mistake. He went into the Headmaster's house and into Mr. Oxenham's pupil-room.—Editor, *Nineteenth Century and After.*

master should be, he wrote, on leaving Harrow, of the 'peculiar sweetness' of their friendship. And as Headmaster of Sherborne Young modelled his methods closely on those of his old chief at Harrow, insisted on the same high standards, claimed the same authority, showed the same open-handed liberality in all plans for improving the buildings and the standing of that fine old school. But he had not perhaps the same wide, patient sympathies as Butler, nor quite the same gift of governing men. Troubles arose and the school's fortunes suffered. But any ground lost for the moment has long since been regained.

It is strange how vividly one's recollection lingers, not only on moments of success or tribulation, on heroes idealised and companions loved, but on days that were sometimes monotonous and weary, episodes which neither time nor distance can enchant. The masters at Harrow in my day were nearly all distinguished men. But some of them, it must be confessed, were not well suited to the career to which they gave their lives. Mr. Rendall, who took the lower sixth, came of a family of well-known scholars and was himself a scholar of a high order, a man whose character and learning everyone admired. But he had not perhaps in a special degree the gift of interesting boys, even boys who were willing to work. To pass from the lower sixth to the upper sixth under the headmaster was to me at least like entering a new world. The fifth form had then three divisions and three rulers, 'Tommy' Steel, 'Skipper' Holmes and 'Vanity' Watson, in our irreverent tongue. Mr. Steel had been at Harrow, with one interval, since 1835, and his teaching had by my day lost its freshness. His essential kindliness and his dislike of change—he was once heard to declare that he hated the sight of Dr. Butler's handwriting—were as familiar to us all as his little pedantries of speech, as his elaborate and oft-repeated sermons—wicked spirits watched for the purple passages which were certain to recur—or as the blue umbrella which accompanied him in all his ways. He treated me in our brief acquaintance very well, 'brought me out' first, as one's contemporaries so kindly put it, and I at least can deny the persistent slander that he placed his boys by shaking up their names in a hat. Mr. Holmes and Mr. Watson were as different from each other as two colleagues could well be. Mr. Holmes, a cheery, sporting, rather truculent old Tory, better fitted, one thought, for a country squire's than for a schoolmaster's life, set in his ways and outspoken to the point of ruthlessness in his opinions, did not conceal his good-natured contempt for the ideas of his Radical colleagues. Mr. Watson, Wellingtonian in aspect and almost abnormally cool and composed, was one of the most successful housemasters and teachers of his time, liberal in all the best senses of that epithet, and unable to disguise from boys who

really got to know him the large and sympathetic understanding which his formality of manner hid. As we passed from master to master we well knew the differences prevailing overhead. To come up with a high reputation from Mr. Watson's form was thought to be a sure handicap with Mr. Holmes; and I remember the delight of my contemporaries when Mr. Holmes succeeded in 'bringing out' first in his form an indolent and pleasant boy—since, I believe, a most competent archdeacon—whom Mr. Watson had relegated, not unfairly, to the lowest place in his. 'Bosites'—I had gone to Bosworth Smith's house when Mr. Young passed on to Sherborne—Bosites could not, such were the relations of the powers above us, expect much tenderness from Mr. Holmes; and we had to rely on the terminal examination to adjust, as it sometimes did with a vengeance, the weekly placings which Mr. Holmes preferred.

Below the fifth form there were other men of character, men often of remarkable qualities of mind. Mr. Bull was the scapegoat of many criticisms. I have no right to join in them, for he showed nothing but kindness to me. But he had not the happiest way of dealing with boys. The young ruffians knew it and tormented him. The tension in form was incessant—suspicious irritation on one side, covert but deliberate provocation on the other. The well-known, it may be well-invented, story of Mr. Bull reading out the week's order with his own son's name at the top—as it had a perfect right to be—and anticipating the sounds of comment he expected by the rash query 'Who said "oh"?' illustrates sufficiently the habits of the form. To discipline a class of boys well is not given to every man, even to the greatest, and a class without discipline may to the master who conducts it easily become a foretaste of hell. One must not in such a connexion mention bishops, but there were masters, bishops of distinction afterwards, who suffered more probably from rebellious boys at Harrow than they ever suffered from rebellious priests. Even Edward Bowen, an expert in discipline later, had his troubles at the beginning. Science seemed to provoke disorder. Chemistry and its teacher in my day fared among the worst, though Lascelles, with his insuperable inches (over eighty-two in all), may have found it easier to dominate a younger generation. The teacher of physics was not much more fortunate. The teachers of mathematics—one kindly, patient master, once a Senior Wrangler, in particular, with his pathetic appeal to lazy pupils, 'Now, now, brace yourself up'—had to face at times a grim determination not to learn. 'Tique' at Harrow derived its name from a master of French origin, Mr. Marillier, who joined the staff in 1819 and was entrusted with the teaching of both French and mathematics. The ways of boys were to

Mr. Marillier an amusing mystery. To William Gregory in the 'thirties' Marillier seemed 'a perfect Gallio as regards tuition.' French secured even less respect than mathematics. One French master, M. Masson, overcame the difficulty chiefly by his wit. Another solved it in part perhaps by teaching German. Music and art had of course still fewer claims to respectful treatment. John Farmer conquered the attention of his hearers partly by turning music into a great, sonorous, cheerful joke. But others faced the task of discipline with less resource. The most unfortunate perhaps was the temporary master whose form determined to give a full trial to his powers, unaware that Dr. Butler was taking a class in the room next door. The disorder grew artistically into a hubbub which the headmaster could not ignore. Rising and sweeping majestically out, he appeared like an avenging angel on the scene of the riot. One insolent youngster, spread upon a desk and hammering with his heels upon it, suddenly saw Dr. Butler looking down into his face. And on that occasion somebody suffered besides the master who subsequently left.

Two figures stood out conspicuously among the younger masters of Dr. Butler's day, Edward Bowen and Bosworth Smith. Bowen, a member of a very brilliant family, had certainly a touch of genius. His originality and love of paradox made boys stare, and scandalised slow minds of an older generation. His sympathies and activities were extraordinarily wide. He put new colour into everything he touched. To great subtlety of mind he added a rare simplicity of heart. And under his dry, quick, decisive manner he concealed a store of tenderness and humour and a quiet habit of self-sacrifice and service which few men brought in the same measure to school routine. Bowen took up work at Harrow under Dr. Vaughan some ten months before Butler's election as headmaster. He remained there till his sudden death forty-two years later. He took charge of the new Modern Side in 1869. He came near, layman as he was, to being elected headmaster in 1885. He was essentially a man of brains, one of the strongest intellectual forces in the school. But he was at the same time an indefatigable athlete. When he first appeared at Harrow, before his appointment, it was rumoured that he had walked over from Cambridge and that he started, after chapel, to walk back. He was a clever and competent cricketer. His examination-paper in cricket, printed in his nephew's memoir of him, is a delightful example of his whimsicality and wit. He invented in 1876 the famous 'Cricket Bill.' He thought games 'of indescribable value': the best boys, on the whole, were the players of games. But they must be games which taught comradeship and co-operation. For the Rifle Corps he cared com-

paratively little. But he could write of its triumphs in 1879 in characteristic verse :

> Bismarck and Cetewayo
> Pale down to boots,
> Ejaculate ' O my O,
> How Harrow shoots ! '

The Gymnasium, ' the mere Greek Iambics of physical training,' he disliked as a substitute for better things. Fives, which he played well, he found it hard to treat seriously, and his running fire of conversation interfered with success. But in football he found his kingdom. He played the game till he was sixty-five. He would have liked to regenerate England with football elevens. His football song is one of the greatest of school songs :

> The fields with his presence are haunted,
> Where daily to football he pass'd,
> Through forty long winters undaunted,
> The playmate of youth to the last.

Bowen's songs are a great possession. He was a poet of remarkable quality, excelling not in delicious nonsense only, but in deeper things. Dr. Butler has spoken of the ' joy and mystery ' in John Farmer's face when he came to report that another of the famous songs was ready to be set to music, or that he had discovered a tune to fit it. Bowen was also a keen student of war, though by conviction a lover of peace. ' Battle to-day ? ' he would often ask, as his boys trooped in to the early morning lesson. Campaigns, Turenne's or Napoleon's, might be illustrated suddenly with tin soldiers brought out of his desk. Or a twig might be produced to remind his hearers of the hedge at Naseby. A note from Mafeking or a soup-ticket from Ladysmith served the same purpose in a later day. Bowen's special gift in teaching was that he remained, to the end, as intensely alive as the boys he taught. His perpetual unexpectedness kept them alert. A Latin lesson might begin with the daily papers, a French lesson possibly with ' lists,' and the lists covered every conceivable subject—Prime Ministers of the eighteenth century, Archbishops of Canterbury, American Presidents, Roman emperors, Headmasters of Harrow, mouths of the Nile ; the last a point of particular importance, because it was essential that everyone should possess ' at least one piece of absolutely useless information.' Bowen could never be conventional in teaching. He pleaded steadily but unsuccessfully for the sanctioning of cribs. His house of course knew him in some ways even better than his form. He would rewrite his school songs for them only. He would take his pupil-room in summertime out upon the lawn, and keep it alive

with his humour. He would try to inculcate simplicity of living, though he fed his boys better than most housemasters. 'O boy; that's like the Romans, boy,' was his comment on one Harrovian's luxurious habit of taking two hot baths a week. The same lover of luxury, since a great historian, tells us that he once forgot the whereabouts of the Cocytus, and was condemned to do a 'map of hell in five paints.' Boys late for dinner had to learn a yacht song of Catullus. All had to learn astronomy in his rarely entered drawing-room, and at these gatherings Bowen would, if necessary, personify the sun or moon. There were terms when 'astronomy' took the more popular shape of lectures upon war. Through all his relations with boys there ran a never-failing stream of whimsicality and fun. And through them, too, there ran a sense of discipline idealised and lofty, an intense anger against injustice, an appeal alike to honour and to conscience, which even a hardened offender found it difficult to withstand.

Bosworth Smith, Bowen's life-long companion at Harrow, was in many respects very different from his friend. But he shared to the full his liberal outlook and his determination to add stimulus and variety to school life. 'Bos' perhaps had not in a high degree the art of discipline. He was not, any more than other schoolmasters, invariably fortunate in the boys whom he admitted to his House. He may have been imposed on sometimes. His eager, many-sided simplicity of nature might give occasional opportunities to scoffers. But none who knew him well, in house or form or intimate association, could recall without affection the familiar figure in the shabby gown, the face instinct with intelligence and kindness, the superficial brusquerie, the warm enthusiasms and sympathies below. How quick he was to appreciate and welcome any awakening of interest on our part! How delighted he was when we yielded to his pressure to compete for school prizes, especially for the prizes of history, geography, and scripture, which offered chances to indifferent scholars! The fact that Bos examined for the geography prizes was regarded by his House as a strong inducement to enter, but did not always lead to our success. How he loved his birds and watched and studied them! He kept in his garden a raven of untold antiquity. He wrote a book on owls. Every summer he would organise great bird-nesting expeditions, which privileged boys were invited to share. How he revelled in the triennial house suppers, where his natural affection for all his boys, unchecked by criticism or chidings, could overflow in a thousand recollections of their eccentricities, achievements and misdeeds! Bos had a wonderful memory for such materials, and was always an eloquent, effective speaker, at times more elaborate perhaps than is our custom in this hasty, word-clipping age. Like Bowen, he was a close student

of politics and strongly Liberal by instinct and conviction, though he fell away to Unionism after 1885. He spoke and wrote on many problems, conspicuously in his later days on Church defence. Among his favourite preoccupations were the history and the religions of the East. His volumes on Mahomet and Carthage were followed by his stirring and popular *Life* of Lord Lawrence. No dusky visitor from Asia or Africa ever called, we used to say, at Bos's house in vain. Eastern potentates were gracious to him, grateful probably for his appreciation. His house was full of treasures, from spears and war-drums downwards, given him by African or Indian friends. The prejudice against coloured men he despised as heartily as the late Lord Cromer—a prejudice which, like most other social snobberies, it must be admitted, the average schoolboy shares. He found time for an extraordinary variety of interests, in school, in play, in that cramped and rather gloomy study—the Knoll, like other Harrow houses, was an ill-built example of Victorian taste—in the well-loved garden to which he was always annexing new dominions, in his wide-ranging talk, his ever-fresh companionship ; and these qualities could hardly fail to have their influence even with the dullest or stubbornest of boys.

But brilliant as were some of Dr. Butler's helpers in the years which I can vouch for, from 1877 to 1881, their chief will always fill a place apart in the recollection of those who came under his spell. He excelled most men in the power of teaching. His lessons to the upper sixth were as attractive as lessons could be made. For the first time in our lives perhaps—for some of us had only just reached the age to appreciate the discovery—we found Greek or Latin transformed from an instrument of pedantry into a living tongue, Virgil and Sophocles awakening a dim sense of beauty, Cicero and Demosthenes speaking with the passions of statesmen, not of school books, Aristophanes treated in a spirit of rollicking fun. The politics of Greece in an hour of peril took on a resemblance to the politics of Disraeli. A piece of glowing patriotic rhetoric from the Philippics struck chords in hot young Jingo hearts. Butler himself was always something of an Imperialist. It was Disraeli's day. Language in translation began to have a more definite value. A sense of literature and style began to dawn. Butler's shock of pained surprise when he discovered that one of his sixth had never read a famous piece of Shakespeare or Macaulay almost brought home to us a conviction of sin. The 'forced march,' which sometimes carried us pages beyond the task set for preparation, became not a breach of faith on the part of the master, but an adventure into something bigger than a schoolboy's 'con,' a glimpse of the whole scheme and

purpose of a book. An exhaustless store of parallels and quotations was always at hand to illustrate the lesson, an infinite fund of merriment to keep us alert. How he would go round the form seeking for the quotation which he wanted! 'Peile? Every? Rendall? Benson?—Pember then?' And Pember hardly ever failed. The same Pember has reminded us later how Butler laid little traps to play upon our dulness or to catch us if our attention flagged, and how heartily he enjoyed it whether we escaped them or fell in!

'*Oceano dissociabili*—how would you translate that, Barton?' Barton, a keen young Irish Tory, seemed to be but half awake.

'The sea that objects to the Union, sir,' came the ready answer, to the delight of Master and of Form alike.

A wretched line of Pope's was quoted by the headmaster.

'Of all lines in the English language, Macaulay thought that line the—what?'

'The best, sir,' came the incautious reply, as Butler probably knew it would, from one unpoetical scholar.

'The worst!' almost shrieked the headmaster, and laughter took possession both of teacher and of boys.

History under Butler was no longer a diet of dry bones, as it had been in every form since Bos's. English statesmen came to life before us—Burke and Chatham, Warren Hastings, Fox and Pitt. There were storms, of course, as well as sunshine in our intercourse, moments when weariness overcame him—Jove was always short of sleep and often nodded—or again when patience failed. But grave as Butler frequently was, particularly grave over Greek Testament on Monday mornings, impressive, awfully impressive, as he could be, especially to lower boys, the lessons of the upper sixth moved generally in an atmosphere of the liveliest interest, illuminated by his ever-ready humour, and rendered delightful by his kindliness and charm.

Intensely religious, Montagu Butler was nevertheless no lover of dogma. There was little dogma taught in Harrow Chapel in his day. 'Christian,' says his biographer, was a word that he used oftener than 'Churchman.' He hated intolerance. He had in him a deep fund of Protestant feeling, combined with a rare Catholicity of heart. Pupils like Charles Gore and Hastings Rashdall could both find inspiration in his preaching. But Rashdall—the first Head of the school that I remember, a strangely mature figure with visible side-whiskers heading the queue in the school yard at 'Bill'—stood nearer to him in his views than Gore. One other old pupil, Randall Davidson, whose appointment to the Primacy Butler welcomed 'in his heart of hearts and mind of minds' as full of promise for the Church and

nation, wrote to him: 'There are very few men in the world to whom I owe so much as I do to you.' There is a letter in which Butler urges upon Westcott that the weekly attendance of young boys at the Communion service was not a thing to be too readily encouraged, that it might easily become a cause for uneasiness rather than for hope. There is a letter to Archdeacon Vesey in which he speaks plainly of 'the danger of our Church avowedly dallying with Romanism.' He would rather see secessions than that. There is a passage later in which he sees the peril of disruption taking shape. But Harrow Chapel in my day was little concerned with problems such as these.

Butler's own sermons were generally simple—too simple, thought some older boys at first, accustomed to Vaughan's more elaborate style. He wrote them nearly always. He feared his tongue would run away with him if he did not. But his influence in the school pulpit steadily increased. Even George Russell, who had little liking for 'undenominational, unsacramental, unecclesiastical religion'—a description of the Harrow services noted as 'strangely inaccurate' by his old headmaster—wrote of the unforgotten debt which he owed to Butler's sermons: 'I have always felt that all that is highest and purest and most generous at Harrow is absolutely identified with you.' It is true that Dr. Welldon's preaching in chapel may sometimes have reached an even higher level. Naturally biassed as I was in favour of his predecessor, I was bound to confess, when I heard Dr. Welldon there later, that I had never heard sermons in manner or matter more arresting to boys. Other masters also, preaching in that pulpit, had in my time their meed of appreciation. The level of spiritual teaching was in Dr. Butler's judgment high. But it may be that the young congregation noted the preachers' peculiarities more closely than their themes. Some of us confessed to a weakness for Mr. Gilliat's sermons, which sterner critics might have disallowed. But Mr. Gilliat, who wrote historical stories, introduced historical touches interesting to boys. Mr. Bushell was more uncompromising. He was the only Harrow master of my time whom anyone could have thought of describing as a priest. He had a gift of terseness which we valued. I remember one sermon which ended with such astonishing rapidity as to send a sound like a suppressed whistle through the aisles. John Smith, a more mysterious figure, with something in him of the prophet and the seer, a saint whose earnestness was not untinged with loving, brooding eccentricity, made in the pulpit a powerful appeal. Mr. Middlemist once preached, it is said, a memorable sermon, afterwards discovered to be Newman's work. And in those earlier days Dr. Farrar's preaching divided the school critics. To some it seemed 'all flowers and figures.' To others,

of whom George Russell was a notable example, it seemed a powerful and visible influence for good.

Those of us who came to be monitors had one curious experience with Dr. Butler in chapel. It fell to us to read the lessons on Sundays, and Butler was determined that this should at least be audibly done. On the day before our first appearance we had to rehearse alone with him. We stood at the reading-desk in the chancel. He stood under the organ-loft at the further end. And as one flung one's voice across the empty benches, nervous and unnaturally shrill, he would interpose with disturbing comments —' Louder ! Louder ! Slower ! *Wait* a moment ! *Quite* another voice, please ! '—till some degree of penetrating clearness was attained. More difficult still were the later rehearsals, when we had to go to his study before breakfast on a Sunday morning, and, standing by his chair, to read out a few verses in a voice fit to ring through a cathedral nave, conscious that we should be summarily disqualified if we hesitated to begin at clarion pitch. More interesting and intimate were the rehearsals for speech-day, the painstaking and delightful coaching that he would give us at the headmaster's House. I well remember how carefully he coached me to recite an eloquent speech in Parliament by the Lord Ashley of a bygone day, who, to add to a schoolboy's nervousness, was sitting, as Lord Shaftesbury, beside the headmaster, a venerable and formidable figure, when the hour for delivering it in the speech-room came. But not only great orations were studied like this. If a boy had to play the part of a disreputable old rogue in a Latin comedy, the headmaster would coach him with just the same earnestness and perhaps with even greater zest.

Dr. Butler stayed on at Harrow till 1885. But it is not within the limits of this paper to dwell upon those later years. The appointment to the Deanery of Gloucester seemed to most people, as Jowett felt, a wholly insufficient recognition of his work. ' I have watched with painful interest,' wrote Dr. Vaughan, ' a succession of appointments for each one of which common consent would have named you.' The Deanery of Gloucester could not be the end. Butler would so fill the place as to make it impossible to leave him there. At Harrow he would largely influence the choice of his successor : ' less happy than myself in this alone, that your successor cannot be you.' The governors could not sufficiently acknowledge ' the singular generosity and absolute devotion ' of the retiring chief. It was not the least of his services that he had added 4200 boys to the roll of Harrow and had signally increased the resources of the school. Mr. Farmer left with Dr. Butler. Custos, Sam Hoare, another institution, shared the doom of greater men. At Harrow an epoch

was passing. The feeling of loss was deep and strong. 'You cannot wonder that our hearts are heavy,' wrote one representative figure in the town. To another old friend, a favourite pupil, Dr. Butler for a moment uncovered his heart.

> Ah! the wrench of leaving Harrow in July. When I put the letter which sealed my fate into the post, I came back to the dear study and sobbed like a baby. I seemed to have signed away youth and romance and sacred memories that are life itself.

The ordeal of the last term and the last leave-takings was not easy; but some great days still remained. In July his son 'Ted,' who had already won the Gregory scholarship, made the winning hit—'I own I felt proud of him when he "pulled" that last fourer'—in a memorable match at Lord's. And the scene a fortnight later, after the brief farewell service in the chapel, when the headmaster came out to find the whole school ranged outside, and waiting to give him a last wild cheer, drew tears from other eyes than his.

Memories of Dr. Butler are inseparable from the Harrow of fifty years ago. One's mind lingers obstinately upon that gracious figure, the finished speech, the exquisite verses—Greek, Latin, English, nothing came amiss—the touching epitaphs he wrote for friends, the noble hymns—the hymn for founder's day, 'Our house was built in lowly ways' especially—the ever-ready *Jocularia*, as light and delicate as any lover of trifles could desire. But it lingers still more upon the great tradition he maintained there, dignifying the whole history of the school. And it lingers most of all on the depth and tenderness of nature, which made him from boyhood upwards so rich in the affection of his friends. No man certainly ever established a more enduring claim upon the loving recollection for which in the closing years of life he asked.

> If there be one who humbly dares to claim
> A debt to Harrow deeper than the rest
> For Parents, Brothers, Sons, his very name
> As Husband, Father, Son, supremely blest—
> Think of him sometimes on the dear old Hill,
> And when he's gone, think kindly of him still.

CHARLES MALLET.

AT THE SABINE FARM

(With apologies to Dante and G. H. Hallam)

I FOUND Rome at Easter trying. I dislike my meditations in the Forum being interrupted by a chorus of 'Ach, wie schön' from bands of Alaric's female descendants enthusiastically bent on improving their minds. And when I pondered over a dubiously authentic footprint of St. Peter's in some old church it was disconcerting to hear a prudent French husband, Baedeker in hand, restraining his wife from kneeling with 'Pas trop de dévotion, chérie. C'est peut-être pas l'original.' So I fled to Tivoli, lunched in sight of Anio's resounding fall, saw the usual sights, and so to bed with a mind to spend the next few days wandering over the Sabine Hills. In the morning I dropped down into the valley and loitered, longer than I had intended, looking at what remains of Horace's Tiburtine Villa, embedded in the old Franciscan monastery of Sant' Antonio:

> Here long ago in Roman days
> Dwelt the beloved of Lalage,
> Who wooed the careless Pagan ways
> And drained life's goblet to the lee.

When I left and struck up the grey hillside beyond, the sun was high in the heaven and my pace leisurely. By the time I reached the summit and feasted on the view over Tibur and the Campagna towards Rome, and on the good lunch I had brought in my pocket, it was already afternoon. My goal was Monte Gennaro, the loftiest peak hereabouts, so presently I set off again, following the line of heights. But the ups and downs were many and the hours passed quickly. A glorious sunset blotting out the Campagna and lighting up all the serried mountain ranges to east and south was my reward for the last long pull up, and also a reminder that it was too late to get back to Tivoli. But a small-scale map, and my innate optimism, suggested that an hour or so eastwards across the high ground might bring me to the village of Rocca Giovine and refreshment, with a path down to Vico Varo, if the accommodation looked too doubtful.

I swung down the open hillside, but presently got into scrub

and lost my only landmark, the Rocca Giovine tower. Darkness came on, with clouds to intensify it and no stars for a bearing, as I plunged lower and lower into a deep gorge. I consoled myself with the thought that I might strike a path. At length I knew the unmistakable feel of cobbles under my tired feet. So I trudged on more hopefully for a while through what I felt rather than saw was a long valley, and then along a wooded slope. The cobbled path had long ago become a mere goat-track, and now it petered out altogether. For hours I wandered and stumbled about the slope, densely wooded and getting steeper and steeper. At last I gave up and lay down, in my raincoat, on a broad shelf of moss under an overhanging rock, and spent an endless night between shivering wakefulness and uncomfortable dreams. I woke at last, from a nightmare of pursuit by wolves, to the terrifying reality that some big beast was prowling round me. I got up, in the dim grey before dawn, and started off, first making downhill. But the beast—whether wolf or half wild shepherd's dog I never knew—kept heading me back, and insensibly I found myself making upwards along the slope towards higher and more open ground.

Suddenly the sun rose, and I found myself looking up a little glen into a sort of amphitheatre between two mountain masses. At the head of it, above me, a strong force of water, shooting out from a concave rocky framework, fringed with many ferns, fell some 60 feet, in a silvery column, into a glassy pool, from which, in turn, its waters overflowed, spreading like lace over the face of a flat rock for another 100 feet, to reunite in the stream which hurried down the glen. Above and around were many trees, the dark green of the ilexes contrasting with the still golden foliage of the oaks. To the right, on a steep slope, was a field pale green with young wheat. It was an enchanting spot, dispelling all my fears and the memory of the night I had passed so unpleasantly.

As I gazed, entranced with the view, and warming myself in the sun's rays, I became aware of a blue haze floating up before me. I followed it down to its source, and saw, not 10 yards from me, absorbed in a short briar pipe and in dreamy contemplation of the falling waters, a man reclining on the grassy bank, with his hat tucked under his shoulders for a cushion. His thick brown hair was turning grey, but his face, with its lofty forehead, small sensitive nose and delicately chiselled lips and chin, was young and wore a fascinating air of whimsical seriousness. The pipe and a faded blue blazer and grey flannels were so unlike the native accoutrements of these parts that I naturally addressed him in English and asked: 'Where on earth have I got to?'

He gave a start, and I had the queer feeling that he was fading away—I attributed it at the time to my own exhaustion. Any-

how, a moment later he seemed perfectly solid again as he replied with a quizzical look: 'Have you ever heard of the Bandusian spring?'

> O fons Bandusiæ splendidior vitro
> Dulci digne mero

I began.

'Bravo, my dear fellow. You don't know how it cheers me to find people who can still quote my—quote the classics. That will serve as an excuse for breaking in on my meditations at this beloved old haunt of mine. Tell me, what can I do for you?'

But all my troubles were somehow forgotten in my interest in the stranger, and, regardless of manners, I said: 'Do tell me first who you are; I feel as if I had always known you.'

'Well, I am a poet of sorts. Period, Augustan; views, pagan; style, rather old fashioned, but, in spite of the dada-ists, still appreciated here and there.'

'*Non omnis mortuus*, in fact. I declare you are Horace himself!' He bowed.

'What fun! To think of all my early memories of you, of dark winter mornings running down Harrow High Street with your Odes open in one hand, trying by a frantic effort to learn the morning "rep" I ought to have learnt the night before, and now to meet you here, *unde loquaces Lymphæ desiliunt tuæ!* But how do you come to speak such perfect English?'

'Oh! we have lots of time in the Other Place: you see, I even know your parliamentarisms, and recognise my position as a member of another permanently unreformed but still dignified institution! Besides, I have a great many English friends. So many of your people look me up the moment they arrive—very flattering to one who is not without his little touch of vanity. And, anyhow, though anything like nationalism is officially discouraged, we Romans and you English have long tended to foregather. We have our little Anglo-Roman dining club—the "Imperialists," some of them call us. As a matter of fact, I am just on my way to meet some of them for a little holiday picnic on the site of my old Sabine Farm. But, if I may return your courteous inquisitiveness, who the devil are you?'

I gave him my name and walk in life.

'So that's who you are! I've heard all about you from your old schoolmaster, Hallam.'

'But he belongs to our world, and long may he remain here!'

'I know. But he lives right on my old villa at Tibur, and is so fond of me that I couldn't help letting him see me and having an occasional chat. It's against the rules, but so, when it comes to that, is my talking to you. Well, I was talking to him about that address of Stanley Baldwin's to the Classical Association;

one of the best things I have heard for a long time. It started me on this bad habit of pipe-smoking,' he added irrelevantly, knocking the ashes out of his pipe and proceeding to refill it.

'But how and where did you come to hear it? I thought no pre-mortem literature reached you in the Other Place.'

'Yes, that's the ordinary rule, but not without exceptions. As a matter of fact, Delane read it out at one of our club dinners. He always gets hold of the latest information; I believe he still has some arrangement with an old printer on *The Times* who lets him have a copy straight off the machines every night. Anyhow, I asked Hallam if any other of you politicians kept up the classics, and he said you certainly knew most of my Odes by heart as a boy, and might be capable of a Horatian tag in your speeches even now.'

'But without the courage. Latin quotation has died out completely in the House. The only instance I have heard for years was when a wag asked me if the Empire Marketing Board could arrange for third-grade Scotch eggs to be marked with the national motto "Nemo me impune lacessit." I fear we have become too democratic.'

'No, it isn't that; it's because you've dropped the good old English pronunciation and have made Latin a finicking foreign language. No Englishman likes to get up before others and make a fool of himself by speaking a foreign language like a foreigner. It was much better when Latin was just a more scholarly version of your own language, which already has so many words in common with it. And as far as dignity and resonance are concerned, why, I am not sure that I don't prefer it myself. Anyhow, we adopted it at the Anglo-Roman Club ages ago, and it will be an awful bore if the next generation of Englishmen come down and try to talk to us as if we were Italians. I can just imagine Cæsar's face if an English shade addressed him as "Kaisar." By the way, wouldn't you like to meet him? He is coming to the picnic, I hope, and bringing Pitt with him. I expect we had better be going, or it will be hot walking.' We swung down a goat track above the glen and presently, scrambling down some rocks into the bed of the stream, found a rough path leading towards a village I now know to have been Licenza.

'If you don't quote the classics in your speeches, Mr. Politician,' he continued, 'do you ever make any other use of them? Don't tell me about their bracing moral effect and all the rest of it. Baldwin has already put that better than you can. But have you ever made any practical use of them? Have I ever helped you turn an honest penny?'

'No, but you once helped me secure a good flannel shirt and a pair of socks.' So I told him how some years ago, after a long

and hot day's climb over Monte Disgrazia, I had arrived at that delicious little spot, Masino Bagni, to find that I had left my only change of raiment at the Forno Hut the night before. Next morning, my things still being wet, I hung them out of the window while I breakfasted, very inadequately clad, in the garden. A chatty Italian strolled up, interrupting my happy browsing in a pocket Horace by talking about the weather. Casually picking up my book, he fell upon my neck, revealing himself as a professor of Latin, and within five minutes all he had was mine—razor to shave with, and a spare outfit with which to complete a week's climbing which would bring me near no shops.

'I hope you returned his togs,' said the bard.

'No, I did better, as you will agree. I sent him a daintily bound Horace, and got my friend Malcolm to concoct me the following lines as dedication :

> Tempore quo tunicam Phœbo siccante madentem,
> Flacci legebam carmina,
> Tu mihi nudato, Musæ sociatus amore
> Vestem dedisti propriam.
> Verba secute Dei, reddo tibi verba poetæ
> Pro veste versus accipe.'

'Not half bad ! But why didn't you do them yourself ? '

'I am a poor hand at verses. Besides, I was too busy, when I got back, making bad speeches.'

'Well, I can't judge of their badness, but take care they don't bring you to a bad end. *Ridenda poemata malo !* '

'I could put up with a good deal if I had the Second Philippic to my credit.'

'Why not try your hand at a Lloyd Georgic ! But here we are. And welcome to my Sabine Farm ! A modest place at its best, but still dear to me and full of pleasant memories.'

We had mounted a little from the stream on to a small plateau. Behind us the mountains rose in a steep amphitheatre ; in front, across a wood of chestnuts, we looked down the valley to where our stream joined the main valley of the Anio. To our right, steep and wooded, rose the slopes—of Lucretilis, as I now divined—where I had wandered about during the night, and, conspicuous on the sky-line, the tower of Rocca Giovine which I had so vainly tried to make for. To our left the eastern heights still shielded most of the valley from the sun. Immediately at our feet was a maze of low walls, the ground-plan of what once had been a good-sized country house. Just beyond these, on what must have been the terrace or *stoep* in front of the villa, three men were sitting round a hamper, evidently busy getting ready an appetising repast. As they caught sight of us I again became conscious, as

I had when I first met the poet, of a curious feeling that they were dissolving—and their lunch with them.

'It's all right,' Horace sang out. 'This is a friend.' They—and lunch—recrystallised as he introduced me all round. Cæsar I should have recognised anywhere, though nothing had prepared me for the winningness of the smile that lit up and softened his face as he invited me to sit down by him. Pitt, too, was unmistakable. Nor was I surprised when the third of the trio, whose serene and kindly expression struck me even more than the beauty of his features, revealed himself as Virgil. It should have been a supremely interesting moment. As a matter of fact, lunch absorbed us all, while, as for myself, hunger and thirst, forgotten during the terrors of the night and the excitement of my morning's adventure, reasserted themselves irresistibly as I washed down the best of cold viands with glass after glass of a delicious cup made with white wine. Even when I was ready to remember the wonderful opportunity presented to me, I found that the courtesy, or curiosity, of my hosts insisted upon having the whole story of my night's adventures.

'You didn't see a leopard as well as a wolf?' Virgil asked. Before I could reply Cæsar cut in, 'Never mind, old friend; we all know you picked up a lost poet once. But this is a politician, and one who can really help Pitt and me over the matters we were discussing just now, when you were looking at the orchard. We want to know whether the British Empire is breaking up. You have recently fixed up a new definition of "Dominion Status," and I gather that those who have got it haven't a notion what it means, and that those who haven't got it say they must have it at once. I asked Balfour when he came down the other day to explain the definition—for I heard he had drafted it—but he smilingly referred me to St. Athanasius, whom he regarded as his master in draftsmanship, at the same time doubting if the doctrine of the Empire could ever be clear to a simple pagan like me.'

I tried to explain to him the meaning of the Imperial Conference of 1926, and to give him some notion of the latest developments at home and in India. Pitt frequently interrupted with searching questions, which revealed his obvious anxiety that everything was going to pieces. Cæsar lit a cigarette and puffed meditative smoke rings, listening intently. Presently he joined in:

'You haven't been through it all, as I have, my dear Pitt. Our friend's picture recalls so much to me. Of course the British Empire isn't going to break up, any more than the Roman Empire broke up when I took it in hand. But it wants taking in hand badly, and somebody had better get busy about it. You start with one immense advantage.'

'The Crown,' Pitt and I said simultaneously.

'Precisely. A single, personal focus of all loyalties, an indivisible symbol of unity in space and time, transcending all local and temporary differences, whether of units in the Empire or parties within those units. You have been wise enough to preserve it, hardly knowing why you did it, and now it is there to make a new use of. I had to try and reinvent it, after a lapse of centuries. But how could I expect a stupid, well-meaning fellow like Brutus, not to speak of personal enemies, to see what I was driving at ? Happily the idea won through, even if I had to be its martyr, and you two'—he turned to Virgil and Horace—'did more than anyone else to make it live. I suppose you can hardly deify the Crown as we did. But your Established Church and your National Anthem go as far as is necessary among your Christian fellow-citizens. When it comes to India, I can only suggest that King and Viceroy alike should be invested with the halo of Mahatmadom. Why leave all the best appeals to the Opposition ? It only wants the right propaganda; and what else is the Press there for ? '

Pitt interjected something about the dangers of the Press and the pernicious influence of Press magnates on our domestic politics.

'My dear Pitt, you mustn't talk like Cicero, regretting the good old times. In politics we cannot afford to ignore the realities of power, even if they are not represented in our old constitutional framework. Where should I and my ideas have got without my legions from Gaul, without Crassus or these two poets here—in other words, without finance, propaganda, and, in the last resort, force ? And you can fit all these new elements, overseas and domestic, into your elastic British system far more easily than we could. Only you must have more flesh and blood in your scheme.'

'What do you mean by that ? '

'Trade and more trade, and yet more trade. Ships and more ships, and yet more ships. Rails and more rails, roads and more roads, factories and more factories, farms and more farms. People and more people, and yet more people, fully employed, profitably employed, living well, ministering to each other and supporting each other. Look at the United States ! You can do what they have done, and do it infinitely better. Look at Europe, and take care that she isn't united before you are ! Go, look at your own opportunities and conquer.'

'May I convey your message to Lord Beaverbrook ? ' I asked. But whether it was the hot sunshine, or too much cup, on top of all the strain of the night and of my adventures, I never caught his reply. My head swam, and I felt as if I were sinking into infinite space.

When I woke up it was afternoon and the terrace itself was empty. But not 50 yards away a band of females was resolutely advancing upon me. A glance at the alpaca dustcloaks, a word or two wafted on the breeze, were enough for me. It was my German tourists from the Forum! I rose and, slipping over the rearward slope, stumbled down into Licenza.

L. S. AMERY.

SOME MODERN POETRY[1]

One of the disadvantages which contemporary writers of verse suffer from is the lack of an informed, serious and enlightening criticism. The reviewing of poetry is on the whole as good as can be expected in the circumstances, for reviewers are badly paid and little space is allowed them. This is not due to any lack of public interest in poetry ; it is due to the conditions of the Press generally in this country, conditions which are admirably set forth in Mr. George Blake's pamphlet *The Public and the Press*, which appeared recently in the Criterion Miscellanies published by Faber & Faber. But poetry is a form of literature which is not amenable to 'reviewing,' because its form and its content are inseparable ; and there should be no 'reviewing' of poetry— only criticism. Whereas a reviewer can say of a prose work this is a book about gardening, or metallurgy, or lion-hunting, or life in the suburbs of London, etc., it is quite useless to say of a poem this poem is about the nightingale, or Ash Wednesday, or Beauty. Reviewing is merely giving the public information about a book's content, without necessarily criticising it. This can be done quite honestly and effectively for certain kinds of books, but for others, and particularly for poetry, no information whatever of the real character of a poem can be conveyed without a serious critical examination.

There is no space for this in the daily Press, and, unfortunately, there is little more in the weeklies. But the lack of good critics cannot be ascribed wholly to this cause ; good critics were always rare, although there is a sign that the intense interest taken in poetry by the generation that has just left school will bear fruit and produce more good criticism. During the past ten years there has been far more discussion about criticism than criticism itself, but this was the result of a newly awakened interest and curiosity, and the effect of this examination of principles by such

[1] *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, edited with notes by Robert Bridges ; second edition with Appendix of Additional Poems and a Critical Introduction by Charles Williams. (Oxford University Press, 7*s*. 6*d*.) *Ash Wednesday*, six poems by T. S. Eliot. (Faber & Faber, 3*s*. 6*d*.) *The Collected Poems of Edith Sitwell*. (Duckworth, 8*s*. 6*d*.) *Doctor Donne and Gargantua*, in six cantos, by Sacheverell Sitwell. (Duckworth, 7*s*. 6*d*.)

writers as Mr. T. S. Eliot, Mr. I. A. Richards, and Mr. Herbert Read—to name a few of those best known—has yet to be felt and can only be good.

Although the three critics whose reputation stands higher than any others in English literature are all fine poets—I refer to Dryden, Coleridge, and Arnold—yet I doubt if a poet can ever be the best critic of contemporary work. He may easily be the most profound and say the most illuminating things, but he is bound to have a bias; and, further, the creative and the critical functions are distinct, and I am not sure that they need appear together in the same man. Speaking personally, I have to admit that I can rarely see any faults in the poetry I like, while the poetry I dislike seems to me to be just one huge mistake from beginning to end, and in no way a mixture of good and bad. I may be an extreme case, but to me criticisms of grammar, of punctuation, of vocabulary, of metre, of rhythm always seem completely beside the point. Either the poet is a master or he is not. If he is a master, then all his infringements of rules and precedents are part of his idiosyncratic expression, and cannot be criticised adversely unless from the *a priori* standpoint that the whole effect of his poetry is bad. But, if he is recognised as a master, this is absurd; so I would conclude that criticism of this sort can only be an analysis of his procedure in the light of past procedure and a comparison of his methods with the methods of others without any pronouncement of value as method, but only a pronouncement on the value of the end. That is to say, I deny that we can ascertain the value of a poem (or, for that matter, of any work of art) by a technical analysis. I submit that we can only tell the value of a poem by assessing it as a whole by an act of poetic judgment analogous to the act of vision by virtue of which we see the person who stands opposite us and can remember him again. I do not believe that this impression, or any subsequent total impression, is the result of an analysis, nor that different people's impressions of the same object are due to their different analyses. It is rather a matter of selection and emphasis, and different people select differently and put the emphasis in different parts. One might explain difference in selection by difference in analysis, but hardly a difference in emphasis when the analysis is identical. There are people who are irritated almost to the point of madness by too many commas, others by too few; are we to suppose that in the one case the critic sees more commas than in the other? Surely we can get an agreement upon the analysis without agreement upon the effect of the whole?

The poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins offers an admirable illustration of my principle. Either you can swallow this poet whole or you cannot swallow him at all; bit by bit he will surely

stick in the grammarian's or the prosodist's throat and be spat out either with dislike or contempt. And not only these, but the man of taste or of academic habit is likely to be so offended as to be unable to understand and enjoy Hopkins. Nevertheless, I am bound to add that his first editor, the late Robert Bridges, who was more a poet of fine taste than of natural genius, although he animadverts on Hopkins's 'errors of taste,' succeeded in largely understanding and admiring his work. And if we examine Bridges' condemnations of Hopkins on the ground of 'taste' we will find that they are too personal to be valid. This is the danger in all matters of taste. A classic example in criticism is Matthew Arnold's diatribe against Keats's sensuousness in his poetry and his letters. This age is grown more detached than that of the constrained and inhibited Arnold ; we are not shocked to-day by what shocked him, and we realise that Arnold's 'moral' implications were in this instance of no more value than those of some sex-suppressed seaside town councillor who finds mixed bathing an error in 'taste.' So when Robert Bridges condemns certain expressions they reveal, to my mind, some finickiness in Bridges and make me rather doubtful whether he really appreciated the poem in which they occur, and of which they are so intrinsic a part that to take out one of these offending expressions would be to destroy the character of the poem. For example, take the poem *Hurrahing in Harvest* :

> Summer ends now ; now, barbarous in beauty, the stooks arise
> Around ; up above, what wind-walks ! what lovely behaviour
> Of silk-sack clouds ! has wilder, wilful-wavier
> Meal-drift moulded ever and melted across skies ?
>
> I walk, I lift up, I lift up heart, eyes,
> Down all that glory in the heavens to glean our Saviour ;
> And eyes, heart, what looks, what lips yet gave you a
> Rapturous love's greeting of realer, of rounder replies ?
>
> And the azurous hung hills are his world-wielding shoulder
> Majestic—as a stallion stalwart, very violet-sweet !—
> These things, these things were here and but the beholder
> Wanting ; which two when they once meet,
> The heart rears wings bold and bolder
> And hurls for him, O half hurls earth for him off under his feet.

I quote the whole of this sonnet, of which Bridges only criticises adversely the metaphor 'as a stallion stalwart, very violet-sweet,' because, while I can conceive a criticism of this poem as a whole as the expression of a too peculiar emotion that, intense as it is, impoverishes rather than enriches, yet a mere criticism of this metaphor as an 'affectation' seems to me not only to miss the mark completely, but shows a lapse of poetic sensibility, for—

given an acceptance of the meaning of the sonnet—the compound metaphor is as fine as it is bold.

Then, again, Bridges demurs to 'the naked encounter of sensualism and asceticism which hurts the "Golden Echo,"' when this encounter is an essential element in the poem. To say it 'hurts' the poem is saying that Hopkins ought to have written a different poem altogether. As this poem is one of Hopkins's triumphs, and was something entirely new in English poetry when it was written, I will quote the second part of it. The full title is *The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo*, and it is a maidens' song from an uncompleted play, *St. Winefred's Well.* The first part of the song, *The Leaden Echo*, begins thus :

How to keep—is there any any, is there none such, nowhere known some,
bow or brooch or braid or brace, lace, latch or catch or key to keep
Back beauty, keep it, beauty, beauty, beauty, . . . from vanishing away

and this first part ends with the lines :

So be beginning, be beginning to despair.
O there's none ; no no no there's none :
Be beginning to despair, to despair,
Despair, despair, despair, despair.

Then begins *The Golden Echo*, and its beginning is most characteristic of Hopkins, for he starts with an echo, thus connecting beautifully the second part of his poem to the first :

The Golden Echo

Spare !
There is one, yes I have one (Hush there !) ;
Only not within seeing of the sun,
Not within the singeing of the strong sun,
Tall sun's tingeing, or treacherous the tainting of the earth's air,
Somewhere elsewhere there is ah well where ! one,
One. Yes I can tell such a key, I do know such a place,
Where whatever's prized and passes of us, everything that's fresh and fast
flying of us, seems to us sweet of us and swiftly done away with, done
away with, undone,
Undone, done with, soon done with, and yet dearly and dangerously sweet
Of us, the wimpled-water-dimpled, not-by-morning-matchèd face,
The flower of beauty, fleece of beauty, too too apt to, ah ! to fleet,
Never fleets more, fastened with the tenderest truth
To its own best being and its loveliness of youth : it is an everlastingness of,
O it is an all youth !
Come then, your ways and airs and looks, locks, maiden gear, gallantry
and gaiety and grace,
Winning ways, airs innocent, maiden manners, sweet looks, loose locks,
long locks, lovelocks, gaygear, going gallant, girlgrace—
Resign them, sign them, seal them, send them, motion them with breath
And with sighs soaring, soaring sighs deliver
Them ; beauty-in-the-ghost, deliver it, early now, long before death

Give beauty back, beauty, beauty, beauty, back to God, beauty's self and
 beauty's giver.
See; not a hair is, not an eyelash, not the least lash lost; every hair
Is, hair of the head, numbered.
Nay, what we had light-handed left in surly the mere mould
Will have waked and have waxed and have walked with the wind what
 while we slept,
This side, that side hurling a heavyheaded hundredfold
What while we, while we slumbered.
O then, weary then why should we tread? O why are we so haggard at
 the heart, so care-coiled, care-killed, so fagged, so fashed, so cogged, so
 cumbered,
When the thing we freely forfeit is kept with fonder a care,
Fonder a care kept than we could have kept it, kept
Far with fonder a care (and we, we should have lost it) finer, fonder
A care kept—Where kept? Do but tell us where kept, where—
Yonder.—What high as that! We follow, now we follow.—
 Yonder, yes yonder, yonder
Yonder.

This seems to me a perfect expression of the poet's meaning, and in its immense sweep of rhythm, intensity of expression, felicity of inner rhyming, superb compound adjectives, yet simplicity and truth, an inseparable whole. I cannot see anything for criticism to cavil at in the detail of this poem, for all its exuberance is essential. If we are to criticise it at all we must criticise the whole conception of the poem, not the detail. And this, I contend, is always the case with a genuine artist. It is only the imitators, the pseudo-artists, whose work is necessarily a pastiche, that can be analysed into their incongruous and common parts. Whatever defects Hopkins had (and he is certainly deficient in some of the elements of poetry), his mature work was for the most part congruous and had the perfect integrity of a poet of genius.

In his early work there are imitations of Keats and Swinburne. In these we can pick out the bits of Hopkins, for they stick out of the rest like a natural interjection in a prepared speech; but the *Vision of the Mermaids*, in spite of its derivation, is an astonishing production for a boy of eighteen. Yet, although this poem shows a sensuousness and a sensibility of language comparable to that of the early Keats, Hopkins, who died in 1889 at the age of forty-five, remained to the end more sensuously enmeshed than Keats was in the later years of his much shorter life. This is one of the limitations of Hopkins, who, a fine scholar, taking a Double first in Greats at Oxford before becoming a Jesuit priest, and later, as a Jesuit, filling the chair of Greek at the Royal University, Dublin, nevertheless never showed in his work the intellectual powers of Keats, who did not possess a tenth of his erudition. Among the fragments of Hopkins's work there is an unfinished *Epithalamium*, which is one of his most self-revealing

poems. The sensuousness is here beautifully dissipated into a vivacity of exquisite words, but it remains purely physical. He sees boys bathing in a river. I quote a few lines only:

> This garland of their gambols flashes in his breast
> Into such a sudden zest
> Of summertime joys
> That he hies to a pool neighbouring; sees it is the best
> There; sweetest, freshest, shadowiest;
> Fairyland; silk-beech, scrolled ash, packed sycamore, wild wychelm,
> hornbeam fretty overstood
> By. Rafts and rafts of flake-leaves light, dealt so, painted on the air,
> Hang as still as hawk or hawkmoth, as the stars or as the angels there,
> Like the thing that never knew the earth, never off roots
> Rose. Here he feasts: lovely all is! No more: off with—
> down he dings . . .

This gift of physical concreteness is one of the primary elements of great poetry. Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, and Donne had it in abundance, but all these had also another realm of feeling to the expression of which they brought a similar genius of word-imagery. This was, as far as I can see, lacking in Hopkins, and may be best described as the supersensuous. We get it married to sensuousness in Shakespeare (above all others!), and we get it divorced from sensuousness in Coleridge and Wordsworth. By the supersensuous I emphatically do not mean the intellectual. Hopkins had a fine intellect, and his poetry is extraordinarily logical and close-knit, without any vagueness or incoherence. Indeed, he is a model in this respect. But he is that particular type which the great lawyer and the great priest may be—keen senses, a keen intellect, and the scrupulousness of a high-minded, conscientious man—but which the great poet never is, for the great poet is, in the phraseology of Hopkins's church, always a sinner. Not a sinner in the sense that all men are sinners, but in the sense that he is outside the law. Hopkins was within the law and needed the law:

> Bad I am, but yet thy child
> Father, be thou reconciled.
> Spare thou me, since I see
> With thy might that thou art mild.
>
> I have life before me still
> And thy purpose to fulfil;
> Yea a debt to pay thee yet:
> Help me, sir, and so I will.

We are told that when a young man of twenty-one he visited the Benedictine Monastery at Belmont and had a long conversation with Canon Raynal, afterwards Abbot. His friend Addis writes:

I think he [Canon Raynal] made a great impression on both of us and I believe that from that time our faith in Anglicanism was really gone. He insisted that Anglican orders were at least of doubtful validity; that some grave and learned men questioned or denied their validity and that this being so, it was unlawful till the doubt was cleared by competent authority to accept Anglican orders or even to participate in the Anglican Communion. So far as I knew, Father Raynal was the first priest whom Hopkins had ever spoken to.

This reveals clearly the mental character of Hopkins in all its logical literalness; but his was not the love of casuistical ratiocination for its own sake or with the detachment of a man sharpening an intellectual instrument. His was a passion for the law and his mind reflected his temperament, which demanded a rule to live by, and found delight in carrying out the logical consequences of his premisses to the smallest detail. The Catholic Church satisfied his temperamental, and consequently his intellectual, needs, and he soon became a member of it, so that in Lent, 1866, he writes:

No pudding on Sundays. No tea except to keep one awake, and then without sugar. Meat only once a day. No verses in Passion Week or on Fridays. Not to sit in armchair except I can work in no other way. Ash Wednesday and Good Friday bread and water . . .

One must not be misled by the particular form of his 'rule' of life. The form was less important than the rule, but it had to be a form which gave an outlet to his senses. Perhaps any form of strict ascesis would have done that, but the ritual of the Catholic Church was the only one in Western Europe that could possibly have satisfied Hopkins's demands:

Pure fasted faces draw into this feast
God comes all sweetness to your Lenten lips.

he writes; and what this form of sensuousness reveals is, I believe, not inaccurately described as lack of a certain creative vigour. Subtlety and ingenuity one might expect from Hopkins rather than creative originality. But so complex is man and the creative power that superficially Hopkins does not seem to fail in creative originality, but even to possess it exceptionally. This impression he gave to some of his friends. Father Lahey—whose short memoir is the only source of information about his life—quotes a friend writing:

Of his ability I need hardly speak. He had a distinct dash of genius. His opinion on any subject in Heaven and earth was always worth listening to and always fresh and original. . . . If I had known him outside, I should have said that his love of speculation and originality of thought would make it almost impossible for him to submit his intellect to authority.

This shows how easily one may be misled, for, judging from Hopkins's work, one would not be able to find any great creative originality of thought in his genius. All his originality and creative power is in his rhythm and his sensuousness. Otherwise his work is ingenious, inventive, full of mental conceits; resembling the 'metaphysical' poets of the sixteenth century and with none of the power of philosophic thought possessed by Shakespeare, Milton, Coleridge, Blake, Keats, or Shelley.

It is, perhaps, impossible that poetry should receive adequate contemporary criticism. Therefore the remarks I shall now make upon the work of one or two living writers will be purely personal statements; nor will they contain all that occurs to me, even; but only such points as interest me at the moment. Mr. T. S. Eliot's *Ash Wednesday* has the merit of all Mr. Eliot's work; it means something. This is so startling in these days of multiple imitation and phrase-making that it suffices to distinguish Mr. Eliot from a host of literary versifiers and perhaps to give him more prominence at the moment than posterity will allow. By 'means something' I do not refer to a mere intelligible content that could be paraphrased by a schoolmaster; the bulk of empty contemporary versification has that sort of meaning. I refer to that personal statement which is the essence of poetry, something individual passionately felt or experienced (or thought) by the poet and successfully expressed:

> Because I do not hope to turn again
> Because I do not hope
> Because I do not hope to turn
> Desiring this man's gift and that man's scope
> I no longer strive to strive towards such things
> (Why should the agèd eagle stretch its wings?)
> Why should I mourn
> The vanished power of the usual reign?

This has an authentic tone which is not to be caught by the imitator, and throughout Mr. Eliot's work, small in quantity, restricted in scope, we can hear the voice of a true poet using words in his own poetic way, and not in a merely literary way, or in the way of an adroit virtuoso who knows how to impress the ignorant or to flatter the half-cultured. It is important to state clearly and definitely that Mr. Eliot is a true poet who, like all true poets, has something unique to say, and that in the effort towards expression he has stamped something of himself upon his medium. When we read:

> At the second turning of the second stair
> I left them twisting, turning below;
> There were no more faces and the stair was dark,
> Damp, jaggèd, like an old man's mouth drivelling, beyond repair
> Or the toothed gullet of an agèd shark.

We do not need to be told who wrote it. The mood it expresses is familiar to all Mr. Eliot's readers; some will extol it and some deplore it, but this, to me, who finds much beauty in Mr. Eliot's work, is irrelevant. In the words of another living poet who has an authentic and individual utterance, Mr. James Stephens:

For, as he meditated misery
And cared it into song—strict care, strict joy!
Caring for grief he cared his grief away:
And those sad songs, tho' woe be all the theme,
Do not make us to grieve who read them now
—Because the poet makes grief beautiful.

Within her narrow range Miss Edith Sitwell has a marked individuality that is not to be mistaken for any other. She has added half an octave, shall we say, of sensuous perception in her very especial liking for certain sounds, sights, taste, and touch:

DO, do,
Princess, do,
The fairy Chatte Blanche rocks you slow.
Like baskets of white fruit or pearls
Are the fairy's tumbling curls,—
Or lattices of roses white
Wherethrough the snows like doves take flight.
Do, do,
Princess, do,
How furred and white is the fallen snow.

I find some slight affinity of opposites in the work of Hopkins and Miss Sitwell. Both are extraordinarily visual, and what predominates in their visual sense is almost tactile, a sense of touch expressing itself visually. Like Hopkins, but even more so, Miss Sitwell is almost exclusively concerned with this delight of sense:

Frills touch her feet, like plants foam down;
Her wooden trellised hair is brown.

The grass is furry as a bear
With heat; the donkey's panniers flare

With fruits whose clear complexions, waxen,
Hide in leaves all hairy-flaxen

And from the sky, white angels lean
To stroke poor Dobbin's palm-furred skin.

These lines are taken from *The Sleeping Beauty*, which is, in many respects, her best poem and gives the quintessence of her talent.

It is curious that her brother, Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, has a similar sense-bias, but in a diluted, more æthereal form. The words 'nets,' 'winds,' 'cages,' and 'wires' play as important a part in his verse, as the words 'fur,' 'snow,' 'cream,' and 'hairy' do in Miss Sitwell's. Thus his work has a certain 'airiness' and

fluidity that is very pleasing when most successful, and this effect is often aided by a fluency and lightness of rhythm which is quite the opposite of Miss Sitwell's frequent tightness of versification. The long poem *Doctor Donne and Gargantua* is apparently an attempt to go beyond this pleasing sensuousness. I say 'apparently,' because I cannot find in it more than a succession of descriptive passages. Its intellectual import, even in the strictly poetic sense, eludes me, but it contains many delightful passages:

> Two lights, two different worlds, were fired again,
> For the moon, from other mountains that were colder, far,
> Climbed in her plenitude and lit those snows
> And pallor answered pallor from the ends of sky;
> Little, loud winds from out of nowhere blew,
> As quickly hushed as if a hand had stopped them:
> The empty air was draughty: it was neither night nor day,
> And only the pillars of the temple kept their colour,
> Standing out, pale, against the sky's lit fires,
> And gone no darker when moonlight was alone,
> For they showed like salt upon a sapphire's light,
> Too cold and solemn for the hand to touch.

This is only one of many fine passages in *Doctor Donne and Gargantua*, and it is interesting to discover that Mr. Sitwell's verse has the same qualities of light and colour as his prose. The visual sense would seem, as with Hopkins, to be the strongest in all these poets, excluding Mr. T. S. Eliot, who is primarily moved, not through his senses, but through an emotional disappointment akin to disillusion and despair. If one were to borrow an old phraseology, one might say that Hopkins and, of course, the Sitwells were pagan writers without the religious sense, whereas Mr. Eliot at least possesses the loss of it. This may seem a strange thing to say of Hopkins, a sincere Jesuit priest, but I am referring to a religious sense, not a religious belief or a devotional ideal, and I find none of Blake's or Shelley's or Spinoza's religious sense in Hopkins. If I were asked to define what I mean by 'religious sense' I could best do so by naming the artists who I think possess it. It is possessed in music by Beethoven, Mozart and Schubert, but not by Wagner, Liszt or Saint-Saëns. It is possessed in painting by Rembrandt, but not by Rossetti or Burne-Jones. We may find it harder to discover in literature than in the other arts which have the advantage of being free from verbal ideas, but without it a writer loses the most vitalising of all human forces.

W. J. TURNER.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

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THE

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THE ROUND TABLE—AND AFTER

Once again the subtle wisdom of the East has triumphed. Six months ago there were few, either in this country or in India, who expected much from the Round Table Conference except desultory and ineffective argument. The most important political party in India—the Congress or extreme nationalists—had refused to join it. The list of delegates, just published, suggested controversy over special and minority interests rather than an exploration of principles The only comprehens've scheme for a new Constitution, that which Sir John Simon's Commission had evolved, was apparently pigeon-holed. There were no credentials, no agenda and little hope of agreement ; while in India the ability of the Government to preserve the normal decencies of law and order was steadily crumbling. To-day all—except in the last respect—is dramatically changed. The Princes, whose attitude to the idea of a federation between their States and British India had been uncertain, have espoused it with enthusiasm, and thus at one bound the chief difficulty which menaced the Simon Com-

mission's scheme has been surmounted. But something much more remarkable has been reached than the acceptance of the theory of federation. The British Government, with no serious dissent from the representatives of the Opposition, has pledged itself to relinquish the government of India.

Those who have followed the rapid march of events will recall that Sir John Simon's Commission, reporting as recently as last May, advised a definite advance towards self-government. What they proposed was virtually the establishment, in each of the great British provinces, of our system of parliamentary government, the cabinet or provincial executive being responsible only to a Legislature elected by the people. They recommended, however, that while these new popular Governments were finding their feet, and also while the federal system for India as a whole was being evolved, the Government of the Viceroy and his central Executive should remain, as at present, responsible to the British Parliament alone. Sir John Simon and his colleagues thought that one long stride into the unknown was enough for the time, and many cautious observers endorsed that view. Lord Irwin and his advisers, however, thought otherwise. Scared by the outcry with which the Simon Report was greeted in the Nationalist camp, they hurriedly devised a possible compromise, by which the central Government at Delhi would be in part responsible to the central Legislature, and in part independent of it. In other words, having long ago cast out Dyarchy, the friendless provincial orphan of 1919, they now snatched it back into their bosom, renaming it Dualism, and apparently hoping thereby to melt the Nationalist heart. From the Nationalist point of view, no gesture could have been more timely. The Viceroy who had promised Dominion status had now conceded responsibility at the centre. Less than what Lord Irwin offered, not even the most conservative delegate could ask for. The leaders were prepared to ask for a great deal more, and full responsible government was accordingly adopted as their battle-cry ; 'I cannot conceive,' said Mr. Jinnah at the very outset of the Round Table discussions, 'of any Constitution that you may frame which will not transfer responsibility in the central Government to a cabinet responsible to the Legislature.'

As the Conference proceeded and the voice of prudence was heard, certain reservations from the full doctrine of home rule were broached. Equilibrium was reached, however, with Lord Reading's conversion ; and thenceforward Responsibility with Safeguards became the word of salvation. It was embroidered by copy-book texts about responsibility being the cure for irresponsibility, by historical analogies (mostly fallacious), by reason and by rhetoric. It not only echoed through St. James's

Palace, but it was taken up by the Press, repeated with unction wherever men met, and finally accepted and adopted by His Majesty's Government. There have been few more perfect cases of *schwärmerei* in our generation. 'You will admit,' said old Thomas Carlyle, 'that swarmery plays a wonderful part in the heads of poor mankind, and that very considerable results are likely to follow from it.'

Very considerable indeed are the results in this case; and a tribute of admiration is due to those who have secured them. In pressing their case the Indian delegates showed skill, versatility and courage. In certain respects, where indeed failure was inevitable, they failed; but this made their successes the more remarkable. They flew high and gave no indication of settling low. They measured up their British colleagues to a nicety, and employed upon them all the arts in the repertoire of Eastern persuasiveness. They showed themselves masters—and in a foreign language—of a style of oratory which is no longer practised, though it is still admired, in this country. And they displayed a wholly unexpected capacity for team-work. They were, to outward appearance, a heterogeneous body; but a few master-minds soon took command, and Hinduism, in her ancient wisdom, was justified of her children.

It may grieve the logical mind that so weighty conclusions should have been reached in such a manner. With the whole future of India at stake, sentiment and rhetoric might properly have taken a lower place. The fitness or otherwise of the country for self-government might at least have been mentioned. There was one complete and authoritative project for advance which, whatever its drawbacks, merited (and would have repaid) being debated and analysed, if only in order to bring out the concrete elements in the problem—to show the world, for example, how a paper safeguard can be made effective. There was a mass of preliminary work and study that might have been undertaken before the Rubicon was crossed. But that is not our British way. If a great Imperial issue, like the Constitution of India, falls to our lot, we push it off and avoid it to the last. Anything else may have precedence of it—de-rating, or railwaymen's wages, or Sunday cinemas, or a tax on silk stockings. When finally it is forced upon us, we tackle it hurriedly and fling ourselves impatiently on a decision. The method, we are often reminded, may lack distinction, but has worked not badly in the past—in South Africa and elsewhere. Why should it not be equally lucky for India?

Perhaps it will—we all hope it will; but we have now had 175 years of intimate association with India, and it cannot be said that any undue draft upon our knowledge of it has been made

in the last few months. It may be that the hand of Destiny is moving inexorably towards something which is new in Asia and in our Empire: moving perhaps towards a United States of India, which will comprise autocratic Duchies and democratic Provinces; which will be based predominantly on the Hindu theory of life, although indulgent to other religions and communities; which will retain from the British occupation certain conceptions of justice and civic rights and commercial integrity, just as it would retain traces of the Mahomedan occupation in its language, its system of taxation and its land tenures; which would be independent of foreign control, and would be steadily building itself up as a new world-power. If this is to be the future of India, the exact form of ceremony with which the foundations of its structure are laid is, in the long view, of little moment.

One thing, however, is certain: Niagara has been shot, and there will never be any climbing up the cataract into the old smooth waters. In 1917 the British Government undertook to lead India towards political freedom, by logical stages, and as she proved her fitness for the gift. There is no longer any question of leading, or of stages, or of fitness. The pledge now given by the Prime Minister is that the Executive Government will be responsible to the Legislature, as soon as the Legislature is put on a federal basis. Certain safeguards and reservations of a transitory nature will be proposed, and Parliament will no doubt insist on seeing clearly what these are and how the machinery for applying them will work. From the broad plain promise, however, there will be no receding. Greybeards who have spent their lives in India may shake their ineffective heads; but we have, all of us, to make up our minds to a complete change of conditions in a very near future. British trade will no longer have a favoured—perhaps not even a fair—market. Families for generations honourably associated with India will no longer look to her as a career for their sons. She will cease to be a training-ground for the British Army. But, replies the optimist, there will be compensations. Freer and more friendly relations will make India a better customer of ours than she now is; British capital will be welcomed, British advisers sought for, and so on. This prophecy, we may trust, will come true in time; but at present there is little promise of friendliness from the future governing classes. You will search their speeches at the Round Table in vain for a single word of generous recognition of all that Britain and British have done for India in the past.

Be this as it may, there is an infinitely graver consideration behind. We may lose trade with India, our sons may cease to serve her, our Army to garrison her, but all this is as dust in the balance if political freedom is going to make her people happier

and more prosperous. Whether it will be so the future alone can tell. During the Conference we had nothing but rosy pictures of what India will be when she is mistress in her own house. It would be possible to paint another picture, a picture of what India tolerates in her own house to-day; though this is unfashionable at the moment, and the painter is apt to find his (or her) testimony and motives severely impugned. If, however, the ex-official sometimes hints at what he has seen and knows on the other side of the Conference shield, he might in fairness be given credit for not thinking exclusively of the safety of his pension, but for some honest doubts as to whether the ballot-box is certain, in Indian conditions, to cure social evils and change human nature. It can easily be made to seem ungracious to dwell, at the moment, on the handicaps from which India suffers in the race of modern civilisation. Nevertheless they are there; and, although there is a growing willingness to remove them, the forces of reform in India are still weak, and cannot yet afford to do without our help and guidance. This is not the least of the reasons why many thinking men in both countries are convinced that a complete transfer of the administrative machinery to Indian hands is at present premature and unwise.

What stands between us now and such a transfer? First, the time that will necessarily be taken in effecting it; secondly, the reservations and safeguards to which the transfer is to be subject. The latter played a prominent part at the Conference, proportionate to the popular estimate of their importance; but the only thing finally settled in regard to them was that they are all transitory, intended to disappear when India reaches the full stature of a self-governing Dominion. General, and almost vague, is the language used in describing them by the Cabinet declaration which the Prime Minister read at the end of the Conference; but, if it is taken with Mr. MacDonald's speech on the same day and his speech in the House of Commons on January 26, the position appears to be this. The reservations will be that the Viceroy will keep in his own hands the Army and the Foreign Office, and that he will also have an overriding power of intervention 'in an emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State.' The safeguards will be of three kinds. In the first place, the Viceroy and the provincial Governors in their respective spheres will have powers to carry on the work of the administration 'in the event of a breakdown of the ordinary normal operations of government.' Secondly, they will have authority to secure the fulfilment of guarantees that have been given in the name of India, such as the public debt and the interests of the existing public services. And, in the third place, there will be provisions for protecting the

civic rights and securing the adequate political representation of minorities.

Several other points were brought on to a lower plane of security, by understandings, more or less harmonious, among the members of the Conference. They agreed, for example, that 'there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights.' These and similar agreements are indicative of the spirit that prevailed; but they bind nobody. The individual members of the Conference who assented to them will no doubt support them as part of an agreed scheme, but there is no certainty that they will be accepted by an independent Indian Legislature, and they have not been endorsed in the Cabinet declaration. The pledge of statutory protection must apparently be taken as extending only to the reserves and safeguards summarised above.

'Responsibility with Safeguards': this magic phrase which has won all hearts, what does it in fact mean? Should His Majesty's Government be able to stand by the declaration and embody these safeguards in the new Constitution, what will be their effect? Morally, considerable; in practice, precisely what the Hindu leaders will consent to allow. Here, again, it is only history that can teach us, and its teaching so far is not encouraging. Let us recall one instance. When the Constitution of 1919 was being framed, certain safeguards were inserted, much in the same way as is now proposed. In regard to one of them, the Joint Committee of Parliament reported that they wished it 'to be perfectly clear that this power is real and that its exercise should not be regarded as unusual or arbitrary.' The particular power was the Governor's right to restore a provision which the Legislature had cut out of his budget; and it is notorious that, in spite of Parliament's intentions, the actual exercise of this power has been vehemently attacked as arbitrary and subversive of the popular will: Lord Reading's certification of the salt tax is the classic example. No surer or easier method of undermining a safeguard exists than to provoke its exercise and then set up a tearing agitation about its iniquity. Every occasion on which the safeguard is used, however reasonably or necessarily, can be made an opportunity for an organised outcry against the system; and to repeated attacks it will at last yield. Also, let it be remembered, the enforcement of a safeguard will become increasingly more difficult than it is to-day. At present, if the Viceroy or a Governor puts his foot down, he has official colleagues, both British and Indian, who can defend his action, argue it in

the Legislature, and beat up support among friendly groups in the chambers. In future, the Viceroy or Governor will be in a much more solitary position; there will be no single colleague to stand by him when he overrules his Ministers; and it will require special grit and determination to maintain an unpopular decision against his advisers, with the Legislature behind them and a wealth of popular excitement in reserve.

In his apology for safeguards, the Prime Minister described them as representing something which is express or implied in every free constitution under the sun. This, of course, is true; but in politically advanced countries they get so closely woven into the texture of the constitution that their chief merit lies in being rarely seen or heard of. If in India this happy consummation is reached, then all will be well: the Moslems, the depressed classes, the Anglo-Indians will be assured of their just rights; all public obligations will be scrupulously honoured; the civil servants will be properly treated, and the police properly supported. It lies with the leaders of the great Hindu majority. If, on the other hand, they show a determination, as some of them did at the Round Table, to regard all safeguards as insidious attacks upon their new position, then nothing will avail to prevent the old tactics from being employed, and no statutory or other provision which Parliament can devise will render the safeguards other than illusory and useless. The new Constitution is being launched in the confident hope of a change of heart in this respect, as in many others, among those who will have to work it.

Between us and the future federal government with Indian Ministers there is also the element of time. So far as the vision of a self-governing federated Dominion of India is concerned, the Round Table was spread on the top of Pisgah. There are tremendous problems still to be faced before the promised land is reached. They bristle in the conclusions of every committee. Most notably do they abound in Lord Sankey's admirable report on the federal structure, where every second paragraph narrates a divergence of opinion, looks forward to subsequent 'discussion and accommodation,' and advises 'that the subject be further explored.' The method of exploration is still unsettled; technically the Conference merely stands adjourned, and no scheme has yet been propounded for carrying on its deliberations, although its final resolution urged that 'arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged.' To the ordinary man, unfamiliar with the complexity of Indian conditions, there is difficulty in realising how vast is the field which, in Lord Sankey's words, has still to be explored. So far as the provinces are concerned, the Conference went no further than the Simon Commission and did not penetrate nearly

so deep; there is ample material in the Commission's Report for whatever action Parliament may approve, and all necessary changes in the provincial sphere could probably be made under the existing law. But the changes in the central Government call for infinitely more study and for great circumspection.

At no time in history, and at no point in geography, has a more intricate problem in federation presented itself than that to which we are now committed in India. At the outset it seems questionable whether the federation can be constituted by an Act of the British Parliament; the States are not British territory, and presumably they cannot be brought into the federation except by a voluntary adhesion on their part. Such adhesion will naturally be on conditions, which again cannot, except by voluntary agreement, be arranged with the representatives of the British provinces. Next comes the certainty that, if the federation is to be real, the States which join it will have to abandon certain of their sovereign rights. This will in some cases, and may in most cases, involve modification of their treaty and charter engagements with the Crown; and much delicate ground opens out here before the constitutional draftsman. Then will arise the question of representation in the federal Legislature and in its Executive. There are 108 States, commonly described as full-powered, whose rulers are members of the Chamber of Princes. Of these Hyderabad alone is comparable with a British province; there are, however, at least a score of others which will claim the same consideration as the biggest of their brethren, and even the smallest of them are strongly individualistic. But there are also about 500 minor States, of all sorts and sizes; and these will have to come in, if at all, on some system of voluntary grouping, which local jealousies will not make unduly easy. The decision of the greater Princes who attended the Conference to accept the federal principle was momentous, but it was not exhaustive.

Assuming, however, that all these conundrums are answered, we have another group of problems to follow. When the federal power has to exercise authority over a province, will the State representatives share in the intervention? *Vice versâ*, when a State comes under federal discipline, will the representatives of British India take part in the control? In the daily business of legislation and in the federal budget similar questions arise. They were discussed in Lord Sankey's Committee, but without any settlement, and they offer material for much anxious negotiation. One contribution to their elucidation is a scheme for creating a supreme Federal Court, which would guarantee and interpret the Constitution, and would adjudicate, *inter alia*, on issues between States which are not within the jurisdiction of the federal organs. An apology is due for these dull technicalities; they are cited

merely to show how the *schwärmerei* over federation has now to make way for long and tedious preparations.

Niagara has been shot, and now? What lies before us in the near future? The answer is as uncertain as the efficacy of safeguards, because it depends, like them, upon the attitude of the Congress Party and the tenacity of the delegates who attended the Conference. At the moment the Extremists appear to be uncomfortable about their mistake in boycotting the Conference, when such magnificent concessions were going, and when they might have secured the credit for hard and successful bargaining which their Moderate friends are now enjoying. In some way, however, they will have to save their faces; hence their insistence on a general amnesty and on immunity for certain forms of continuing lawlessness. At the best these are merely devices for gaining time to let the Congress leaders weigh up the new situation. When they have done so, we shall have to be prepared for two possible alternatives. In both cases it is essential to remember that the outcome of the Conference is far beyond the grasp of the vast mass of the people. So far as they think about it at all, the only question which interests them (as a distinguished Indian recently put it to the writer) is whether they are to have the British Raj or a Pandit Raj; whether the Englishman or the Brahman is to be their master. On this simple issue opinions differ; but that is not the point at the moment. The point is that in the coming negotiations we shall have to deal with an exceedingly small body of informed opinion.

Of the two alternative directions along which the work of the Conference may have to be resumed, the course which is the easier to forecast is that which will be followed if the Congress leaders decide to enter into the fruits of the Moderates' labours. Mr. Gandhi and his associates may find it expedient, even if uncongenial, to revise their plan of campaign, to call off civil disobedience, and to become a party to the forthcoming negotiations. If they do so, their traditions dispense with the need for prophecy. The newcomers will immediately set to work to improve upon the results of the Conference. Their first assault will be upon the safeguards, an assault for which several of the delegates ostentatiously left the door open in the various committees. Further and still further concessions will be demanded, and it is impossible to see where a halt will be called unless the British Government of the day shows a greater passion for finality than has yet been evinced. It would be too much to expect the Moderates to put a brake on this process. Their acceptance of safeguards was not an act of conviction, but of expediency. They are admittedly at one with the Extremists in desiring complete and unfettered self-government, their only reservation

being that they would rather reach it by peaceful means than by violence or threats of violence. If therefore the Congressmen can, through the channels of tireless bargaining, get nearer the goal than the Moderates have done, the latter are not going to obstruct or to lag behind. The only question will be, how long the yielding capacity of our own people will endure.

The other alternative for the future course of the constitution-makers is that, either by calculation or by perversity, the Extremists may remain irreconcilable. 'The cry of independence,' explained Mr. Jayakar at the Round Table, 'is a cry of despair . . . emanating from those who have convinced themselves, by reason of their past experience, that England does not mean to fulfil her promises to India.' The explanation, thin at any time, can hardly hold together after what happened in St. James's Palace; but the folly of determined intransigents is boundless, and the Congress may quite conceivably hoist the flag of independence again. In that event, the danger will be that the Moderates will once more be swept into the tide of discontent. Among them there are honourable men who would gladly abide by the measures to which they have given their assent at the Conference. But the pressure upon them is far greater than any outsider can estimate, and they may be unable to withstand it. They have, it is true, on the present occasion, support of a wholly new and powerful character. When the Princes turned the scale for federation, they pledged themselves by implication to help in stabilising the future, and their influence, it may reasonably be hoped, will be exercised against a policy of shipwreck. The spread of lawlessness has no attractions for rulers, and equally distasteful to the Princes must be the now unveiled threats of the extreme Nationalists to carry across their borders the virus of agitation for democratic privileges.

On this and on other grounds it is possible that the Congress, as a die-hard fighting force, is not so dangerous as it was before the Round Table Conference. Its power for mischief, however, is far from spent, and the cry of repression has been so useful a political weapon that it has no hesitation in fomenting disorder. This tendency will persist, even if the Moderates prove strong enough to combat it. We need not therefore expect during the next few months to see peace in the land. But we may hope that, our good faith now manifestly established, the authorities in India will be permitted and encouraged to put down revolutionary activities. The old idea that at all costs, even at the cost of leniency to crime, a calm atmosphere must be secured for constitutional change has surely been sufficiently discredited; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the amnesty which is now being proclaimed is the last of its kind.

One other cloud hangs heavy in the Indian sky. Loyally though the Moslem delegates supported their Hindu colleagues in the demand for home rule, they made no secret, towards the closing weeks, of their resentment at the pressure that was brought upon them to forgo the claim of the Mahomedan community to special consideration in the new *régime*. They were prepared to make material reductions from the fourteen points of their original Declaration of Rights. The more liberal-minded section of the Hindu delegates, headed by Sir T. B. Sapru, were ready to go more than half way to meet them. But old orthodox Hinduism remained obdurate against any arrangement which would deprive it of full control of the new Constitution and full mastery of the new India. British statesmen were thus, many of them for the first time, faced at close quarters with the most intractable of Indian problems, a problem which generations of Indian administrators have striven in vain to solve. The Conference records are full of admonitions to the leaders of the two communities to get together and settle their differences ; but the final declaration was that the Moslems (in common with other minorities) 'were definite in their assertion that they could not consent to any self-governing Constitution for India unless their demands were met in a reasonable manner.' Strenuous effort was required to prevent the Conference from foundering on this rock ; and equally strenuous were the attempts to force a settlement. But the Moslems know, as no outsider can know, what the domination of orthodox Hinduism implies, and an adjustment of their secular differences is far more than a purely constitutional issue.

It is time to conclude this survey. Looked at in due perspective, the Round Table Conference is an event of which both Britain and India have reason to be proud. Britain has given the lie to the old fable that we divide to rule, and has shown a genuine anxiety to understand India's aspirations. India, by sheer force of argument and persuasion and personal character, has won a conspicuous triumph over British caution. The results, so far as India is concerned, are impaired by the fact that her delegates were not plenipotentiaries, and that in at least one matter of prime moment they failed to reach agreement ; but the one result of first magnitude was the general acceptance of the principle of federation for a united India. So far as Britain is concerned, she is pledged, subject to Parliament's sanction, to the grant of virtual home rule to India so soon as a federal Legislature is established. Both of these are tremendous steps, wholly unforeseen six months ago, and entirely transforming all former conceptions of Britain's relations to India. How they are to be given precise constitutional form is still indefinite ; and much profound

study and wise negotiation have yet to be undertaken. There is, however, no rule-of-thumb for the consolidation of a great Empire, or for its dissolution; and neither prophet nor student of the past can tell us which of these two operations the Round Table Conference has initiated.

MESTON.

TRADE, FREE OR OTHERWISE

'. . . *rem facias, rem,*
Si possis, recte ; si non, quocunque modo rem.'

A nation of traders has got to get Trade
Free or protected, but anyhow Trade.

(HORACE, *adapted*.)

THE decision at last reached by the Conservatives to stake the fortunes of their party (not to mention the nation) once more on some full-blooded brand of Protection means that what appears at first sight to be a scientific question will shortly be put up again for decision by a popular vote. All the arts of political advocacy will be employed: confusion of the issue, conflicting expert opinions, carefully 'dressed' statistics, appeal to vulgar prejudices and *argumentum ad hominem* judiciously varied to suit local conditions. The story will not be forgotten of the orator who wondered why an audience of farmers sat glum under his eloquent advocacy of a stiff corn duty, until his chairman whispered : 'We don't grow corn hereabouts ; we buy it to feed to stock.' Many have asked why this ancient controversy is not remitted, for settlement on its economic merits, to an impartial body of scientific economists and practical business men ; but the decision whether the whole industry and commerce of the country shall be directed into artificial channels by manipulated taxation enforced by a political majority on the minority, or shall be allowed to take its natural course under economic laws, inevitably becomes a political question. Moreover, the problem in its applied form is not purely economic. So long as armaments continue, however purely defensive, no great nation can be satisfied to depend for its supply of munitions on the world market, and our own experience of fifteen years ago suggests that such considerations may apply to *munitions de bouche* as well as *de guerre*. But once admit an exception, on grounds of national welfare, to the unfettered operations of trade, and it follows that the limits to be set to such exceptions raise questions of Government policy. The fact that the last sixty years have seen outstanding examples of success under both systems gives the choice between them a more open

appearance than it wore to British eyes in the middle of last century. Free trade is on its defence.

To most of the voters, no arguments on the scientific merits of the question would be intelligible; they must be left to the pictures of the big loaf and the little, to the ready response of the natural man to the suggestion that international trade is a sort of war, and above all to their general party allegiances, however slightly connected with the merits of this issue. Large numbers of the better-informed will estimate their own chances of gain or loss and vote accordingly. At the other end of the scale, those competent to form their own opinions on the scientific doctrine and its practical limitations will have arrived already at conclusions which I have no intention of challenging here. There remains an important section of intelligent and knowledgeable men, neither economists nor manufacturers nor merchants, but capable of weighing at least the simpler arguments *pro* and *con.*, and casting their votes on rational grounds, whose position deserves consideration. They may be called the balancing voters.

To begin with, they may say, all nations are now in the soup together, free-traders and protectionists of all shades, as the result of the slump that began with the United States break in 1929. The present position therefore can furnish no decisive argument for either doctrine, and we must go back at least to 1928. In that year protectionist America was flourishing and free trade England was doing badly, with many industries losing ground and unemployment becoming chronic. The world slump will right itself in time, as such things have done before, when confidence in the future of business is restored; but there was something wrong with us, in particular, in 1928, and unless we cure that we shall still be wrong when others are going ahead again. Whatever may be the effect, on the business of the world at large, of locking up so much gold in America and France, it cannot be the explanation of our special trouble in 1928, which was that our manufacturers could not hold their place in competitive markets and sell at prices that would leave enough profit, after paying costs, to keep them in business. To cure that, we must either sell for more or make for less, or both. How do free trade and protection bear on that? [1]

The free-trader says: Foreign trade is not an operation of war, but exists just because it benefits both parties, each exchanging the things he can make more cheaply for those he wants but can only make less cheaply. An industry selected for 'safeguarding' (*i.e.*, selective protection) may of course gain, but only at

[1] The figures and arguments here following are mainly taken from 'The Case for Free Trade' (*Economist*, April 13, 1929) and *Empire and Prosperity*, by the Right Hon. L. S. Amery (1930).

the expense of the consumer, leaving him less to spend in other industries. To argue that if all industries were protected, all would gain, is fallacy. If at a procession one man in the crowd stands on a box, he sees better; but if everybody brings a box, nobody scores. If each nation makes for itself things it could get cheaper from abroad, some of its capital and labour is employed less profitably; and the gains of some industries do not alter the fact that the nation as a whole loses. Protection therefore means impoverishment, on balance. We depend more than any other nation on foreign trade for our high standard of living, requiring to sell abroad more than a quarter of all we produce, in order to pay for our imports of food and other things. Our success as exporters depends upon our getting cheap imports. The 'manufactured articles' which protection would exclude are to a large extent not finished articles to the ultimate consumer. One man's 'finished product' is the next man's raw material; and to exclude cheap iron and steel plates, sheets, bars, etc., would destroy the competitive power of our shipbuilders, engineers and bridge-makers. Protection would not cure unemployment. Analysing the 1928 figure of 1,330,000 unemployed, 857,000 belonged to industries which cannot be protected, like mining, building, transport and the distributive trades; and of the rest, over 90 per cent. belonged to the great exporting trades where the proportion of imports to exports is small. Moreover, if we exclude foreign goods *because they undersell ours*, those same goods will capture our export markets. All this is not altered by other nations taxing our exports; they undertake not to treat us worse than they treat any other nation. Imports can only be paid for by exports, so that extra imports produce a corresponding growth of exports. The belief that by putting on tariffs a nation can force other nations to lower theirs is belied by history. A general tariff would mean another army of officials; and, finally, the lobbying inseparable from tariff-making always breeds political corruption.

A digression here. The plain man finds difficulty in seeing that imports can actually *produce* exports—that by buying Australian wool he *causes* some Australian who had nothing to do with it to buy (say) an English car. But there is a connexion. If exports and imports are the only business done between the countries, then, though both use the same money (pounds), an Australian, unless he ships gold, can only pay an exporter here by buying a paper carrying the right to receive pounds-in-London and posting it over to him. Similarly, to pay for imports we require a paper representing pounds-in-Sydney. Such papers ('bills of exchange') come into existence for every shipment of goods, and are freely marketed in both countries. If imports balance

exports, each side pays pound for pound and there is no difficulty; but if our exports go up, there is more demand for the right to pounds-in-London than to pounds-in-Sydney, and a debtor in Sydney has to pay more than 100*l.* there to secure 100*l.* in London: that is, remittances to London are at a premium. If our imports went up, remittances to London would be at a discount; and if we now take a country (France) that uses different money, less money-in-Paris (francs) would be required to secure pounds-in-London than the natural ratio of the gold-content of the two units. This is expressed by saying that the exchange has fallen below par (124·21 francs to the pound). English money then buys less French goods and French money more English goods; our imports are checked and our exports encouraged, until exchange returns to par. But if the fall goes further, it costs the Englishman less to buy gold from the Bank (paying the *fixed* price) and send it to Paris than to buy papers representing fewer francs. The loss of gold affects the London money market in such a way as to lower home prices, increasing the pressure to export, until the exchange is righted. To this extent imports and exports of goods may be said to *cause* one another, when they are the only dealings. But if there are other dealings with foreign countries—and there are many—they affect the exchanges in just the same way and alter the position. Our foreign dealings in 1928 were:

	£ Millions.		£ Millions.
Exports of British goods .	723	Imports of goods (less re-exports)	1076
Net earnings of British ships	130	Net imports of gold . .	6
Commissions of British bankers, etc. . . .	80	Balance (surplus) . .	149
Interest on investments overseas	285		
Net Government receipts from abroad . . .	13		
	1231		1231

All that this account says is that any increase on one side must be balanced by a decrease on the same side or an increase in some item on the other; but by calling all the items on the left side, except the first, 'invisible exports' we can make the slogan 'imports are paid for by exports' cover all the facts. The balance (surplus) represents transactions not settled in the year, *i.e.*, an increase in one form or another of our loans overseas, and we may call this 'net export of capital.' If the balance were on the left side it would mean borrowing from abroad. The slogan, so extended, means more than 'your pass-book will always balance—if you include the overdraft,' because through the action of the

exchanges imports do tend to create exports. On the other hand, the slogan is of course as true of Australia as of England, and it has not saved the former from a severe crisis, forcing her off the gold standard after draining all her available gold to London and making her pay (as I write) 130*l.* to secure 100*l.* credit here. She has, in fact, been balancing her imports by increasing the balance on the left side, *i.e.*, by borrowing persistently, and so has come to grief. Evidently, therefore, the slogan does not mean that foreign trade can be left to balance itself automatically. We also have been losing gold, and balancing a growth of imports by decreasing our 'surplus' of capital exports (foreign lending), a first step in the direction of borrowing.

To resume. The protectionist says: The unfair foreign competition which we alone permit in our home market has killed profits. Tax manufactured imports sufficiently to exclude most of them. By making these for ourselves we shall run our machinery full time, largely increasing factory outputs, so that the cost, per unit produced, of machine power and other overhead charges, now forming so large a share of prime cost, will be greatly reduced, and the price to the consumer will stand at, or even below, the former level. By taxing finished manufactures 33 per cent. and semi-manufactures a lower rate, making the average over all 25 per cent., we shall replace £200 millions of manufactured imports by home production. This will find work for a million of the unemployed, and the extra spending power of the workers so brought back to full wages will give a secondary increase of consumption, and consequently of employment, of (say) half a million, so bringing our present unemployment figure down to about one million, and reducing our dole expenditure by £80 millions. The goods produced by this 1½ millions of workers would be worth £300 millions, giving on the present basis of taxation £75 millions extra revenue. Some things, in making which we should be at a definite disadvantage, would still be imported—say £100 millions worth—and would pay customs duties of £25 millions. Thus the Budget, on balance, would be relieved by £180 millions, enough to give substantial relief to overtaxed industry and increase the sinking fund as well, giving us a real start on the road back to prosperity. Free trade principles require that import duties and excise duties should balance. Our heavy taxation on industry to-day is practically a veiled excise duty of about 6*s.* in the pound; and what we propose is only to balance that by an equalising import duty. To say that domestic protection can only injure our great export industries is to deny that the prosperity of each section of industry is bound up with that of the rest. The increased prosperity of protected industries would lighten the burden of taxation on all others, indirectly,

and in addition there would be direct benefits; thus, coal-mining would gain an increased output of some 20 million tons annually by the greater activity of iron and steel and other coal-using trades; and as our exports increased again, they would be balanced by larger imports (not of manufactures, but of food and raw materials), making more work for shipping in both directions. And as with prosperity, so with reduction of unemployment; it would spread from industry to industry, so that it is fallacious to say that the unemployment existing in 1928 in coal-mining (say) is beyond the reach of protection. As the slogan 'imports are paid for by exports' is not true as applied to imports and exports of merchandise by themselves, and as they are the things that affect the home labour market, it has no application to the unemployment difficulty.

Even if, in making arrangements for reciprocal preferences with the Dominions, to our mutual benefit, we put some tax on foreign wheat, the price would not rise; so readily would the Empire supply to us expand and so essential is our market to the foreign grower. Besides, however carefully a Government may put taxation on the direct taxpayer, it will not 'stay put.' Bread is dear to-day because at every stage, from the wheat ship to the loaf across the counter, costs have largely increased, chiefly owing to taxation. No duty ever suggested on foreign wheat could raise the price of the loaf as much as the last fifteen years' taxation has done; our proposals would in fact *untax* the loaf. Protection would keep the worker in employment at undiminished wages, whereas 'the lowering of wages by the sheer pressure of misery' is all that any honest free-trader can suggest.

The above claims as to the course of prices under protection invite a further explanatory digression. Free-traders hold that when home and foreign products divide a market an import duty is simply added to the price of both; and for this reason an excise is put on, to secure for the Exchequer the whole extra sum taken from the consumer. To say that the excise (veiled) was already there, is playing with words. The protectionist claims (1) that the spreading of 'overheads' over the increased output will reduce cost by the whole amount of the duty, though no relation is shown between the rate of duty and the proportion of cost due to overheads; and (2) that *price* will be reduced equally with cost—a very different proposition, for, while cost is a statistical fact, price is (in railway language) 'what the traffic will bear.' It cannot long remain below cost, but may remain far above it until competition between suppliers brings it down; and why, in these days of price-combines, should the protected maker, with no foreign competition, cut prices to the bone? When, as with the £100 millions assumed still to come in,

there is no effective home competition, the import duty will be added to the price, transferring an extra £25 millions from the consumer to the Exchequer—a striking feature of a scheme for relieving the taxpayer, and one that suggests that the whole prospectus needs very careful examination.

This article, however, does not pretend to judge the economic soundness of these rival claims, but to show the nature of the appeals made to the mind of the balancing voter, and the difficulty of his choice. He will recognise that while protection appeals frankly to things obvious on the surface to the plain man—industries dying under free trade and others developing under safeguarding—and to the combative instincts evoked by trade rivalry, free trade seeks truth lying unseen 'at the bottom of a well' and correspondingly hard for the plain man to grasp. If even Greenwich Observatory still talks of the sun rising and setting, though the fact that it does neither filtered down long ago from the professors to the people, we need not be surprised if the daily use of money by everybody still leads the great majority to think in terms of it, missing the all-important point that wealth is not the coin in a man's pocket, but what he can buy for it; so that if prices fall 10 per cent. a man with 10 per cent. lower wages is as well off as before. The austere doctrine of free trade calls for the uphill course of making the effort of thought necessary to keep this always in mind; the primrose path of protection promises to get over the hill by going round it. The balancing voter will find much flat contradiction between the two sides and some tendency to over-statement on both. Discounting both as best he can, he may conclude that prosperity is possible on either plan, provided it is consistently followed through, though the kind of prosperity and its distribution will be different. One is a low-price scheme, looking to cheap manufacture; the other a high-price scheme, looking to dear selling. As cheapness is the final argument in the world market, he might expect the low-price scheme to pay best for a nation depending more than any other on competitive selling abroad.

Why, then, are we losing ground under it? Because we are thinking in terms of money. In a paper ('Of Cheapness') in this Review for November 1930 I showed that the cost of an article consists of only two elements—wages (including salaries) and remuneration of capital; wages here meaning not only those of the finishing industry, but also all those spent on the article in earlier stages, from the mine upward, as well as in the transport and other ancillary services: further, that if the product (quantity) does not increase—and with us it is falling—a fall in the general price level, if not reflected in the general wage level,

rapidly becomes catastrophic by transferring to the fixed-charge men (workers, debenture-holders and now, by a Gilbertian touch, 2½ millions unemployed) an excessive share of the total product, leaving to the proprietors, who can only take what is left, no sufficient inducement to remain in the business. Industry to-day is paying for labour at 98 per cent. of the 1924 standard (Professor Bowley's index), while labour is spending at 87 per cent. (retail price index)—a fall, in the ratio of prices to wages, of about one-ninth, with wages practically fixed; and it is this fixity which is the new feature in the fiscal problem. The quantity of goods which the fixed-charge men take has thus increased in the ratio of 9 : 8, and if fixed charges were taking eight-ninths of the total product (quite a possible fignre) there is now nothing left for the shareholder: the goose that laid the golden eggs is stone dead. By thinking in terms of money we shut our eyes to this striking result, and mysteriously call the inevitable closing down of factories the 'great unemployment problem.' Whether industry should be conducted on the high-price level or the low-price level, under protection or free trade, is a minor issue compared with the question how long there will be any industry to conduct.

We talk of rationalisation, but that blessed word means not only the writing down of capital and procuring of new money for re-equipment, but applying to all the problems of industry fresh minds prepared to discard wasteful old ways and all hindrances to efficient working. But labour resists all reform in the works, careless of efficiency, still aiming to force the employer to pay three men to do the work of two, in the false belief that it gains thereby. New money is not attracted to half-ruined concerns while the causes of ruin are still active; and such reductions in costs as the employer can himself make, in these conditions, are small compared with the stupendous sum (something like £300 millions a year and still growing as the price fall continues) which the fixed-charge men have gained. Is it not obvious that this unacknowledged profit is the point from which reform should start? The Walrus and the Carpenter may sob about 'the lowering of wages by the sheer pressure of misery'; but all that is suggested is that the fixed-charge men should be content with the real wages of two or three years ago, till times improve and higher prices automatically restore present money wages.

This brings us back to the fiscal question, for protection claims to know a 'way round.' One cannot see all the way, but the free-trader must admit that there is a path starting in a promising direction. For if protection, as he holds, raises retail prices, this will bring the real incomes of fixed-charge men back towards their proper level without raising a storm. Those who resisted reduc-

tion when prices fell cannot claim, when they rise, the increase they would get automatically under a give-and-take system; and if a struggle came, labour would stand forth as the aggressor. The disparity between sheltered and unsheltered wages, one of the worst features of the present position and a principal cause of the spread between wholesale and retail prices, might also be mitigated in readjusting unsheltered wages to higher levels as prosperity returned. Whatever danger to exports may lie further along the path, these features cannot but make protection attractive to employers to-day, and will also appeal to the balancing voter.

But the free-trader, committed to the low-price principle, cannot manœuvre thus. The academic economist may say that the fault lies, not in the doctrine of free trade, but in the wages system; but the statesman must reharmonise the organism and its environment, whether the maladaptation that threatens survival originated in one or the other. A direct appeal to the practical political sense of the nation should produce a fair deal between those concerned which would restore elasticity to wages (not trade by trade, but in all simultaneously), life to free trade and prosperity to industry; to give the problem up would be rank defeatism. Yet no political party gives the lead. Labour holds that trade union wages are a first charge on the whole product of industry—and damn the consequences; roast goose is a savoury and seasonable dish! Conservatives enjoy their opponents' dilemma. The party that claims to champion free trade as a reasoned belief is content to repeat the old arguments based on conditions no longer existing and to announce complacently that the tide of protection is ebbing, meanwhile acquiescing in the false dogma of pegged wages which is fast relegating that belief to limbo.

E pur si muove. Free trade stands as a definite achievement in economic enlightenment, but even the best machinery will not work when full of sand. It is perishing, not from the machinations of wicked foreigners, but from our own failure, since the war, to restore the condition essential to its success.

> The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars
> But in ourselves, that we are *unemployed*.

Whether we can still repair our omission before it is too late is the test that lies before our statesmanship; and the outcome will once more show that a nation gets the government it deserves.

C. Harris.

LEADERSHIP

SELDOM, I imagine, can anyone, when sitting down to write on a political subject, feel assured that his main thesis will meet with practically universal approval. This good fortune, however, is mine. For, with the exception of a few members of the bureaucracy and, may be, a dozen or so die-hard politicians, I have never yet met anybody, or heard of anybody, be he Liberal or Tory, Socialist or Communist, who for one reason or another did not whole-heartedly condemn the Cabinet in its present form—a miscellaneous assembly of some twenty departmental Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. Be it observed that there is here no question of disparaging the present Cabinet more than any other that has existed since 1906, the starting-point of democracy in this country.[1] Nor, obviously, is the principle of Cabinet control at issue. It is purely a matter of size, composition, and methods of exercising control. In proportion as the Cabinet has grown in number and has become more departmental in character, it has failed more and more lamentably in leadership, in securing economy, in co-ordinating the work of the several departments of State, and as a bulwark against the encroachments on constituted authority by the permanent element in the departments. The conversion of the Cabinet into a mere assemblage of departmental delegates has, step by step, led to the supremacy of a highly efficient bureaucracy, not only over every form of national activity, but over Parliament itself. As to economy on a large scale, vital though it be to national security, the matter is not worth thinking about, still less arguing about, so long as the mainspring of government remains in the grip of the departments.

The remedy is obvious. By some means or other the Cabinet must be purged of the taint of departmentalism which now attaches to it, and so be left free to apply itself to those executive functions of government—to leadership, in other words—which belong to it and to it alone. Simultaneously, steps must be taken

[1] Writing in the sixties of the last century, Walter Bagehot remarked that some forty years would elapse before democratic government would be a reality in England. His prediction was fulfilled almost to a year.

to restore to Parliament effective control over the detailed administrative work of the departments of State. This control, now arrogated to itself by an overworked Cabinet, is, as matters stand, purely nominal, and in point of fact is practically non-existent. The problem to be faced is, therefore, twofold—first, to free the Executive from administrative ties and responsibilities, which now hamper its usefulness, and, secondly, to ensure that Parliament shall be placed in a position to shoulder this burden of which the Cabinet ought to be relieved.

Of the Cabinet's record during the war little need be said, as, for all practical purposes, it disappeared overnight when hostilities began. Officially we have been told 'it was far too unwieldy for the practical conduct of the war.' Its place was taken by a War Council, a body quite unknown to the Constitution, which usurped its authority in all that related to the operations of war. More perhaps is the pity. If the strategy of the war had to be discussed in the atmosphere of a debating society, no Cabinet could possibly have been more unfitted for the task than was the War Council. At any rate, with the Cabinet in charge, the position of the experts would have been unmistakable, and the misunderstandings on this head which led to the amazing decision that the Fleet, single-handed, should 'bombard and take the Gallipoli Peninsula' might well have been avoided. Further, with the Cabinet exercising its normal functions, it is more than probable that it would not have taken more than two years to discover, in Mr. Lloyd George's immortal phrase, that 'You cannot run war with a sanhedrin.'

The immediate question is whether you can run peace with a sanhedrin. Mr. Lloyd George, whose experience in such a matter is unrivalled, clearly thinks not. Only in December last he declared that:

> There must be some change in the method of direction of the urgent problems of the hour. It is essential. There is no drive. There is no direction. There is no real supervision. They are haphazard and self-complacent methods. You cannot continue on those lines.

And much more to the same effect.

Take, again, the evidence of so distinguished an authority on parliamentary procedure as Professor Ramsay Muir, who, quite recently, wrote in this Review as follows [2]:

> The score or so of men (often not very able men) who constitute a Cabinet cannot possibly perform the vast and variegated functions which they have arrogated to themselves. . . .
>
> In truth, the functions which are imposed upon the Cabinet . . . are

[2] 'What is Wrong with the British System of Government?', November 1930, pp. 627, 628–9.

so enormous that they cannot be performed in any adequate way. And because of this, the reality of power in every sphere—legislative, administrative, financial—falls to the bureaucracy. . . . A bureaucracy can never pursue economy; and it can never see the problems of government as a whole, or shape a coherent policy in a time of difficulty.

I doubt whether a dissentient voice will be raised against this statement of patent facts.

It is not often that the veil of Cabinet secrecy is lifted, and for this reason any criticism by a Cabinet Minister on shortcomings in procedure is of special value. In his *Autobiography* the late Lord Haldane wrote thus of the 1906 Cabinet of which he was a leading member:

The Cabinet was like a meeting of delegates. It consisted of too large a body of members, of whom two or three had the gift of engrossing its attention for their own business. The result of this and the want of system which it produced was that business was not always properly discussed, and the general points of view that vitally required clear definition almost never. . . . The procedure was a mischievous one.

Yet this is the body to which the nation looks for leadership!

The same view was further elaborated and driven home by the Machinery of Government Committee of 1918, over which Lord Haldane presided. This Committee, which was representative of all parties and of the Civil Service, expressed in clearest fashion their opinion that it would be impossible after the war to return to the old order of things. They strongly urged a smaller Cabinet and the reduction, if not the complete elimination, of the departmental influence in it. Yet here we are in 1931 with a larger Cabinet than in 1914, and the departments more strongly entrenched in it than ever before! I shall have occasion in the following pages to return to the findings of this Committee, which, for convenience' sake, I shall refer to as the Haldane Committee.

Latest in point of time comes the declaration of the younger members of the Socialist Party embodied in the so-called Mosley Manifesto:

It is impossible [they say] to meet the economic crisis with a nineteenth century parliamentary machine. The whole organisation of the executive machine, Cabinet and departmental structure, must be adapted to the needs of the present situation. For ten years Parliament and the nation have refused to face the facts.

Like the Haldane Committee, they press for a much smaller Cabinet and the complete exclusion from it of all departmental representation.

If space permitted, much more evidence could be adduced to prove how widespread is the belief that changes in the supreme

direction of our national affairs are long overdue and ought to be faced. But possibly I have already said more than enough on this subject. In fact, I feel constrained to apologise for having thus piled up the agony against a system which is clearly indefensible. Moreover, purely destructive criticism, no matter how voluminous it may be or how eminent the critics, does not carry us far along the road to a better land, and it is both pleasanter and more profitable to turn to the consideration of constructive measures and of the fundamental principles on which reconstruction should be based.

In the last resort government is a one-man business. No matter what its form may be—whether king or emperor, president or prime minister is its working head—one man at long last must give the decisions on which the fate of a nation may depend. His is the responsibility, and, quite rightly, his countrymen and history will blame him or acclaim him according as he fails or succeeds. The burden resting on his shoulders is no light one. Assuming he is fit for his position and takes it seriously, his range of functions falls broadly under two heads—supervision and decision.

Take first of all his supervisory duties. Every department of State and every national activity comes, or should come, within his purview. It is his business to ensure that all portions of the governmental machine are functioning properly and that every department is well and economically administered. If he fails in this respect, no individual or body can act as his substitute, least of all a Cabinet composed wholly or mainly of departmental chiefs.

Nor are his duties less insistent where decision is concerned. Obviously it is only on national questions of the first magnitude, questions of general policy or those affecting directly several departments of State, that he should be called on to decide. Leisure to think and observe is essential for the man with whom so great a responsibility rests, and it is a test of the soundness of the technical machinery of government that references to the supreme head should be infrequent. It is also a test of the machine that matters which must be brought to his notice shall have been thoroughly threshed out beforehand and that all material facts are fully and honestly presented, so that his task of arriving at a sound and sane decision may be rendered as easy as is humanly possible.

No one, I presume, will contend that these conditions are fulfilled in the Cabinet as at present constituted. If any reader thinks otherwise, let him turn once more to Lord Haldane's revelations quoted on a previous page, or let him look further afield to countries where the blessings of democracy are more

abundant and more pronounced than here, and possibly he may conclude that the picture of a Prime Minister's troubles given in Mr. Bernard Shaw's amusing play *The Apple Cart* is no caricature but is life-like portraiture.

Let us turn now to a very different picture.

The responsibility vested in the commander of a great national army in the field is comparable, both in extent and in kind, to that which is imposed on the executive head of a State. In both cases the main functions are those of supervision and decision. With only this difference between them. The statesman, if he is well served, can usually envisage clearly and accurately the situation on which he is called to decide; the commander, on the other hand, is, only too often, blinded by the fog of war and has to decide on data which prove subsequently to have been wholly misleading. The statesman's errors are usually retrievable, a commander's may be irreparable.

> A thousand years scarce serve to form a state;
> An hour may lay it in the dust.

These words of Byron give a measure of the responsibility which rests with the statesman and the commander respectively.

Nor is the comparison less striking or less suggestive where supervision is concerned. The commander has the task imposed on him of supervising, under conditions which may vary widely from day to day, the welfare of great armies comprising hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of his fellow-countrymen. Their feeding and clothing, the provision of vast quantities of munitions and stores, their accommodation and their personal interests—all these matters and a multitude of others must receive his constant care. Moreover, if the force he commands is operating in a foreign country and in conjunction with allies, he must keep the interests of the inhabitants and the necessity for friendly relations with allied commanders constantly before his mind.

It is no exaggeration to assert that, during the later stages of the Great War, there was hardly a single activity that comes within the purview of State government which did not find its counterpart with the British armies in France and Flanders. Transport of every description by road, rail and canal, road repairs and quarrying, housing problems, postal arrangements, justice and police, agriculture, training and educational establishments, sanitation, spiritual and medical welfare, entertainments and canteens, graves registration, records and accounting on a vast scale, as well as relations with the Dominions and with French, Belgian, and Italian authorities—such are examples only of the amazing administrative burden Sir Douglas Haig had to

bear, over and above his purely military responsibilities, in connexion with the operations of his armies.

As in the case of State government, numerous departments—directorates, in military parlance—are formed at the headquarters of an army in the field to deal with this formidable mass of problems. There were in France in 1918 some thirty of these directorates. Following the precedent of Cabinet control at home, a commander-in-chief could, if he saw fit to do so, scrap his staff, select fifteen or twenty of his more important directors, form them into a council with himself as chairman, and proclaim to the world that all powers and responsibilities that are his would, in future, be vested in this council acting in its corporate capacity. The supposition is, of course, fantastic. If he did anything of the sort, a medical board would be assembled without loss of time to inquire into the state of his mind. In point of fact, a commander-in-chief rarely sees any of his directors in an official capacity, though he can, of course, call on any of them for technical advice, if such is required.

In the British Army a commander-in-chief transacts all his business, other than patronage and personal correspondence, through three principal staff officers, of whom one deals with policy and operations, another with discipline and the personal interests of the individual soldier, including his health, and the third with supply in its widest sense, transport and accommodation. It is the *rôle* of each principal staff officer to supervise the working of a group of directorates, to co-ordinate their activities, to ensure that policy decided on is duly carried into effect, and, when a decision of major importance has to be taken, to make certain that all essential information is brought to the chief's notice in as clear and concise a form as possible. A principal staff officer has no office establishment of his own. A good shorthand clerk suffices for all his needs. Like Pitt, he works by and through the directorates he controls, the heads of which are in relation to him as his expert advisers.[3]

Besides the principal staff officers only two officials have the right of direct access to the commander-in-chief ; they are the Judge-Advocate-General, who has a special charge in safeguarding the rights of the individual soldier, and the Financial Adviser, who, through the Treasury, is responsible to Parliament for adequate and accurate accountancy.

The staff system in the field, as it still exists in our regulations, was the work of the Esher Committee, who in 1904 made the following claim for their handiwork :

> We believe that we have so clearly drawn the lines between the duties of the various groups as to secure the great advantage of a scientific

[3] See this Review, p. 751 (December 1930).

division of labour, which is essential in all civil business, and which becomes more and more necessary, as the work of maintaining an efficient army increases in difficulty. . . . There is no overlapping

The system stood the test of war and remained practically unchanged from 1914 till 1918. No one, I venture to assert, who was in a position to appreciate the magnitude and the complexity of the task imposed on the commander-in-chief during these years, will deny that his success in overcoming all difficulties depended to a large extent on the ability of his principal staff officers to make his influence felt, not only with the fighting troops, but even more so with the great administrative directorates grouped under them.

It is the outstanding merit of the Haldane Committee's Report that, in the domain of civil government, it recognises and proclaims the urgent need of staff work in some shape or form, the advisability of grouping cognate departments of State under one or other of the members of the Cabinet, and the expediency of relieving Cabinet Ministers of departmental duties. The grouping they propose is based on the particular service which each department renders to the community as a whole. Their final conclusion was that the business of government should fall into one or other of the following main divisions :

I. Finance.
II. and III. National Defence and External Affairs.
IV. Research and Information.
V. Production (including Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Transport and Commerce).
VI. Employment.
VII. Supplies.
VIII. Education.
IX. Health.
X. Justice.

Thus, with the Prime Minister, the Cabinet was to consist of ten or eleven members, most of whom should be ' without portfolio.'

What in a new order of things the actual grouping of departments should be is largely a matter of speculation. Every constitution-monger will have his own ideas on the subject, and if I venture now to express disagreement with some of the conclusions reached by the Haldane Committee my excuse is that I believe that military experience can usefully be brought to bear on the problem they had to consider. Furthermore, there is in present circumstances a far more urgent need for economy than existed during the spacious days of the war, and I imagine that proposals made twelve or thirteen years ago would be considerably modified by their authors in the light of present-day conditions.

One thing is certain. The strength of a reformed Cabinet must be kept at the bare minimum consistent with efficiency, and this not on financial grounds alone. The smaller it is within certain limits, the better it is likely to function.

The diagram is said to be a foible of the military mind, and if this be so, I feel no shame in confessing that I share the weakness, for from long experience I know that many a reader will pore over and dissect a diagram, though he fights shy of a long-drawn-out argument. Accordingly I have attempted to show below in tabular form a suggested variation from the Haldane Committee's proposals regarding grouping :

PRIME MINISTER

External Affairs and Defence.	Man-power and Social Services.	Production.	Distribution.	Finance and Justice.
Departments dealing with foreign countries, the Dominions, India and the Colonies (except foreign trade). The Defence Departments.	Departments concerned with the personal interests of the subject—*e.g.*, Home Office, Boards of Education and Health, Local Government Board, etc., Museums and Galleries.	Departments concerned with basic industries—Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, and Mines. All Government bodies concerned with Scientific and Industrial Research.	Departments concerned with Commerce and Trade (including foreign trade), transport by road, rail, air and sea, the Post Office and Works.	Two groups, as proposed at considerable length by the Haldane Committee.

If the above arrangement, or anything like it, were accepted, the Cabinet in future would consist of seven members in all, against ten proposed by the Haldane Committee and five by Sir Oswald Mosley and his friends.

An important feature of my suggested grouping lies in the clear discrimination between Production and Distribution. There are two valid reasons for such discrimination. First, the type of mind required to supervise the productive power of a country is quite different from that suited to deal with commercial transactions. The producer needs primarily a scientific outlook ; his field of action should be largely among scientific bodies and committees assembled *ad hoc* to develop productive power in every shape and form. The distributor, on the other hand, should be someone who takes a large view of the world's commerce and of ways and means for increasing our share in it. Moreover, production and distribution are mutually antagonistic, the one to the other, and if there be any truth in Fox's well-known *dictum* that 'the theory of the Constitution consists in checks, in oppositions, the one part bearing up and controlling another,' it

is only meet and right that the Prime Minister, when opposing claims have to be adjusted, should have both cases fully and fairly put before him. The producer will always assert that he is hopelessly handicapped by the heavy costs the distributor imposes on his output.

I have intentionally omitted an Employment group from my table, because I hold that no one Minister could tackle this subject successfully. Clearly it is only by the united efforts of the Ministers charged respectively with man-power, production and distribution, to say nothing of finance, that the grim spectre of unemployment is likely to be laid.

And this brings me to what many people will doubtless regard as the most interesting aspect of the *Novum Organum*—namely, its domestic economy. How is it to function ? What establishment will be required ? How and where is it to be accommodated ? In all these matters the military analogy should be found of considerable value. As already stated, a principal staff officer carries on, as a rule, with only a good shorthand-typist to help him, and he usually has with him a junior officer who fulfils the ordinary duties of an A.D.C. A similar arrangement should, I suggest, prove suitable in the political world, the functions of the military A.D.C. being allotted in this case to one of the younger M.P.'s (unpaid for choice), who would thus gain invaluable experience

As at the headquarters of an army in the field, the offices where the Prime Minister and his colleagues of the Cabinet transact their business should be in close contiguity and, if possible, under the same roof. Formal Cabinet meetings should be rare, for an Executive such as is here contemplated would be in constant session. Further, it is essential that the individual Cabinet Ministers should have within easy call the heads of the departments of State which are grouped under them. But where, it may be asked, can accommodation, so ideally situated, be found ? To this question there can be but one answer. By their situation, their structural amenities and their historical associations, Nos. 10 and 11, Downing Street, are clearly indicated for such a purpose. The allocation of these historic houses to a utilitarian purpose would be quite in conformity with the trend of the age in which we live, and, moreover, by such a course the present heavy drain on the resources of their temporary occupants would be materially lessened. Two birds could thus be killed with one stone.

Thus far the problem of setting the Cabinet free from administrative cares and pre-occupations, and so enabling it to tackle the larger questions of national policy in a true spirit of leadership, has claimed attention. There remains the twin problem, how is adequate and continuous control of the detailed adminis-

tration of the State departments to be exercised ? It goes without saying that such control must in no way impinge on the executive supremacy of the Cabinet. In the future, as in the past, the departments must remain completely subject to the Executive in all that concerns policy. But, outside of policy, there is still a vast field open to intelligent inquiry which Parliament can and ought to explore.

I will give an illustration from one department, the War Office, where, on and off, I worked for more than twenty years in many capacities. As the secretary of the Esher Committee, I also played a subordinate part in the most searching inquest to which perhaps any department of State has ever been subjected. Of this I am fully persuaded, that, but for a political reason, the Committee would have recommended only three military members on the Army Council which was then created. The Committee, however, were instructed to take the Board of Admiralty as a model, and it was held in certain quarters that, on that Board, the professional element ought to outnumber the political. At the War Office three political members were deemed essential, and, for this reason and no other, four military members came to be appointed on the Council. Personally I have not the smallest doubt that, given a political head freed from Cabinet duties and at liberty to apply his whole mind to the affairs of his department, two political and three military members would amply suffice for all the work to be done, and that both efficiency and a large measure of economy would result from a smaller Council. *Ex pede Herculem.* What applies to the War Office applies without question to many other departments. If in a Government office a star of even the second magnitude is extinguished, fairly large clusters of satellites, some near at hand and some in remoter zones, are apt to disappear with it.

But, it will be objected, Parliament cannot be for ever appointing Esher Committees to prosecute inquiries and make recommendations. How, then, is a wide survey over the whole field of administrative work to be conducted ? This question is answered reasonably in the Report of the Haldane Committee. With the prime object of promoting the efficient and economical working of the public service, and securing the continuous and well-informed interest of Parliament in the work of the departments, the Committee recommended :

(*a*) that Estimates and Accounts should be made more significant of the nature of the expenditure proposed or recorded in them ;

(*b*) that a series of Standing Committees should be set up, each charged with the consideration of the activities of a group of cognate departments ; and

(c) that the political heads, as well as the officers, of the departments should appear before these Standing Committees, to explain and defend their acts.

Here in a nutshell is a straightforward and well-considered programme making for administrative reform.

One point only remains to be discussed. What should be the grouping of the departments, and consequently what would be the number of Standing Committees required? I doubt whether any grouping would prove more convenient, or be more in accord with the dictates of common sense, than that which I have proposed as the basis for Cabinet control. If the grouping coincided in both cases, each individual member of the Executive could be brought into close relation with the work of an appropriate Standing Committee. This would be an obvious advantage and probably a necessary safeguard. On this assumption four Committees would be needed, concerned respectively with External Affairs and Defence, Man-power and Social Services, Production and Distribution. It would clearly be to the national interest that the wealth of knowledge and experience to be found in both Houses of Parliament, bearing on the group-subjects mentioned, should be utilised to the fullest extent on these Committees. Surely such a sustained effort to secure efficiency and economy in the public service can be, and should be, laid outside of the sphere of mere party politics!

It may conceivably be urged, as an objection to the organisation outlined in these pages, that the Prime Minister would, by such an arrangement, be so unduly exalted above his fellows that he might in course of time become a danger to democratic institutions. Another objection that doubtless will be urged is that certain members of the Cabinet would have imposed on them a task which no man, however talented, could adequately perform. The answers to both objections are obvious. The Prime Minister would only in practice be given the position which is already his in theory. The effect of the proposed changes would be that he would be enabled, far more effectively than now, to exercise those powers of supervision over the whole range of governmental activities which at long last must be his and his alone. The second objection refutes itself, for it is equivalent to saying that seven men would be unable to share between them the work of supervision and co-ordination which in present circumstances one man must do, if it is to be done at all. Such an argument serves only to make more apparent than ever the absurdity and the futility of the existing dispensation.

Moreover, Pitt's example and the successful working of the military staff system in war on a scale, as already explained,

comparable in extent, and even more so in difficulty, with State government in peace can be adduced as proof that, given a scientific grouping of subjects, any man of ordinary ability, provided his tastes and predilections are suitable, can with ease and comfort assume what may be thought by some to be a giant's robe. It is purely a matter of good organisation and the selection of the right man for the job. Pitt in Newcastle's position in 1757 might have proved as dismal a failure as Newcastle certainly would have been, had he attempted to undertake the heroic task so nobly carried through by the great Secretary of State.

Democracy stands at the parting of the ways. If it is to make further progress in the world, it has yet to be proved that the democratic form of government is not inconsistent with economy and sound businesslike methods. Evidence must be forthcoming that gross extravagance and muddling through, in peace as well as in war, are not its necessary accompaniments. In peace as well as in war it has to be made clear that sanhedrin control is not a hall-mark of democracy. For if one thing is certain it is this, that, while human nature remains what it is, all government worth the name is, was, and always will be, a one-man business. The machinery of government, as it now exists, appears to be designed with the express object of thwarting anything in the nature of real leadership.

GERALD F. ELLISON.

THE OUTLOOK FOR LIBERALISM

DURING the last few months it has become almost a commonplace in political circles in this country to maintain that the party system is breaking down, and that the day is not far distant when Great Britain, like France, will be governed by a coalition of groups. This belief has its origin to some extent in the divisions of opinion within the Conservative and Labour Parties at the present time, but in reality the development which it envisages will, if it materialises, be due to the disintegrating effect upon the parliamentary system produced by the attitude of Liberalism towards the principal problems of the day. It is, of course, untrue to say that the Constitution must necessarily work badly with three, rather than two, parties in Parliament, for on more than one occasion in the past several parties have been represented at Westminster, but there can be little doubt that the tactics of Liberalism under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George have, more than any other single factor, produced that atmosphere of unreality about the debates in the House of Commons which has lowered the prestige of that assembly in the eyes of the ordinary citizen.

A great deal of nonsense is often talked upon platforms and elsewhere about the 'historic principles' of this or that political party, for opportunism plays by far the larger part in politics; nevertheless, no party can hope to survive whose programme is not based upon some definite set of principles. It is true that there is often a wide difference of opinion as to the exact adaptation of those principles to the problems of the day, and in a recent work Mr. Keith Feiling has shown how Toryism has more than once changed its standpoint even with regard to questions that might at first sight appear to be fundamental. Nor is this all, for much of the dissension at the present time in the Conservative and Socialist ranks is due to divergences upon the method in which the principles of their respective parties should be translated into action. With the Liberals it is far otherwise, for it is the principles themselves that are in dispute. Sir John Simon has declared that the party is dying of tactics, which is to say that fundamentals are being forgotten in the hope of snatching a temporary advan-

tage, and that the future is being sacrificed to the present. To push Sir John's military parallel a little further, Mr. Lloyd George is in danger of going down to history as one of that numerous class of commanders who, although rarely beaten in the field because of their reluctance to engage in pitched battles, are nevertheless continually being driven from one position to another, until in the end they lose the whole campaign.

In these circumstances it is not without interest to examine the basis upon which Liberalism may be said to rest, and by discovering the causes of its strength in the past to seek to determine the reasons for its weakness in the present.

Liberalism was born of the French Revolution, and its guiding principle during the whole of the nineteenth century was the abolition of privilege in every form. In Great Britain it may be said to have come into office on the passage of the first Reform Bill, though its dependence upon Whig support prevented the carrying out of its full programme for many years; indeed, it was not until after the death of Lord Palmerston that Liberalism can truly be said to have enjoyed power as well as office. From that time until the outbreak of the late war it pursued its goal with unabated vigour. The establishment of the ballot, the extension of the franchise, the strengthening of secular education, and the imposition of the death duties are but four examples of its manifold activities, and during these years it changed the face of England even more completely than the French Revolution had changed that of France. At the same time, it appealed to the concrete rather than to the abstract, and was thus the more in harmony with the people whom it was influencing. There was nothing revolutionary, in the accepted sense of the term, about it, and it drew its chief support from the middle class. The greatest good of the greatest number was its watchword, and liberty in its broadest aspect was its inspiration. It never became *doctrinaire*, like Radicalism, and though, as has been said, it effected the abolition of privilege, it was careful not to alarm its middle-class adherents by too much insistence upon equality and fraternity.

The policy of the Liberal Party during this period was one of peace, retrenchment, and reform. Of these three, the first was essential if the other two were to be achieved. At times, this insistence upon peace laid Liberalism open to the charge of 'Little Englandism,' and on one occasion led to a severe reverse at the polls, while it also precipitated more than one war which a firmer Administration might have avoided. Retrenchment was never forgotten, as an examination of the Budgets of the day will prove, while the devotion to reform was such that it came to embrace the grant of autonomy to Ireland, a plank in the Liberal

platform that did the party infinite harm with the English electorate, and eventually caused it to lose some of its ablest leaders. All this is not to say that the Liberalism of Mr. Gladstone represented the sum total of human wisdom in the political sphere, for such was certainly not the case; but no impartial person can study its record under the leadership of that great statesman without being compelled, however reluctantly, to the admission that it was true to its principles, unsound as these latter might be. Only in the case of Home Rule was its conduct open to suspicion, but even there it could be defended on the ground that it was the logical outcome of a devotion to liberty, while the same policy had not so long before been applied to the Ionian Islands and to the Transvaal.

Lastly, Liberalism took its stand upon Free Trade, and this was, in effect, but the natural corollary of its devotion to liberty. It believed that the State should dissociate itself as far as possible from all economic questions (Mr. Gladstone once rebuked a member for mentioning unemployment in the House of Commons), and that as a result of this the individual would benefit. To some extent this attitude was due to a reaction against the restrictions which had been imposed in past ages, but it was certainly not unaffected by the prosperity which followed the repeal of the Corn Laws. At this distance it is possible to see that the growing wealth of the country was due to a number of almost fortuitous causes, but the Liberals of the day could hardly be expected to realise that, and they were naturally elated when they saw that the application of their principles to the economic problems of the day was apparently so successful. In the industrial field Liberalism was by no means so fortunate, for it was soon discovered that liberty was definitely a relative term, and what might be liberty for the employer was often something not very far removed from slavery for the employed. Such being the case, it was no mere coincidence that the bulk of the factory legislation was due to Tory initiative, or that the last extension of the franchise in the nineteenth century ushered in twenty years of Conservative predominance.

To these traditions Liberalism, in what may be described as its heyday, was faithful, but, as was the case on the Continent, there was a section of the party, the Radicals, which had as its principal tenet the belief that there should never be any enemies on the Left. The leaders of this group were in earlier days Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, and to their heritage succeeded, in the fulness of time, Mr. Lloyd George. When the Labour movement first commenced to make itself felt the Radicals not unnaturally evinced considerable sympathy with it, and it was not until it began to display definitely Socialist and Marxian

tendencies that they took alarm. As a whole, however, Liberalism continued along the old lines, though the Left Wing exercised a relatively greater influence upon its counsels after the secession of the Liberal Unionists. This event, which deprived it of the larger part of the Whigs, who had provided a balance, proved to be the turning-point in its history, though many years passed before its true significance came to be realised.

At first sight it may seem a far cry from those days to the present, but before discussing the result of Liberalism's departure from its earlier position it is necessary to understand what that position was, and what were the principles upon which it was based. To-day the situation is very different. Labour, instead of being a poor relation, patronised by some Liberals and ignored by others, is now not only the strongest single party in the House of Commons, but is actually the Government, and the whole future, perhaps the very existence, of Liberalism depends upon this erstwhile beggar, now mounted on horseback. It is, of course, true that this is not the first time that the Liberal Party has been faced with a Labour Government, for such a thing happened in 1924, but with three considerable differences. In the first place, on that occasion the Conservative strength was of itself sufficient to turn out the Administration, and so Labour was a great deal more dependent upon Liberal support than it is at present, when the mere abstention of a certain number of Liberals from a critical division will serve its turn. Then, again, there were 159 Liberal members in the House of Commons after the General Election of 1923 as compared with 58 at the present time, so that it was not by any means unreasonable to suppose that in certain circumstances Liberalism might provide an alternative Government. Lastly, the party was still led by the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, who adhered to the old Gladstonian traditions, and by no means shared Mr. Lloyd George's opinion that there should be no enemies on the Left.

If the relative position of the parties is very different from what it was seven years ago, so is the problem which Liberalism is called upon to solve. Lord Oxford, in the Parliament of 1924, adopted the policy of first of all turning out, as he was bound to do, the Protectionist Government of Mr. Baldwin, and then of supporting its successor so long as it did not act in a manner contrary to what he believed to be the principles of the party of which he was the leader. His attitude throughout was perfectly consistent, and, when Labour went too far, he united with the Conservative section of the Opposition to defeat it upon a vital issue. In so doing, however, it seems clear that Lord Oxford made a miscalculation which was to have the most serious consequences for his followers, though it was natural enough,

The Parliament was not twelve months old, and yet it had seen the fall of two Administrations, a state of affairs for which there was no precedent in recent history. Whether the Liberal leader thought that Mr. MacDonald would resign on the morrow of his defeat in the House of Commons, or whether he believed that if he asked for a dissolution it would be refused and he would then resign, is immaterial; what is evident is that Lord Oxford considered that he had brought things to such a pass that, to avoid another appeal to the country after so short an interval, he would inevitably be asked to form a Liberal Administration. He proved to be mistaken, and the Liberal Party returned from the polls 44 strong. Nevertheless, the gamble was from every point of view a legitimate one, and may be described as strategy rather than as those tactics which Sir John Simon has so roundly condemned.

Mr. Lloyd George has neither the power nor, it must be admitted, the disposition to follow the example of Lord Oxford. It is true that at the last General Election Liberal candidates polled over 5,000,000 votes, but the party's representation in the House of Commons was only increased by some dozen members, and it was not long before it became evident that there were many who were by no means willing to go so far as their leader wished. Confronted with this situation, Mr. Lloyd George decided to abandon the strategy of Lord Oxford for the tactics of Mr. Parnell, and so he is now engaged upon the task of attempting to rebuild Liberalism on the shifting sands of a false analogy. The old Irish Party had certain very definite advantages which the Liberals of to-day do not possess. It knew exactly what it wanted, and the loyalty of those who returned it to Westminster was above suspicion. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, is divided upon every great question of the moment, save possibly the tariff problem, and it has no guarantee whatever that those who voted for its candidates on the last occasion will do so again when another opportunity occurs. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful if there are a dozen really safe Liberal seats in the country, whereas there were always eighty constituencies which could be relied upon to send an Irish Nationalist to Parliament. The result is that the one thing above all others, namely, a General Election, that frightens Mr. Lloyd George had no terrors for Mr. Parnell and Mr. Redmond, with the natural consequence that the former's hold over a Government is infinitely weaker than the latter's ever was in similar circumstances.

It may, however, be objected that what Home Rule was to the Irish, Electoral Reform is to the Liberals; but such is not really the case—at any rate, if by Electoral Reform is meant

the Bill dealing with that subject which is being considered by the House of Commons. The vast majority of the party is probably in favour of a scheme of Proportional Representation, which might well increase its strength in Parliament somewhat, though in actual fact the votes cast for Liberalism at the last General Election were scattered throughout the British Isles to such an extent that, unless constituencies of enormous size were set up, it is doubtful if the party would greatly benefit. However that may be, the Prime Minister and his colleagues would not hear of Proportional Representation, and so Mr. Lloyd George has had to be content with the Alternative Vote. This might, it is true, prove of advantage to the Liberal Party provided two conditions were fulfilled—namely, that the Liberal poll remained unchanged, and that the Conservative and Socialist elector always gave his second vote to the third party. So far as the first of these conditions is concerned, it can hardly be denied that in 1929 a good many people who, for one reason or another, were tired of Mr. Baldwin's Administration voted Liberal, partly by way of protest, and partly because they still believed that there was a reasonable chance of a revival of Liberalism. Mr. Lloyd George's flirtations with Socialism have since alarmed this class, which now cherishes no illusions as to the Liberal prospects, and at all future elections it is likely to vote blindly Conservative.

The belief that co-operation with Labour will result from the adoption of the Alternative Vote is likely to prove equally ill-founded, as Mr. Lloyd George should be the first to realise, in view of his past experience. The weakness of the Coalition lay in the fact that although Conservatives and Liberals might work together for a time at Westminster, their followers in the country regarded one another with the utmost suspicion, and were only too glad when the time came to abandon the pretence of friendship. It is thus difficult to see by what process of reasoning the Liberal leader has convinced himself that the ordinary Conservative and Socialist voters, after hearing their respective champions blackguarded by the Liberal candidate for several weeks before the poll, will accord their second choice to the latter. Mr. Lloyd George may enjoy a paradox, but the electorate does not, and it is likely to give evidence of the fact by expressing one preference only. The so-called 'progressive vote' is a myth, and it certainly cannot be co-ordinated by a policy of co-operation at Westminster and mutual hostility in the country. Mr. Lloyd George would rather be well advised to cease thinking in terms of the statistics of the last election, and, instead, to ponder upon the distressing fate that befell a certain young lady of Riga.

The independence of the Liberal Party has been sacrificed to

the attempt to place a measure of Electoral Reform upon the Statute-book, a measure which may prove a two-edged weapon in very truth. Mr. MacDonald has carried out his part of the bargain, which is most unlikely to inflict any great damage upon his party's prospects, and it is now for Mr. Lloyd George to do the same, though for him and his the consequences may well be disastrous.

The greatest liability that Liberalism has shouldered is support of the Trades Disputes Bill. This measure is, in almost every clause, opposed to everything for which the Liberal Party has ever stood. The re-establishment of the obligation to 'contract out' rather than to 'contract in' is in express violation of that liberty of the individual which was the watchword of Liberalism of old. The right to call a General Strike is but the creation of fresh privilege in defiance of every tradition of the party. As if this were not enough, the assistance which is being given to the Government for the passage of the Bill is splitting the Liberal ranks, and, unless the party keeps together, all its leader's schemes must of necessity come to naught. Sir John Simon is not a statesman to be lightly set aside, and, although he has so far been able to muster a mere handful of Liberals in his support in the House of Commons, he has made a great impression upon the rank and file outside its walls. There is no widespread enthusiasm for this Bill among the working class, however affectionately the professional agitator may regard it, and by supporting it Liberalism will get no thanks from the country at large for what may yet prove to be an act of political suicide.

The departure from tradition displayed in the support of the Trade Disputes Bill is, however, a mere deviation compared with the breach which has been created by Mr. Lloyd George's attitude in matters of finance. When British Liberalism was a real force in the world a Liberal Prime Minister was proud to represent the City of London, and his most important constituents were neither described as 'money barons' nor likened to 'a row of penguins in the Antarctic.' In those days taxation was imposed solely with an eye to meeting expenditure, and not as an indirect method of effecting a social revolution. Indeed, its financial policy was one of the chief glories of the Liberal Party, and Mr. Gladstone's Budgets were for long held up as a model to succeeding Chancellors of the Exchequer. In place of this we have to-day a scheme to raise a development loan of an immense amount, with the proceeds of which the whole face of the country is to be changed. Quite apart from the objection that such a loan would take away money from industry, and so increase unemployment in one direction even if it did, which is extremely doubtful, decrease it in

another, it is in flagrant violation of every Liberal principle. When Mr. Snowden made his now famous speech on retrenchment in the House of Commons on February 11 last he was delivering himself of sound Liberal doctrine for the most part, but he was at once attacked by Mr. Lloyd George, who, in his most characteristic manner, urged the adoption of a programme that would have delighted the hearts of Louis Blanc and the other unpractical and idealistic spendthrifts who brought the Second Republic to ruin in France. Whatever else Mr. Lloyd George might have been preaching, it was not the traditional Liberalism, which has never included among its objects the creation of a land fit for contractors to live in, though in all fairness to the Liberal leader it must be admitted that where finance is concerned his attitude has always been that of a revolutionary.

It is not surprising that leadership of this nature should have spelt disunion within and suspicion without. No party that retains any pride in its past achievements cares to see its old principles one by one abandoned, and the result has been a revolt against the leader by some, and a departure from the party by others. Liberals such as Viscount Grey of Fallodon and Sir John Simon find that modern Conservatism is more to their liking, and only the memory of ancient loyalties keeps them even nominally within the Liberal fold. Others, among whom the late Lord Melchett was the most conspicuous, have regarded the party ties as less binding, and have transferred their allegiance to Mr. Baldwin. In effect, the number of secessions of this nature has almost equalled that which ensued when Mr. Gladstone adopted Home Rule and the Liberal Unionists left the party. Nor have these developments passed unnoticed by the ordinary elector. At the General Election of 1923 the Conservative candidate who dared to suggest that a vote for a Liberal constituted in reality a vote for Socialism was howled down, but few would dispute the accuracy of the contention to-day. The result is that, except in a few Liberal strongholds, the elector who wants Socialism votes for the man who will give it him—namely, the Labour candidate. As the unofficial Right Wing of the Labour Party Liberalism has singularly few attractions, though this handicap is hardly likely to be removed by Mr. Lloyd George's latest effort to take his followers still further to the Left. The old belief that there should be no enemies on the Left seems to be giving place to a new one that there should be nothing on the Left of Liberalism at all.

The tragedy, from the national point of view, is that the party could have performed so many useful functions. Had it remained united, which might well have been the case under a different leader, it might have had at once a restraining influence upon Labour and a stimulating effect upon Conservatism, and so have

become a real force once again. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to picture a Liberal Party, with its existing membership, in the present House of Commons, dominating that assembly by the weight of its spokesmen and the sincerity of its convictions. Sir Herbert Samuel, Sir John Simon, Mr. Runciman, and Sir Donald Maclean (quite apart from Mr. Lloyd George) would constitute a formidable spearhead for any phalanx, and in debating strength the Liberals are at least equal to the other two parties—that is to say, when they are in agreement. It is true that Mr. MacDonald's chief weapon in bringing Liberalism to heel is the threat of a General Election, but it would not be nearly so effective did the Liberals possess a record which they could place before the electorate without shame. As it is, Mr. Lloyd George has manœuvred them into a position in which an appeal to the country would be tantamount to suicide, as the Government knows full well, and treats them accordingly. It is now nearly two years since the present Prime Minister came into office, and the only considerable sop which he has found himself obliged to throw to the Liberal Party to prevent it from overturning his Administration has been the Electoral Reform Bill, which may in the end prove a very mixed blessing. This is all that has been achieved by those famous tactics of which one of the greatest of Liberals declares his party is dying.

Dark as is the present, the future would appear even blacker still. However mistaken Mr. Lloyd George may be in all else, there can be no question but that he is right in his fear of another General Election. His failure materially to increase his strength in 1929 convinced the electorate that the Liberals have no hope of ever again being in office, and the British voter, unlike the French, has a marked objection to giving his support to a party that has no chance of securing a majority of its own, more particularly when it has done nothing to merit his confidence in any other way. The alternatives appear to him to be Conservatism and Labour, and he sees no place for Liberalism. That such should be the case is a reflection upon Liberal leadership, but it does represent the attitude of the man-in-the-street. Until a few months ago there was just a possibility that the old cry of Free Trade might rally the Liberal deserters as it did in 1923, the more particularly as Labour has to a large extent become converted to the advantages of Protection in some form or another. A good deal of water, however, has flowed under the bridges during the last seven years, and with over 2,500,000 unemployed the merits of free imports are not quite so obvious as they were. Liberalism, too, has lost its Press, which had a very great deal indeed to do with the winning of its victories in the past, more especially when tariffs were the point at issue.

Partly as a result of the leadership of recent years, and partly because of the numerous secessions to Conservatism, the Liberal Party as a whole has decidedly moved to the Left since the present Parliament first met, though there is a considerable difference in this respect in various parts of the country; in the North and Midlands, for example, Liberalism is so Radical in its outlook as to be very close to Labour, while in the South it leans for the most part rather to Conservatism. For these reasons the political organisers of the other two parties are already engaged upon a calculation of the percentage which they will respectively receive when the final break-up takes place, and there are some grounds for believing that in the Midlands and North two-thirds of the Liberal voters will support Labour and one-third Conservatism, while in the South the proportions will be reversed. This is not, of course, to say that there will be no Liberal members in the next House of Commons, for there will probably be a few there for many years to come, but they are likely to constitute a group rather than a party. The great problem of the moment is the attraction into one of the rival camps of the odd 5,000,000 people who voted Liberal at the last General Election, of whom not many are ever likely to do so again. Meanwhile, the existence in Parliament of a party that is *in articulo mortis* is playing havoc with the reputation of that assembly in the country, for it is largely responsible for the failure to get to grips with the real issues of the day.

In fine, although it may be possible to regret the approaching disappearance of the Liberal Party, it has become inevitable. There might have been a place for it in modern politics had it remained true to itself, and been content to apply its old principles to the problems of the post-war world. Peace, retrenchment, and reform were never more needed than they are now, but the advocacy of them has passed away from Liberal statesmen. Instead, there has been an attempt to outbid Socialism, and in the effort to do so everything for which Liberalism used to stand has of necessity been abandoned. Like the dog in the fable, it has dropped the bone that was in its mouth for the reflection in the water.

CHARLES PETRIE.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF AUSTRALIA

The present troubles of Australia are due to a combination of circumstances. To a considerable extent they are due to bad luck, or at least to the failure of good luck to continue. In common with other countries which export large quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials, Australia is suffering from the heavy fall in the prices of such commodities. She exports nearly a third of the goods she produces. Her chief exports are wool and wheat. During the period 1923 to 1929 the average price obtained for her wool was 19*d.* per lb. and for her wheat 5*s.* 7*d.* per bushel. Both her wool and her wheat are now selling for about half these prices. Minor exports, such as metals and butter, have also declined in value. Unless there is a marked recovery in these prices—and this seems to be unlikely in the near future—a given quantity of her exports will sell for much less sterling than during the more favourable post-war years. More precisely, she will receive less than 100,000,000*l.* instead of nearly 150,000,000*l.*, if her exports continue as before.

This is a real misfortune. Moreover, it is aggravated, for the time being, by the practical cessation of overseas borrowing. On June 30, 1923, the external public debt of Australia was 420,000,000*l.* Five years later it was 570,000,000*l.* Thus 30,000,000*l.* a year, on the average, had been borrowed abroad by Australian Governments. Eventually, of course, all such loans must be repaid, and in the meantime interest upon them must be met. But their immediate effect has been to swell the spending power of Australia. It is unfair to say that she has maintained too high a standard of living, based on external borrowing. She has indeed maintained somewhat too high a standard of living; she would be in a better position to-day if she had saved more in the past. But the loans raised abroad were in fact spent almost entirely on public works and developmental purposes. They increased her capital equipment and not her consumption of finished products. Further, her national income has been between 600,000,000*l.*, and 700,000,000*l.* a year: 30,000,000*l.* is less than 5 per cent. of it. Again, it is untrue to say that she borrowed abroad in order to pay her

external interest charges. Certainly the latter sum has also been in the neighbourhood of 30,000,000*l.* a year, having risen from 20,000,000*l.* in 1923 to some 32,000,000*l.* at present. But the new loans were spent in Australia on capital purposes, and part of the exports was used, in effect, to pay her interest charges. All that can be said in criticism of her policy is that some of her loan expenditure has been somewhat unwise, that the pace of capital development has been forced rather too fast, and that customs receipts arising from external borrowing should have been spent on capital rather than revenue purposes.

Thus in this respect also Australia has been a victim as well as a culprit. Early in 1929 it became clear that the British investor had come to regard her loans with less favour. There was a fear that she might have difficulty, in the future, in meeting her obligations. In spite of recent events, that fear was not very well founded. At the time her external interest charges were only 5 per cent. of her national income, her standard of living was high, and there was ample scope for increased taxation, if necessary: total taxation in Australia amounted to some 13 per cent. of her national income, as against some 20 per cent. or more in Great Britain, Germany and France. Nevertheless, this change of opinion meant that Australia would have greater difficulty in raising new loans and would have to pay more for them than other Dominions. The Federal Loan Council—a body created in 1923 and consisting of the various Treasurers—heeded the warning. The proposed expenditure of loan-money for 1929 and 1930 was cut down again and again; in the end, no new long-term loan has been raised abroad since early in 1929. The element of bad luck here was that the change of mind of the British investor should have coincided with the beginning of the fall in export prices.

But there has been bad management as well as bad fortune. The severity of the depression within Australia is too great to be explained by the fall in export prices and the cessation of external loans. Over a fifth of her workers are unemployed; a good deal of short time is being worked, and this may continue or even become worse. The fact is that her economic policy and system have not adequately adapted themselves to the new situation.

Before enlarging upon this theme, however, some account of the course of events during the last eighteen months must be given. This leads at once to what has become known as the 'transfer' problem. In the present instance this problem was that of providing sufficient funds abroad to meet her overseas commitments. The stream of payments which Australia constantly makes to the rest of the world may be regarded as made

in sterling by the London offices of Australian banks. Similarly with the stream of payments which she receives. As long as the two streams about equal one another there is no 'transfer' problem. But when the former stream exceeds the latter the London balances of Australian banks diminish and, unless something is done, will completely disappear.

The payments which Australia makes consist mainly of payments for imports and payments arising from her external debt. The latter sum is fixed; at present, including sinking fund payments, it amounts to some 32,000,000*l.* (sterling) a year. Payments for imports, however, can be reduced by importing less. The receipts of Australia arise mainly from her exports and from new external loans. In the latter part of 1929 it became clear that the stream of payments was exceeding the stream of receipts, and this continued until well into 1930. Receipts had fallen off owing to the cessation of long-term borrowing and the fall in the total value of exports. The latter (excluding gold) was less than 100,000,000*l.* for the twelve months ending June 30, 1930, as against nearly 145,000,000*l.* for the preceding twelve months. The chief factors here were the fall in the price of wool, a slightly smaller quantity yielding 25,000,000*l.* less than in 1928–29, and the smaller quantity of wheat exported—only 56,000,000 bushels, as against over 100,000,000 bushels in 1928–29. It may be noted that the average price realised for these 56,000,000 bushels was nearly 5*s.* per bushel; during the present, 1930–31, period it will probably be less than 3*s.*

It thus became necessary to restore the dwindling balances and to make the two streams more nearly equal. Accordingly, various measures were taken. During the year ended June 30, 1930, some 28,000,000*l.* of gold were sent from Australia to England. Most of this had been requisitioned, under legislation, by the Commonwealth Bank from the private banks. The export of gold by private persons was forbidden—at first unofficially and in December 1929 by legislation: Australia, that is to say, departed from the gold standard. The link between the Australian pound and the English pound was broken, and the rate of exchange was free to vary without limit.

The banks kept sterling at a small premium during the close of 1929. The premium was raised by steps to 6¼ per cent. in March 1930, and later to 8½ per cent. But this was supplemented by a practice usual, in such circumstances, in Australia, but seldom resorted to elsewhere. Exchange was rationed. The banks refused to supply all the drafts on London demanded. This can be done in Australia because the Australian banks have a virtual monopoly of exchange business. Evasion is possible by private arrangements between firms, and bargains have been

made at 1 or 2 per cent. above the bank's rates, but there is no real 'open market' in foreign exchange. Thus the quoted rate is less than the 'true' rate in the sense of the rate which would equalise the two streams in the absence of 'rationing.' Further, interest rates of all kinds rose somewhat in Australia. This, together with the premium on sterling, tended to check the transfer of liquid capital from Australia to London or elsewhere. The Commonwealth Government borrowed 10,000,000*l.* in London in the form of Treasury bills and 8,000,000*l.* was borrowed on short term from an English bank. Finally, the Australian tariff was greatly raised, and some imports were prohibited, by a series of schedules beginning in November 1929.

As a result of these measures, and of the reduced income of Australia, imports have fallen by about half, and the two streams are once more nearly equal. But the new equilibrium is maintained only by a premium on sterling, rationed exchange, and an 'emergency' tariff.

The measures taken are open to criticism. The banks might surely have shown more foresight. Had they raised the exchange rate earlier and more sharply, imports would have been checked sooner and the subsequent 'transfer' situation rendered easier. They were doubtless hampered by their traditional dislike of departing far from parity with sterling, and by the Government's desire to prevent external interest charges from rising too high in terms of Australian pounds. The 'emergency' tariff must also be condemned. Drastic increases were imposed without inquiry and without discussion. It is true that, in order to solve the transfer problem, imports had to be checked. But a better way of checking them would have been to raise the exchange rate higher, letting consumers decide for themselves what imports could best be spared.

It is when we turn from the 'transfer' problem to the state of affairs within Australia that the full gravity of the position becomes apparent. The most significant index is the percentage of unemployment. For the four quarters of 1929 this was 9·3, 10·0, 12·1, and 13·1. For the four quarters of 1930 it was 14·6, 18·5, 20·5, and 23·4. In addition, a great deal of short time is being worked. This unemployment is not due to the substitution of machinery for labour. It means that machinery and other 'fixed capital' is not being fully utilised, and that the volume of goods produced is much less than it might be.

The various Governments are all faced with the prospect of substantial deficits. For the quarter ended September 30, 1930, the Commonwealth Government showed a deficit of 6,747,000*l.*, the New South Wales Government one of 2,090,625*l.*, the Victorian Government one of 2,090,625*l.*, and the other States

Governments had deficits which together amounted to over 2,750,000*l.*

The producers of wool and wheat and other 'primary' products are in a serious position. The prices of their products have fallen heavily, but their costs remain almost unchanged. It is feared that, unless something is done, a number of them will cease to produce. This would reduce exports and make the 'transfer' problem still more difficult.

Thus the fall in wool and wheat prices and the cessation of borrowing have plunged Australia into a most severe depression. Yet the real loss from the fall in export prices was only some 50,000,000*l.* a year, measured against the most favourable post-war period. It is clear that this loss has been magnified considerably by the failure of Australia to adapt her economic structure to the new situation. The chief adjustment required, in the absence of a marked increase in the efficiency of production, is an all-round fall in wage rates relatively to prices. If prices remain steady, wages should fall; if prices fall, wages should fall still further. Money wages can be kept steady only by a rise in prices—that is, by inflation. All this is, of course, based on the assumption that Australia does not wish a fifth of her labour, and a substantial proportion of her existing resources, to remain permanently unemployed.

But over this region lies the shadow of the past. In Australia wages are regulated by courts and tribunals, and the principle upon which they are fixed is that the 'basic' wage—for unskilled adult male labour—should be sufficient to provide for the 'normal needs' of the worker, 'regarded as a human being living in a civilised community,' and of his family. This sum was estimated by Mr. Justice Higgins in 1907 at 2*l.* 2*s.* a week. If a certain retail price index number shows that the cost of living is double what it was in 1907, then the basic wage is 4*l.* 4*s.*, and so on. In fact, the practice of wage-fixing has not been as blind to economic considerations, such as the capacity of industry to pay and the danger of unemployment, as the foregoing would suggest. But the workers are strongly organised in trade unions and cling firmly to this concept of a 'living' wage. The mechanism of regulation is also clumsy. The Commonwealth Arbitration Court can only act if a dispute arises and cannot make a common rule; each industry must be considered separately. In addition, each State has its own system of regulation. Thus desirable changes—either upward or downward—are delayed. The Australian wage system is perhaps the most rigid in the world.

The need for reducing money wages, in the absence of inflation, can readily be shown by a few figures, although the widespread unemployment really makes further discussion superfluous. As

between 1911 and June 1930 the average weekly wage-rate of adult males increased from 51*s.* 3*d.* to 100*s.* 3*d.*, and working hours decreased from over forty-nine to less than forty-five. Wholesale prices, however, increased by only 66 per cent., and the (marginal) productivity of labour remained almost unchanged. Since June prices have fallen considerably, but wages have fallen only in a few occupations. The maladjustment is obvious.

Lower wages would greatly assist the various Governments The depression has caused a marked reduction in their revenue, despite the imposition of new taxes (notably a sales tax) and increased rates of income tax and death duties. The Commonwealth Government received only 17,823,817*l.* from customs revenue during the seven months ended January 31, 1931, as against 26,484,784*l.* for the corresponding period of 1929–30. The States Governments, which own and operate the railways, have found their receipts from this source diminished. Yet most of their expenditure is comparatively fixed. Only the salaries of civil servants earning over 750*l.* a year have been appreciably reduced. Since one-fifth of the Australian wage bill is paid by the Crown, a general reduction in wages would go far to solve budgetary difficulties.

Thus the decision of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, which means a 10 per cent. cut in wages in addition to reductions due to the lower cost of living, seems an important step in the right direction. It remains to be seen whether it will be carried out. This emphasis on wage reductions does not mean that wage-earners should bear the whole brunt of the loss. All available indications show that the profits of industry are at least 20 per cent. lower than a year ago ; the distress of primary producers and of the unemployed is obvious, and taxpayers are bearing a heavier burden. The one section of the community which has largely escaped is that of wage-earners in full employment. The suggestion is that this section too should bear its share, and by doing so assist in the revival of prosperity.

There is, however, another section which has also largely escaped. It is the section of *rentiers*—of those who receive a fixed income from bonds, debentures, or mortgages. Certainly income taxation now discriminates heavily against ' unearned ' incomes. For example, the Commonwealth rate of tax on 500*l.* a year from personal exertion is said to be 20*l.* 5*s.* and from property 74*l.* 5*s.*, quite apart from State income tax. But unearned incomes include all property incomes and not only ' fixed ' ones. It is pointed out that as prices fall the burden of fixed charges becomes heavier, since they take a larger proportion of the national income than before. Thus, it is urged, the second important adjustment

required is a scaling-down of fixed charges. This leads us to the question of inflation.

It cannot be too strongly stressed that inflation is one matter and repudiation of the external debt another. The external debt is fixed in terms of sterling. However much prices rose in Australia, the quantity of exports required to provide 32,000,000*l.* sterling a year would not be affected. The general feeling in Australia is strongly against repudiation. Whether she inflates or not, the worst that is likely to happen is a temporary suspension of external interest payments owing to inability to solve the transfer problem, and even that is improbable.

There is a strong case for inflation. It is hoped that money wages would remain at their present level, so that real wages would be lowered and employment increased. The receipts of Governments and of industry would become larger, but that part of their expenditure which consisted of fixed charges would not alter. Thus unemployment would largely disppear, budgetary problems would be solved, and industry would be stimulated.

Yet the arguments against this course seem still stronger. In practice, inflation begun under political pressure is likely to be carried too far and to result in a still more severe depression when it ceases. It would make it much more difficult for Governments to convert maturing loans or for new capital to be attracted to Australia. If, at the same time, an attempt was made to 'peg' the exchange rate, as Mr. Theodore seems to suggest, a curious position would arise. Presumably 'open market' exchange transactions, and the sending of wool and other commodities to London for obtaining funds with which to bring back imports without resort to the banks (both of which practices have been followed under the 'exchange rationing' *régime*), would be declared illegal and heavily penalised. Exporting would cease almost completely, unless adequately subsidised or carried on by the State, as in Russia. On the other hand, importing would be very profitable provided that the Australian money could be changed into sterling at the 'pegged' rate. Probably exchange rationing would be supported, in such circumstances, by an enormous tariff wall. On the whole, such a state of affairs is not very pleasant to contemplate.

Is inflation, with or without a 'pegged' exchange, in fact likely to occur? The replacement of Mr. Lyons by Mr. Theodore as Commonwealth Treasurer suggests that it may. Certainly the 'extremists,' and perhaps the majority, of the Labour Party seem in favour of it, although the speeches of some members of Parliament indicate considerable vagueness and ignorance as to its *modus operandi*. The Nationalists and the Country Party are, in general, opposed to it.

Inflation would mean, in practice, either increasing the note issue of the Commonwealth Bank or increasing its loans to the Commonwealth Government or, most probably, both. Either measure would require the consent of the directors of the bank, who, at least until recently, have opposed such a policy. Hence interest may centre upon the Central Reserve Bank Bill. This proposes to transfer the power of note issue to a new Central Reserve Bank whose directors, presumably, would be more amenable to Government persuasion. The Bill has passed the House of Representatives, but the Senate, which has a Nationalist majority, has postponed consideration of it until Parliament meets again early in March. If the existing Board refuses to comply with Mr. Theodore's wishes, and the Senate rejects the Bill, there will probably be a double dissolution of both Houses. It may be mentioned—remembering that all this is pure speculation upon possibilities—that an alliance between the Nationalists and the Labour ' moderates ' is not out of the question.

Let us now adopt the hypothesis that inflation does not occur. What is likely to happen to the exchange rate and the ' transfer ' problem ?

In the six months ended December 31, 1930, exports from Australia amounted to 50,300,000*l.* and imports to 38,400,000*l.* The output of wool and wheat cannot be stimulated or checked to any great extent within a short period. In the future we may see a minimum price for wheat guaranteed by the Commonwealth Government ; the price of wool may rise somewhat ; labour costs may fall. Thus, despite their present handicap, the export industries may continue to provide nearly 100,000,000*l.* sterling a year. Thus equilibrium is possible, without a ' rationed ' exchange, if imports remain below 70,000,000*l.* (They were 6,000,000*l.* in November and 5,280,000*l.* in December last.) The premium on sterling necessary to retain this equilibrium, however, would appear to be 35 per cent. or more, at present.

A complicating factor is the transfer of capital. There has been a certain ' flight from the Australian pound ' during the last year or so. This has helped to reduce the London balances of Australian banks and to make the transfer problem worse. Given a firm non-inflationary policy, with unemployment diminishing owing to wage reductions, some of this capital might return. Certainly the raising of a loan in London to tide over the difficulties of the next year or two would be rendered much more possible.

In these circumstances, should Australia devaluate, either *de jure* or *de facto*, by maintaining a permanent premium of, say, 35 per cent. on sterling ? Perhaps the writer may be permitted to leave the perilous realms of prophecy based upon hypothesis and conclude with exhortation.

'There is no sign,' said Sir Otto Niemeyer, 'that Australian production is responding in any way to what is now a well-marked international phenomenon, namely, an increase of production per head.' It is true. While other countries have gone forward, Australia has stood still. So long as she could borrow abroad instead of saving more or imposing steeper taxation, so long as the prices of her exports were high, she could maintain her position. Now those days are over. She is suffering, and must suffer, a general falling off in prosperity. But there is a way out. The way out lies through greater productive efficiency and through winning back some of the ground she has lost. It can be done. The Australian workmen are among the best and most adaptable in the world. Australian employers are surely capable of improving the management and organisation of their works and businesses if spurred by necessity instead of lulled by inflation or the hope of an increased tariff. A more flexible wage system, freed from the 'cost-of-living' incubus, would be a great help, as would a readiness on the part of the holders of mortgages and debentures to make compromises. The day might come when Australia would export manufactures to her near neighbours—leather goods, coarse woollens and tinned milk, to take a few possibilities. The day might not be distant when the increased production would lower prices without lowering incomes and so permit the premium on sterling gradually to disappear. If Australians would only display in the field of industry that intelligence and energy which have served them so well in the field of sport, these days may be close at hand.

FREDERIC C. BENHAM.

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN NAVAL SITUATION

Rarely, if ever, in modern times has public opinion displayed so little interest in foreign affairs as it does to-day. Whether this indifference be due to preoccupation with domestic problems or simply to mental apathy, the fact remains that not only the people of Great Britain but most of their political rulers evince hardly any interest in what is happening outside these islands. One might suppose that, with the events of 1914–18 still painfully fresh in memory, some attention would be spared for current political developments abroad, especially those of continental Europe, in view of their possible influence on the destinies of our own country. Experience ought to have taught us that a decision taken in the council chamber of some foreign Government may ultimately affect the prosperity, and even the security, of the entire British Empire.

In this article I propose to draw attention to a situation now existing in Europe which contains possibilities of profound concern to ourselves. The most casual reader of the daily papers must be aware that relations between France and Italy are now, and have been for some time past, less cordial than could be wished. Too much significance need not be attached to bellicose speeches and newspaper fulminations if these were unattended by concrete manifestations of hostility; but, unfortunately, they are not. Both the countries named are paying marked attention to their armed forces. On either side of the frontier defensive works are being improved and, in some places, extended, and no secret is made of the vigilant watch that is kept at strategic key positions. On each side, also, the past year has witnessed the heavy reinforcement of garrisons at military centres adjacent to the frontier.

It is, however, in the naval sphere that the competitive development of French and Italian armaments has become most pronounced. As long ago as the Washington Conference of 1921 the two Powers found themselves at variance on the question of relative strength at sea. Italy demanded tonnage equality with France, and gained her point so far as the heavier types of ships were concerned. At the London Conference held last year

Italy again put forward the same claim, declining to consider any compromise. Since France, on the score of her wider and more vital maritime commitments, found herself unable to accept the principle of co-equality in every class of tonnage, no agreement as to the future limitation of these two navies was reached. Attempts made in the spring and summer of 1930 to end the deadlock having proved equally abortive, naval construction is now being actively pursued in both countries. Only a few weeks after the London Conference Italy introduced a new shipbuilding programme embracing twenty-nine vessels.

The French nation has obviously become alive to the gravity of the naval situation. Already perturbed by the forthright speeches of Signor Mussolini and other Fascist leaders, emphasising Italy's need to 'expand or explode,' and by the almost belligerent tone of the inspired section of the Italian Press, the French people sees positive grounds for apprehension in the steady and rapid expansion of the Italian fleet. France herself, it is true, has been energetically building up her naval power in the past decade, and might even be said to have initiated the process of competitive building, though any such intention is indignantly repudiated in authoritative French circles. For a foreign critic to attempt to apportion responsibility for the inception of the Franco-Italian naval race would be futile and presumptuous. On the other hand, it is perfectly legitimate for us to examine and discuss the competition itself and its possible reactions, since the latter, as will be demonstrated, may prove to be very serious for this country.

Excellent reasons, which it would be churlish to question, have been adduced for the rapid growth of French naval armaments since the war. Equally cogent reasons are advanced by Italy for the concurrent development of her own navy. Consequently, before proceeding to analyse their respective naval policies, it is but fair to set forth the avowed objectives in each case. Here it may be interpolated that in France, as in Italy, the upbuilding of a strong fleet appears to have been undertaken in deference to the popular will, and not at the instigation of any ruling or political clique. In both peoples a new and vivid consciousness of the importance of sea power would seem to have been born. It is as though both had studied the doctrines taught by Mahan and simultaneously decided to give practical effect to them. The extent to which naval propaganda has flourished on the Continent in the post-war years is not realised in this country. If Britain herself, the leading exponent and principal beneficiary of sea power, is becoming indifferent to its significance, other nations are showing a lively and ever-increasing interest in the subject.

During the Great War complaints were often heard of the inability of Continental leaders to grasp the fact that command of the sea was the cardinal condition of victory. They seemed to take as a matter of course the steady influx of men and materials from overseas that fed the Allied war machine, and scarcely ever gave a thought to the agency by which this uninterrupted volume of supplies was maintained. Until comparatively lately it was rare to find a Frenchman who realised, even dimly, the tremendous influence of sea power on the issue of the war. But all that has been changed. The process of enlightenment dates from when the French General Staff began to take stock of the post-war position, present and prospective. It was found that the minimum strength of the army as calculated for future defence requirements could not be attained without the prompt arrival of reinforcements from North Africa. This led to an investigation of the problem of transport, the solution of which was seen to be conditioned by the integrity of communications. At the time this problem was first considered French naval power had sunk to its lowest ebb. In 1914 the total tonnage of the navy was 797,000. By 1919 war casualties and wastage had reduced this figure by 168,000 tons, and the balance consisted in the main of obsolete material, for practically the entire resources of the national dockyards had been diverted during the war from the sea to the land front. Within the same period other navies had undergone marked expansion, with the result that the status of France as a naval Power had gravely declined. In view of these circumstances the Naval Staff found itself unable to give an assurance of safe passage across the Mediterranean for the troop transports and supply ships, which formed an essential link in the chain of national defence. Faced with the inexorable facts of the situation, French military men were the first to appreciate the necessity of a strong fleet, and lost no time in urging its provision at the earliest practicable moment.

But before the foundations of a new naval policy could be laid the Washington Conference had been summoned. While the general effect of that gathering was undoubtedly beneficial to mankind, one of its reactions tended to produce discord. France, finding herself confronted by the Italian demand for tonnage parity, put forward claims which the other Conference Powers deemed excessive. Acrimonious discussions ensued; French *amour propre* was offended, and France and Italy emerged from the Conference as potential, if not actual, claimants to the trident of the Mediterranean. For it needed no subtle argument to demonstrate that, in yielding parity to Italy, France would be depriving herself of the power to safeguard her communications in that sea. This for the reason that Italy, having no vital

interests beyond its confines, would always be able to concentrate her forces in the Mediterranean, whereas France, having to provide for the defence not only of her extensive and divided coastline but of valuable colonies remote from the mother country, would never be free to mass her fleet in any single area. A substantial margin of tonnage superiority over Italy has therefore become one of the basic principles of French policy. the broad aims of which have been lucidly expounded by a French naval critic, Lieutenant Louis Guichard :

> France's first and most important naval need is that the coasts shall be absolutely secured against any offensive operation. Secondly, communications between Provence and Northern Africa must never be broken. Thirdly, the land and sea routes which connect the Rhine to Algiers and Dakar must be maintained everywhere. Finally, the mother country must keep her colonies. The navy must be powerful enough to achieve these three objects. In addition to this the French fleet must give a certain measure of protection to the great highways which connect the parts of her colonial empire to one another.[1]

The reconstruction of the French Navy dates from 1922. In that year Parliament voted credits for three cruisers and a number of light craft, but stipulated that this programme should be but the prelude to a comprehensive scheme of shipbuilding to extend over a long period. Armed with this mandate, the Ministry of Marine introduced the Naval Statute in 1924. It specified the number, type, and tonnage of the vessels to be built each year from 1924 onward, and covered a term of nearly twenty years. This far-reaching piece of legislation is being carried out with admirable energy and punctuality. Provision has been made to date for 160 new vessels, all of which are now either complete, under construction, or about to be laid down. This methodical construction is to continue for more than ten years longer. Since its enactment the statute has undergone some slight modification, but substantially it retains its original form. Next year it will probably be amplified to embrace capital ships.

The tonnage built up to now consists mainly of cruisers, torpedo craft, and submarines. The latter are particularly numerous, as in addition to those provided by the Naval Statute others are being built under the Coast Defence budget, which is distinct from the Navy Estimates. Upon the completion of the statute France will possess nearly 100 submarines of modern design, more than two-thirds of which will be of ocean-going dimensions. The French Navy before the war was notorious for its heterogeneous material. It was customary to build ships, not in uniform groups, but to individual design, with the result that the fleet was an assortment of types—'*une flotte des échantillons*'—

[1] Brassey's *Naval and Shipping Annual*, 1930.

which rendered it very difficult to handle as a tactical unit. It suffered, moreover, from technical shortcomings, which made themselves painfully felt under stress of war. But the modern navy has been developed on entirely different lines. Its ships, second to none in design and workmanship, are built in homogeneous squadrons and flotillas, each class showing some improvement on the preceding group. Remarkably high speeds have been attained by the new cruisers and destroyers, which have also demonstrated their seaworthiness by prolonged ocean voyages. The quality of the personnel is more difficult to judge, but competent observers speak highly of the professional zeal and discipline of the modern French bluejacket. The expansion of the navy has undoubtedly bred a feeling of confidence among the officers and men, who perceive very clearly the important part that their service now plays in enhancing the prestige and the security of the nation.

In Italy the post-war growth of naval power has been, until recently, less systematic than that of France. Previous to the Fascist *régime* the fleet was neglected, despite the object-lesson in the value of sea power which the country had learnt from its dependence on sea-borne imports throughout thewar. Interest in the naval question was first revived by the Washington Conference, where, as we have seen, Italy demanded, and in large measure obtained, recognition as France's equal on the seas. But for several years afterwards Italy's new rulers were too deeply immersed in domestic affairs to pay attention to the navy. It therefore remained neglected till 1924, when the appearance of the French Naval Statute—with its implied resolve to make the Tricolour supreme in the Mediterranean—a length spurred Italy into action. Since then successive programmes have been introduced, the execution of which, as in the case of the French statute, has not been retarded by the London Naval Conference of 1930. To the Limitation Treaty born of that Conference neither France nor Italy is a party. Both, therefore, are at liberty to build as many warships as they wish, provided these are outside the capital ship category.

Notwithstanding her other financial burdens, Italy is now spending money freely on the development of her navy. In the construction of cruisers she has already outstripped France, and the latter's superiority in destroyer and submarine tonnage is being steadily reduced. It is no longer possible to doubt the reality of the competition between these two Powers. Italy has matched the French 10,000-ton cruisers ship for ship, endowing her vessels with an equal armament but higher speed. To offset the French super-destroyers—which, with a displacement of nearly 3000 tons, are virtually small cruisers—Italy designed her

already famous 'Black Band' cruisers, eight of which have been built or laid down. The fastest ships of their size afloat, they could overtake and cut down the largest French destroyers. This is so well understood in France that plans have been prepared of ships larger and better armed than the 'Black Band' type, and no secret is made of the motives prompting their design.

Further evidence of the close naval rivalry that now exists between the two Powers can readily be adduced. France views with some apprehension the approaching completion of the German 'pocket battleships,' which have justly attracted world-wide attention. In spite of the small displacement of 10,000 tons, each of these Diesel-driven ships has a speed of 26 knots, and an armament of six 11-inch guns. They are, therefore, much more powerful than any cruiser, and their exceptionally wide radius of action, which renders them largely independent of shore bases, gives them a strategical significance out of all proportion to their modest tonnage. As a counter-weight to these formidable German vessels France proposes to build in the near future a trio of 23,000-ton battle-cruisers of high speed, each mounting twelve 13·4-inch guns. This announcement was followed by an official intimation from Rome that the laying down of the projected battle-cruisers would be the signal for Italy to start constructing ships of equal, or superior, tonnage and armament. Italy, in short, is determined to duplicate every new measure that France may take for the reinforcement of her navy. French opinion resents this attitude, which is construed as a thinly-veiled attempt to dictate the future strength of the French Navy. A few weeks after the London Conference—which had strongly accentuated Franco-Italian differences on the naval question—and while negotiations were actually proceeding between Paris and Rome with a view to settling the thorny problem of relative strength at sea, Italy produced a bombshell in the form of a new building programme, embracing no fewer than twenty-nine vessels, of which twenty-two are submarines. France has not yet responded to this challenge, but that her next naval budget will provide for a large increment in tonnage is scarcely open to doubt.

Side by side with all this activity in the dockyards of the two Powers a reciprocal development of naval bases is proceeding. The French Government, alarmed at the defenceless state of Corsica, is hurriedly repairing the deficiency. Long-range guns are to be mounted at Ajaccio, and at other points in the island, which has great strategical importance, permanent and mobile defences are to be provided. Similar measures are being taken at Bizerta, the naval base in Tunis. Italy is constructing torpedo and aerial stations in Sardinia and Sicily. The significance of these preparations is too obvious to require emphasis. They

indicate a common belief in the possibility of an armed clash, a belief that finds candid expression in the not least responsible organs of opinion in either country. It is not proposed here to explore the circumstances which have given rise to friction between the Latin Powers. They are well known to every student of foreign affairs. While we may devoutly hope for a peaceful accommodation of the questions at issue, it is futile to blind ourselves to the alternative possibility. Two civilised nations do not in these days make open preparations for war without good cause. While it is not suggested that the naval building race between France and Italy betokens the imminence, or even the probability, of a conflict, the feverish construction of warships and naval bases, the military activity on the frontiers, and the acrimonious tone of Press comment in the two capitals, are all symptoms of a martial temper which no interested party can afford to ignore.

With the exception of the principals themselves, no party is more interested than the British Empire. The most cursory glance at the map will explain why. We have immense interests in the Mediterranean, which in the eventuality we are considering would become the battle ground of the rival fleets. Along this main highway of our Eastern trade there passes a very large proportion of our food and material imports. On any day of the week hundreds of British merchantmen will be found scattered over the Mediterranean. The Red Ensign is seen in every port, and between the Suez Canal and Gibraltar there flows a continual stream of British ships. Their route traverses the very waters in which the contending fleets would be most fiercely engaged, as, for example, the comparatively narrow passage between Tunisia and Sicily. These waters would become the hunting ground of swift torpedo craft, submarines, minelayers, and aircraft, all bent upon damaging the enemy. It needs little imagination to picture the hazards to which neutral shipping would be exposed in the midst of this murderous cut-and-thrust *mêlée*.

It is not as though such a war would be primarily an affair of battle fleets moving in stately array, their advance heralded by skirmishing craft whose mission it would be to keep the arena clear. On the contrary, the struggle we have in view would almost certainly resolve itself into a series of lightning raids on enemy communications and vulnerable parts of the coast, surprise attacks by mosquito craft, operating independently or in mass, and a campaign of attrition ruthlessly conducted with torpedo, mine, and bomb. This forecast is amply borne out by the character of the vessels which the rival navies are building. Both are concentrating on the production of heavily-armed

cruisers and torpedo-carriers, which have scarcely any protection save their high speed. France also has in hand the largest submarine programme in the world, and dozens of underwater boats are on the stocks in Italian yards. The lavish use of mines is indicated by the large number of vessels, specially built or converted, that each navy has prepared for the sowing of these infernal engines. A naval mine is a blind weapon; it does not discriminate between belligerent and neutral shipping, but deals out destruction impartially to foe and friend alike. While the sowing of mines on the high seas is forbidden by international law, this prohibition was not always observed during the Great War. Moreover, it not infrequently happens that mines laid in a proclaimed area break away from their particular field and roam the seas at large, a deadly menace to navigation. The aeroplane and the submarine, however circumspectly handled, both constitute a danger to neutral shipping—the first because the tremendous speed at which it travels renders difficult the timely identification of the flag under which a ship may be sailing, the second on account of its limited vision and its natural reluctance to rise to the surface in the presence of a suspicious vessel. We must therefore be prepared to find aerial and undersea craft inclined to attack first and inquire afterwards, as they so often did in the late war.

Let us now consider the situation in which neutral shipping in the Mediterranean would be placed in the event of a Franco-Italian conflict. Almost from the moment it had entered that sea, either through Gibraltar Strait or the Suez Canal, the merchantman would be in constant jeopardy. The belligerents would, no doubt, have notified the presence of their respective minefields and indicated swept channels that were open to neutral shipping, but even so the risk from mines would be ever present. Furthermore, since the use of false colours is a legitimate *ruse de guerre*, the Red Ensign would not of itself give immunity from attack, and certainly not from detention and search. Serious enough in daylight, the perils would be multiplied tenfold after nightfall. The unhappy merchantman might find itself caught between raiding flotillas steaming at full speed with masked lights, while the darkness was shattered by gunfire and exploding torpedoes. In the circumstances here depicted it would be impossible to guarantee the safety of neutral lives and property, and no redress could reasonably be expected. No part of the 1920-mile route from Port Said to Gibraltar would be free from danger, though 'incidents' would be most likely to occur in the middle and eastern Mediterranean. The only safe policy would be to give the war zone a wide berth, and that would mean abandoning the Mediterranean route entirely. It has been

suggested as an alternative course that British ships might be assembled in convoys at Port Said and Gibraltar and then be shepherded through the war zone by British cruisers. This, however, would be a delicate business, liable to cause serious complications with one or other or both of the belligerent Powers.

The question of what policy Great Britain should adopt is one that calls for the most earnest consideration, which it is doubtless receiving from the responsible authorities. There are, of course, weighty objections to evacuating the Mediterranean for the duration of a war that might be protracted. On balance, however, this admittedly drastic decision would appear to be the wisest and most prudent one we could take. It would involve very serious disadvantages, which will be dealt with later, but it would have the supreme merit of reducing to a minimum the risk of our being drawn into a quarrel that was none of our making, and with the origin of which we had no concern. While it is scarcely conceivable that this country would, in any circumstances, allow itself to become an active partisan on either side, an attempt to conduct 'business as usual' within the zone of hostilities might easily invite regrettable complications with one or other of the warring Powers.

There would, of course, be no question of withdrawing our naval forces from the Mediterranean. Merchant shipping alone would be affected. With the Mediterranean route barred, the bulk of our trade with the East and with Australasia would have to be carried on by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This would produce a temporary but very serious disorganisation of the shipping industry. Voyages would take longer to complete and be more expensive, with the inevitable result of higher freight charges. Congestion would occur at bunkering stations on the new route; no fixed schedule of sailings and arrivals could be depended upon for the first few months, and serious delays would be the rule rather than the exception. There would certainly be a shortage of food, the extent of which can only be conjectured, and some form of Government control might be necessary to ensure the equable distribution of supplies and to keep prices at a reasonable level. Industry throughout the land would suffer from a dearth of raw materials, and unemployment become still more widespread. In a word, the repercussions of a Mediterranean conflict would be felt in this country almost as directly and hardly less severely than those of a war in which Great Britain herself was engaged. That is why, as I ventured to hint at the beginning of this paper, the state of Franco-Italian relations is at all times a matter of capital importance to the British public, however little that fact may be understood by the majority.

It would be rash to assume that a conflict between the two

Powers in question could be localised. French and Italian publicists freely discuss the prospects of intervention by other parties, mentioning Spain and Jugo-Slavia in particular. In other quarters the temptation to wipe out old scores or to fish in troubled waters would constitute a danger which might, or might not, be averted by joint and resolute diplomatic action by the greater neutral Powers. Even though the conflagration were kept within its original bounds, it must gravely impair the political and economic stability of all Europe, to say the least. Thus, to restore peace at the earliest moment possible would become a communal interest.

While it would be futile to speculate on the outcome of a Franco-Italian war, which might be decided on land rather than by action afloat, it is conceivable that sea power would prove to be the decisive factor, and therefore a brief examination of the respective naval forces will not be out of place. In both countries, until lately, the capital ship was considered to be of secondary importance. The comparatively restricted waters of the Mediterranean were thought to have become too dangerous for the great ship, which, even when cruising on the high seas, requires a screen of smaller craft to protect it from submarine attack. A Mediterranean campaign would offer unique opportunities for surprise tactics by surface and submarine torpedo vessels, and also by aircraft, owing to the proximity of the main strategic routes to hostile bases. Both Powers have therefore devoted themselves to the multiplication of light craft, and neither has built a capital ship since 1914, though each maintains in service a few old battleships of pre-war design.

Recently, however, France has been compelled to reconsider the big-ship question owing to the appearance of the German 'pocket battleships,' the first of which, the *Ersatz Preussen*, is shortly to be launched. The completion of these ships, four in number, will disturb the naval equilibrium in northern waters, where France has geographical and political commitments that cannot be neglected. As naval critics point out, none of the ships in her current programme are equal in fighting power to the *Ersatz Preussen*, which could therefore operate with impunity off the Atlantic seaboard of France and even penetrate to the Mediterranean, emulating there the exploits of the *Goeben* and harassing the French communications. It should be added that, in the judgment of French critics, a German-Italian alliance is a contingency not too remote to be left out of consideration.

After prolonged discussion in Parliament and Press, it has now been decided to build a group of battle-cruisers sufficiently powerful to neutralise the German type. Whereas the latter has a displacement of 10,000 tons, a speed of 26 knots, and an arma-

ment of six 11-inch guns, the projected battle-cruisers are to be of 23,000 tons and 30 knots speed, with an armament of twelve 13·4-inch guns. Italy, as we have seen, taking the very natural view that ships ostensibly built against Germany could be used with equal effect against herself, has served notice of her intention to build similar ships; and so, in the course of this year or next, both Powers may have capital ships on the stocks. As regards smaller craft, each Power so far has laid down seven 10,000-ton cruisers. In addition, France has built three fast cruisers of 8000 tons, mounting eight 6-inch guns apiece; a training cruiser with the same armament but of 6500 tons and 25 knots; and a cruiser-minelayer of 5215 tons. In all, therefore, France has twelve modern cruising ships, besides a reserve of four old ex-German vessels, still rated as effective.

Italy stands in a rather better position. To her seven 10,000-ton cruisers she has added eight vessels which have qualities sufficiently remarkable to attract widespread attention. Named after famous *condottieri*—*Giovanni della Bande Nere*, etc.—they combine phenomenal speed with powerful armament in a hull of only 4900 tons. More than one of these ships has touched 40 knots, and all are capable of steaming at 38 knots for long periods. They may be regarded as a 'reply' to the big French flotilla leaders, which eventually will number thirty. The latter average 2500 tons, their speeds ranging from 35 to 39 knots. In armament (four 5-inch or 5·5-inch guns), seaworthiness, and radius of action they are virtually light cruisers. Italy has nothing quite comparable to these vessels, but she has recently completed twelve very powerful destroyers of 2000 tons. She has, indeed, a numerical superiority in destroyers, being able to muster ninety boats against the French total of eighty. Nor must the Italian flotilla of some forty small and obsolescent torpedo-boats and the swarm of 'M.A.S.' torpedo-carrying motor launches be overlooked, since in the Great War tiny craft like these were occasionally employed with deadly effect, as when Captain Rizzo sank the Austrian battleship *Sankt Istvan* with his little motor launch on the high seas. All the above figures are approximate only, and may at any time be reduced by the scrapping of obsolete units. In submarines the advantage is definitely with France. When the respective programmes have matured that country will possess nearly a hundred boats, and Italy about seventy, but the French establishment will be more modern and have a much higher average of tonnage, seaworthiness, and radius.

Both navies, it will be seen, are amply provided with the light, mobile types, which appear to be well adapted to the peculiar strategical conditions of a Mediterranean campaign. Many of them, it is true, have only a limited radius of action, but in a war

zone where the distance from base to objective would in most cases be short this would not detract seriously from their aggressive value. The French lines of communication with Tunis would be menaced by torpedo craft operating from harbours in Sicily and Sardinia, while the Algiers–Marseilles route lies well within striking distance of cruisers and large destroyers based upon those islands. On the other hand, the entire western coastline of Italy is accessible to French naval forces; nor would the Adriatic be immune from their attentions.

Italy, too, is largely dependent on supplies from overseas, especially cereals, coal, and petroleum, and as all her trade routes converge at points within easy reach of attack, she would have to reckon with a serious diminution, if not a total paralysis, of her floating trade. France, on the contrary, would be much less embarrassed in this respect, because traffic entering her Atlantic ports would run very small risk of molestation, and in the Mediterranean her trade routes would be guarded to some extent by the measures taken to protect the transport lanes between North Africa and the Provençal coast.

Taking these facts into consideration, after comparing the respective forces likely to be available, an impartial observer finds it difficult to resist the conclusion that Italy would be heavily handicapped in a duel with France. Since this must also be evident to the rulers and people of one of the most intelligent nations in Europe, there is no need at present to take an alarmist view of the political situation in the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, since it unquestionably contains disturbing possibilities, its further development will be watched with anxious interest by all who have the cause of peace at heart, and, for the reasons explained above, not least by the statesmen of our own Empire.

HECTOR C. BYWATER.

CHINA LOOKS BACK AND FORWARD

If no news is good news, good news is too often, journalistically, no news. Civil war and banditry in China command the front page of foreign papers. But when, as in the past three months, war ceases and the Government can attend to the bandits, China goes out of the limelight. The fact is understandable, because the slow work of reconstruction is dry reading for all but those personally concerned, but none the less regrettable. The Chinese complain that only their tribulations get noticed; their efforts and successes pass unremarked. Yet the importance to the world at large, and to British business in particular, of a peaceful China doing the great business that she might do is such that we cannot afford to ignore what is happening. A conference of all the leading politicians and generals has lately agreed on a scheme of reform which truly may set China on a new path. The chief recalcitrants are overseas, or sufficiently broken to give no serious cause for alarm; the backstairs politicians in Nanking—at least as great a cause of mischief as the old militarists—appear to be cowed into good behaviour, and the better men, reinforced by all public opinion, know what ought to be done and appear determined that it shall be. It is indeed a thrilling moment in Chinese history, that calls for a clear understanding of bygone failure and some estimate of future possibilities.

The causes of last year's quarrel between North and South lie far back. From the day of its establishment as the Government of China, Nanking set itself to centralise all power in its own hands, operating throughout the country by means of its appointees the *tangpu*, or district councils of the Kuomintang. In the light of events since the Manchu downfall in 1911, the scheme was theoretically justifiable. But it ignored certain obvious and insurmountable difficulties—the colossal size of China, the wide differences of thought and character in different provinces, and the very real and age-long practice of local autonomy. The viceroys were practically kings in their own domains. A certain allegiance and financial contributions were due from them to the throne, which also saw that they did not kick over the traces; otherwise they did pretty much as they pleased.

Even the villages largely managed their own affairs, the person of importance for them being the *tipao*, or headman, much more than the nearest magistrate. The chain of responsibility from *tipao* to viceroy and thence to the throne was clear and unbroken. But it sat loosely enough on everyone's shoulders.

The change which Nanking tried to institute, with direct personal supervision extending even to little details of life, such as the number of gods that might be worshipped and the amount permissible to be spent at funerals and weddings, was a tremendous innovation, irksome enough in any case and proving still more intolerable in operation. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political teaching dwelt strongly on the importance of cultivating local autonomy. But he also prescribed a 'period of political tutelage' during which the Kuomintang, invested with absolute power, should educate the people in democratic practice. Still more insidiously, though in all good faith, he taught that there must always be two classes—one fit to be trained in statesmanship, one fit only to be trained in citizenship. This principle and the idea of political tutelage were seized upon by the Kuomintang in Nanking with avidity, and from them developed the party, or rather factional, tyranny which has earned the Kuomintang so much unpopularity. Chiang Kai-shek himself has denounced it in unsparing speeches, and it lies at the root of the fighting of the past two years. In the instrument of government promulgated in October 1928, which had actually been meant to cut down their powers, the Kuomintang adroitly got themselves inserted as the source of all authority, above all law, *ipso facto* right in whatever they might decree. To take but one example of the Kuomintang's autocracy. In January 1930 an attempt was made to pass a People's Bill of Rights, guaranteeing the equal status of all Chinese before the law, security of person and property against arbitrary arrest and interference, freedom of speech and the like. The Bill was backed by the veteran revolutionist, the late General Tan Yen-kai, a man of high prestige; Dr. Wang Chung-hui, the noted jurist; and Mr. Hu Han-min, an intimate of Dr. Sun's and one of the most influential men in Nanking. Yet it was turned down by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang on the ground that during the 'period of political tutelage' Dr. Sun Yat-sen's will, and the interpretation thereof by the Central Executive Committee, contained all that was necessary—which may be true in theory, but certainly has not been verified in practice.

The rule of the *tangpu*, or district councils, composed entirely of youths not above twenty-three years old, has been particularly oppressive, and has, more than anything, made Nanking unpopular. At best their fanaticism and arrogance have led them

to upset all sorts of old customs, with resulting confusion and hardship. Too often they have simply helped themselves to other people's possessions with both hands. Only a year ago Nanking issued a mandate forbidding confiscation of 'enemy' property by the *tangpu* without its express permission—'enemy' being the convenient word to justify a raid on anyone who appeared worth squeezing. The omission from this order of any reference to process of law and legal conviction after due trial of the alleged 'enemy' may be noted.

There is certainly no suggestion that the faults were all on one side. Conspicuous as its shortcomings have been, Nanking stands for ideas which approve themselves to thinking Chinese, and it can correct its faults. The flat refusal of provincial generals to disband their armies was an ominous sign, a defiance which no Government could tolerate and which the country's welfare could never endure. Politically, too, the old-fashioned *tuchuns* and generals have nothing to offer the country. Even those who love Nanking least would have viewed with dismay its defeat by the Northern Coalition, the adroit and slippery Yen Hsi-shan; Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general, trained wholly in camps, with his peasant mind and ever unaccountable movements; Wang Ching-wei, the fiery leader of the extreme left wing of the Kuomintang, almost a Red; and the riff-raff of all the political cliques of the past ten years. So strangely assorted a crew of antique militarists, hot-headed revisionists, and subtle intriguers could never have held together for a month, and must have plunged China into infinite trouble both at home and abroad. Such men might be difficult to fit into any democratic system, and it may be that to stamp them out by force of arms was the only way. But one cannot help thinking that Nanking, better educated as it was, might have shown more statesmanship and patience. Above all, it should have remembered that the North is not the South; that it has different thoughts and customs and desires; and incidentally that it had a serious grievance in the removal of the capital from Peking, which spelt ruin for tens of thousands, in no way alleviated by the harsh rule of the new officials from the South. Nationalism, indeed, is not to be defined by the footrule of any faction. There are as good Nationalists in the North as in the South, though their methods may not agree at all points. The fact will have to be borne in mind if the reforms promised by the Kuomintang Conference in November are to bear lasting fruit.

One heard the first mutterings of approaching storm at the Financial Conference in July 1928, when Nanking sought to centralise all revenues in its own hands, allotting so much for each province. Wuhan and Canton flatly declined; they had borne

the heaviest share of the recent wars, they averred, and needed all their money for themselves. There have always been enough pro-Nanking men in Canton to preserve the alliance, although Canton has never been any help to Nanking financially. The war with the Wuhan generals—Joab types to a man—was probably inevitable. A brilliant little campaign, planned and supervised by General Chiang Kai-shek's German adviser, the late General Bauer, it was completely successful in its immediate aim ; but it left one evil legacy. Feng Yu-hsiang's expectation of getting Hankow for himself was disappointed ; then his hopes of Tsingtao, on the Japanese evacuating that valuable seaport. In high dudgeon he retired westwards into Shensi, blowing up bridges and destroying railway tracks behind him. That autumn (we are still in 1929) saw the indecisive war between Nanking and Feng Yu-hsiang, temporarily broken off by reason of the alarming state of the Russian quarrel over the Chinese Eastern Railway, but none the less solidifying the alliance between Feng and Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi and leading to the protracted and ruinous struggles of the past year.

Why Yen Hsi-shan allowed himself to be embroiled with Feng against Nanking remains a mystery. As the 'Model Tuchun,' his enlightened rule of Shansi might have been expected to put him on the other side. That both Feng and he are Northerners counts, of course, a great deal, while his thorough understanding of his own countrymen and old-fashioned preferences would make him suspicious of the semi-foreign experiments of Nanking. Perhaps the young men about him forced his hand. But above all, he appears to have distrusted General Chiang Kai-shek. When the latter had gone to Peking specially to confer with him in July 1929, Yen retired into a foreign hospital in the Legation Quarter, until Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria arrived on the scene with a strong bodyguard. Chinese in Shanghai said that Yen was afraid that, if he helped Nanking to destroy Feng, it would turn upon him immediately afterwards. It was many months before he actually came out in the open. He played the diplomatic game with infinite craft—duplicity, some will say ; a real desire to save the country from more war, his friends' verdict—and he has been beaten all round.

Yet for a time it really looked as though he might win. On no other ground is it possible to explain the Diplomatic Body's tame acceptance of his seizure of the Tientsin Customs, remembering how, in 1923, they had sent a dozen gunboats to stop Dr. Sun Yat-sen from doing exactly the same with the Customs at Canton. June was a very black month for Nanking. On the 8th the combined forces of Kuangsi and General Chang Fa-kuei's 'Ironsides,' advancing from the south, where they had given up the apparently

hopeless task of capturing Canton, took Changsha and thus offered a serious threat to Nanking's hold on the Yangtze. On the 25th Yen Hsi-shan's army occupied Tsinanfu, capital of Shantung, the Government's troops falling back into north Kiangsu. The importance of Tsinanfu was more moral than real. But Changsha was vital, and the Government detached a strong force, which, with the aid of all available gunboats, not only regained Changsha, but effectually broke the Kuangsi invaders on July 2. Again, on July 30, Changsha was captured by Communist forces, which even advanced right up to the Yangtze bank at Tayeh, in Hupeh. But for the timely arrival of British and American gunboats to evacuate the foreign residents, of Japanese marines at Tayeh, and the sending of a strong detachment of the Green Howards on board H.M.S. *Cumberland* to Hankow, it is probable that the Reds would have secured a hold on the middle Yangtze. They evacuated Changsha after a few days, it is said on payment of a million dollars, but not before they had wholly or partly destroyed all official and sixty mission buildings, including two hospitals and seven schools, and thoroughly looted this proudest of Chinese cities.

All this seriously delayed the Government's attempts to recover Tsinanfu. But the Northern alliance was running short of munitions and its casualties had been heavy. On August 16 Nanking's forces entered Tsinanfu, capturing 30,000 rifles and 130 guns left behind by the Shansi troops in their flight. The Northern power was broken, further evidence of which is found in the subsequent recriminations between Feng and Yen that each had failed to come to the other's assistance at crucial moments.

Whether Chiang Kai-shek would have succeeded in reaching Peking we can only guess. At the end of September Chang Hsueh-liang, the 'Young Marshal,' son and successor of the famous dictator of Manchuria, Chang Tso-lin, made a dramatic intervention, sent troops to take charge of Peking, and announced that he would work solely for peace, for reforms in the Government acceptable to all classes, for the end of the party monopoly of power. Assiduously courted by both sides, he had hitherto refused to move. Now he had chosen his moment well. Nanking was hardly less exhausted than the North and the country utterly sick of war—Chang was in a position to dictate to both sides. Actually he attempted no such thing, and has used his unique opportunity with great discretion. As a Northerner, he cannot have wished to see the North utterly smashed, with *tangpu* and Southern officials reseated on its neck. Yet he has dealt fairly by Nanking, and seems to be, as those who know him best are sure he is, genuinely desirous of real reform and peace. A good athlete, a hard worker, an ardent promoter of education, to which he has

contributed large sums from his own pocket, the Young Marshal flies the Nationalist flag, but steadily refuses to allow a single Kuomintang official in Manchuria; and, while judiciously pushing on the development of his provinces on modern lines, he manages to keep his father's ultra-conservative old generals in a good temper: altogether, one gathers, a wise young man.

And at this juncture a tribute is due to the wisdom of General Chiang Kai-shek. Here, indeed, is one of the most interesting figures on the world's political stage to-day. His enemies vehemently denounce him as the arch-militarist. Yet he is undoubtedly more statesman than soldier, though it was by military ability that he raised himself from an obscure captaincy in Canton to his present lofty position. His countrymen do not like him much, chiefly, perhaps, because of his reticence and because he does not suffer fools gladly. He loathes the interminable arguments to which Chinese, even more than most, politicians are prone; raps out short, sharp questions which go to the root of the matter; muses for a moment on the answer; and, having apparently satisfied himself that he has seen every aspect of the question, is not to be drawn into further talk. Yet he has a charming manner; though naturally grave, his smile is of rare fascination, and with all the affairs of State about him he appears to have endless time to spare for the casual conversation of visitors. His visit to Peking to meet Yen, alluded to above, showed him for the first time the strength of the antagonism to Nanking. He seems to have set himself to find out the cause, and found it in the lethargy, the inertia, the monopoly of power, the arrogation of peculiar privileges by the Kuomintang, which he has since repeatedly lashed in public speeches of ever-increasing sharpness. Last Chinese New Year's Day Chiang paid a surprise visit to every department, to see how they were obeying the order against celebration of the old holiday—Government having decided to change the calendar—and found them all but one empty and deserted. 'How can we expect the people to obey the law when we do not obey it ourselves? No one respects the law, that is our stumbling-block,' he cried at next week's memorial service to Dr. Sun. And a little later, in another public address:

> We have been criticised by foreigners—and, I think, not without reason—of being capable only of empty talk and incapable of action. Not only have we failed to carry out the measures of reconstruction decided upon, but the various Government organs have not even made any attempt to carry them out.

A fortnight after the Young Marshal's intervention, General Chiang issued a manifesto accepting the three principal demands of the North—participation in the Government by the people, the

calling of a People's Convention, and convening of a Party Congress. The last congress, held in March of the previous year, had been carefully packed by Nanking, and Chiang evidently saw the necessity of depriving his enemies of further excuse for their ceaseless denunciation of the 'illegal' Government. The manifesto infuriated the politicians in Nanking. Some declared that Chiang had simply surrendered to the North; others pretended to endorse his promises, but stipulated for provisos which would have emasculated the whole pledge. But the Young Marshal arrived in Nanking on November 12 for the plenary session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee which was to thrash out a scheme of reform; the alliance between him and General Chiang was firm; the best men in Nanking were on their side; and the 'backstairs' men gave way.

Remembering that General Chiang had become a Christian the month before, the tone of his speech at the opening of the Central Executive Committee Conference is singularly interesting. Some have suggested that his conversant is a political move. The answer is that no political advantage for him is anywhere discernible—rather the reverse, since the Kuomintang as a body are strongly anti-Christian. And though there is no lack of faults in Chiang's character and career, there is a vein of seriousness in him which accords ill with so sordid an explanation. One does not, somehow, hear Chiang exclaiming that 'Paris is well worth a Mass.' In his conference speech he tells the party that they have become 'the object of general dislike and hatred,' because 'most of our members have not learned to be good and virtuous men.' The spirit of self-oblivion is the test of fitness for responsibility. He goes on to denounce 'the state of corruption into which party affairs have degenerated'; yet 'not a single case of impeachment and prosecution of corrupt officials has so far taken place.' And he ends with a plea for an amnesty so that 'those who were originally comrades of the party but have been led astray may return to the party fold and make a fresh start.'

The Central Executive Committee manifesto issued a week later promised a general amnesty to political offenders, a purging of corrupt officials, a general overhaul and tightening up of government machinery, strenuous measures against banditry and famine, the convocation in May of a 'National People's Convention as expressly enjoined in the will of our late party leader' (Dr. Sun), and district autonomy to 'train the people to participate in local autonomous government.' In order to neutralise the power of the generals, the eighteen provinces are to be cut up into seventy new administrative divisions; but one wonders whether the Chinese people will like this change, and whether it may not be secretly meant to rivet the Kuomintang's powers on

the districts, where every circumstance cries for relaxation. lack of any reference to finance and army disbandment is the serious omission; on these points the People's Convention is to fasten quickly. For the rest, the self-righteous tone of manifesto means nothing in China; it is merely 'face-savin offset the very large concessions now announced.

If I have at all succeeded in presenting an intelligible pic of recent events in China, the chief feature must be the abso supremacy and impeccability hitherto claimed by the Kuomin as source of all power and unquestionable guide in every acti and now they have climbed down, faults are admitted, corrup of officials is admitted, enemies are welcomed as friends, and people, formerly taught that they are but little children who n look to the Kuomintang for everything, are accepted as wo to share in the affairs of State. If indeed these promises are fa fully carried out, the bloodshed and waste of China's wars have produced a fruitful harvest.

No one imagines that the manifesto will be accomplis without a struggle. The 'backstairs' men have yielded for moment. But we may be sure they are already scheming ho scuttle the People's Convention and keep their privileges int They will be telling themselves that dozens of inconvenient mises have had to be given to pacify the people and it was alw quite easy to evade them. Why not now? The answer— the hope of a better outcome this time—lies in the new atmosp of the country, in the determination of Nanking's best n strengthened by the alliance between Chiang Kai-shek and M churian Chang, and above all in the truly frightful state of nati disorder, summed up in the words 'Communism,' 'taxation,' 'soldiers.' In truth, there is more than enough in these compel the coldest precisians of political technique to a sens realities.

Since returning to England I am often asked whether t are any Russian agents in the Communist forces which have b committing such frightful ravages in Kiangsi, Hunan, and part Fukien and Hupeh. The weight of evidence is against this supp tion, though there may be a few. But it has been very difficul suspicious Russians to get into China since the Nationalists b with the Soviet in 1927, and equally difficult, one would say, Moscow to send money to the Chinese Communists. These hor amounting to many thousands, are of a variegated colour—at top, out-and-out Reds, the men trained by Borodin and even in Moscow propaganda school; and at the bottom a riff-raf unpaid soldiers and peasants made desperate by bad times taxation. But that there is a regular Communist organisat connecting one army with another, and calling itself the So

Government of China, cannot be doubted. So far back as a year ago several Legations received reports from their consulates in Central Southern provinces, indicating the development of a genuine Communist uprising, knit in a single system and following uniform procedure. Several missionaries, escaping from the Red bands, have borne the same testimony. The outrages committed on missionaries are known to all the world. Well over a hundred were kidnapped last year by the Communists, many of them remaining in captivity under conditions of inconceivable filth, privation, and suffering before they could be rescued. Twenty-one Roman Catholics and twelve of other denominations have been murdered, among them five devoted women—the Misses Cajander, Ingman and Hedengren, Finnish ladies, who met their deaths in Kiangsi last February; and Miss Nettleton and Miss Harrison, whose heads were hacked off (there is evidence that the first report of their being shot was incorrect) in Fukien last October.

It must be remembered that for every foreign victim 10,000 Chinese have suffered death or torture or ruin. A census in Hupeh, published early last year, revealed a decrease in the population of 3,000,000 people in three years; and this in a nation which breeds at a rate inconceivable in Europe. In May the officials of Kiangsi published an estimate of the ravages of Communists in their province since the previous July, showing 37,712 houses burnt and 82,304 people killed. And returns could only be obtained from forty-three of the eighty-one *hsiens*, or counties, of Kiangsi, the rest being in Red hands. In November the Kiangsi Residents Federation and the Kuomintang of the same province sent a heartrending appeal to the Central Executive Committee Conference then sitting:

> When a town or city is captured by the Reds (the telegram said) the citizens are at once robbed of their title deeds, which are burned, and they are robbed of their own property, which is distributed among the members of the Communist Party. The wealthy are kidnapped and held for ransom, and those failing to pay the money demanded of them are subjected to the cruellest forms of torture, their limbs being slowly and painfully severed from their bodies. Merchants and farmers are forced to surrender their goods and their grain, and these are confiscated and distributed among the Reds. Apart from the 'proletariat' everybody is branded as corrupt and ruthlessly tortured or murdered. Women and girls are subjected to the most indescribable violence and outrages. Even the poorest who are not members of the Communist Party are turned out of their homes, robbed of their belongings, and deprived of their houses, which are

burned for no reason other than that they are not themselves Reds.

Up to the present, the telegram goes on to say, no fewer than 150,000 innocent people have been brutally murdered by these Communists-bandits and more than 1,500,000 others have fled for refuge to the neighbouring provinces. Of houses, 103,000 have been burnt to the ground in Kiangsi alone, and the people's losses exceed $3,500,000.

There is quite enough independent evidence to prove that this picture is in no respect overdrawn. Within recent weeks General Chiang Kai-shek has put himself at the head of the troops that are to stamp out the Reds, and we cannot doubt that the Government will do its utmost to suppress them. But military operations alone will never succeed in putting down outlawry in a country where all tactical advantage is on the outlaws' side, and where, as often before, they can retire into mountain fastnesses and bide their time. Until taxation and the burden of the army is lightened, there will always be abundant recruits for the life of a bandit, whatever coloured flag he flies.

It is still far too soon to see what success will attend the efforts of Mr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance—and we may believe his promise that they will be very determined efforts—to abolish *likin* and all other miscellaneous forms of internal taxation, substituting for them a form of provincial excise collected by a few stations under the Central Government's control. *Likin*, the one-tenth of 1 per cent. instituted to pay for the Taiping Rebellion, and very soon to be collected every twenty and even ten miles on trade routes, was bad enough. But in the past few years it has had added to it innumerable other devils worse than itself. Any and every excuse serves for the imposition of a tax. Tax offices abound on every creek and river and highway. At Chungking, the gateway of wealthy Szechuan, fourteen separate taxes are levied on every bit of cargo. In Hupeh I was told not long ago on good authority that a farmer coming into Hankow with produce would be mulcted at eighteen or twenty tax stations in a journey of fewer miles. Every tax office supports a swarm of harpies, who will combine as one man to defend their perquisites, and Nanking's authority is still shadowy even in the limited parts of China it is supposed to control. As an example, *The Times* correspondent in China reported, on December 18 last, that a number of generals, nominally subject to Nanking, were obstinately holding on to seventy-four engines and 1443 railway wagons though repeatedly told to give them up. Even in the metropolitan province of Kiangsu, within easy reach of Nanking and the great cities of Soochow and Wusih, bandits swarm ; and in the Yangtze delta itself fleets of pirates, though officially reported at intervals

to have been exterminated, continue to prey upon native shipping and the coast villages. But even partial success for Mr. Soong—and all friends of China will wish him the utmost—would be an immeasurable relief. The low price of silver, which has reduced the people's purchasing power to vanishing point, is attributable to many causes, but not least among them is the complete failure of the last three export seasons in China, which has been due to taxation quite as much as to banditry and civil war.

The burden of the vast sprawling armies which have grown up all over China was vividly shown in Mr. Soong's financial report for 1929. Of a total revenue of $434,440,712 (including loans) received by the National Government, $40,000,000 went in civil administration, rather more than $160,000,000 in foreign loan service, and $209,536,969 in military establishments. But fourteen provinces were not included in this account, all of which had to maintain hordes of soldiers; nor is mention made of the extent to which private persons are preyed upon by the troops, who are often no better than bandits.

Who will bell the military cat? It is, perhaps, not surprising that the Kuomintang manifesto last November refrained from mentioning it. Possibly the People's Convention next May will open a way and district autonomy lead to what many people believe is the only possible solution of China's constitutional problem. In 1919 the Nationalists were very keen on the idea of a Federated States of China. They dropped it for control by the Kuomintang as described above, but it none the less commends itself as the only workable scheme for so huge a country. It is in accord with ancient practice, and it would also seem to offer the only feasible means of military disbandment. In Imperial days there was no national army; the viceroys maintained such troops as they required and, because they were colleagues in no fear of attack by each other, they kept their forces as low as possible. If a similar system were restored on lines compatible with the new democratic ideas, it is reasonable to hope that similar results would ensue.

For the moment one does not look beyond the People's Convention in May and the hopes that it inspires. If indeed it is a reality, if its conclusions are permitted to fructify and are not sterilised or mocked by political intrigue, it may lay the foundations of a new China. Behind the murk and horror of the past three years one must not overlook the real work that has been done Somehow 4000 or 5000 miles of road have been built—not very good roads, perhaps; but one is not particular in China, and they have given a wonderful impetus to the motor-omnibus traffic, to which British manufacturers ought to pay attention. Many cities have completely transformed themselves with spacious boulevards

and large buildings. The land for these roads, it is true, is usu acquired with ruthless disregard for private rights. But on whole the merchants seem resigned to the idea that they will more out of half their property thus remade than out of all a once was. The new education and freedom of girls, who are found working in competition with or alongside men in all ra of life, is a change of enormous possibilities. Western educat which too often has only distracted the boys, has had the hap results among girls, who as mothers of the next generation well hold China's future in their hands.

More than all else, perhaps, it is to be remarked t Nationalism, with all its failures, has bred a new spirit in Ch Business men generally feel a personal interest in their count affairs, such as they never seemed to feel even twenty years Their anger at the shortcomings of the Kuomintang is not c because their pockets have been touched. They are hurt, too the sense of China's failure 'to make good.' These men prov material on which Nanking ought to have drawn long agc broaden and stabilise the base of its power; and if 'the peop participation in the Government' is to be more than a mere phr if business men are to be admitted to a reasonable share in management of affairs, instead of being continually overr and browbeaten by raw youths hardly out of student stage, t indeed there is hope of the dreams of the revolution com true at last.

But infinite patience will be required. The whole machir of ordered government has been so badly strained and undermi the country is so exhausted, the forces of those who thrive faction and anarchy are so numerous and greedy, that year dull effort are needed to repair the ravages of the past two or th Haste and over-confidence have ever been the reformers' st bling-block, and the Kuomintang would not have had to swa the bitter pill of the November manifesto if they had been impatient to accomplish every reform, as their mandates so o have demanded, 'within three months.' Moreover, there always the danger that the swing-over towards district autonc may be made too violently. Although accustomed to manag much of their own affairs, the Chinese are not politically min and have a marked disinclination for mixing in politics, w experience tells them too often means getting into the clut of those above them and incurring the hatred of those about th From this point of view Dr. Sun's provision of a 'period of p tical tutelage' was well designed; the misfortune was that wrong type of men were chosen to be the tutors. But these, hated *tangpu*, are, we may hope, a thing of the past. Ever, even in Nanking agrees that their power must end; and alr

certain beneficial steps have been taken in tightening up the machinery of government, in giving more power to the Ministers of departments, and, best of all, in restricting the import of arms and munitions and thus paring the claws of contumacious generals. The coming year promises to be the turning-point in China's fortune. If peace can be kept, the foundations of a new era may indeed be well and truly laid. There is a new sense of realities in the political atmosphere, a clearer appreciation of what has been wrong hitherto and what must be done to retrieve the past. A way has been opened to better things, and one would fain believe that those are numerous enough and strong enough who are determined that the gate shall not be slammed at the eleventh hour.

O. M. GREEN.

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION: ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS

THE depression from which agriculture is suffering in 1931 has lasted with varying intensity for eight or nine years. Till recently it has been localised, conditions being really bad only in those regions where two-thirds or three-quarters of the land is under the plough, and the ground is either heavy clay, difficult and costly to work, or light and infertile soil on chalk, sand, or gravel, easy to cultivate, but yielding poor crops.

The immediate cause of the depression in these arable areas is not in doubt. It is due to a fall in prices combined with comparatively high costs of production, parts of which are fixed artificially. Let us take the position in April 1930. The average price of cereals was only 6 per cent. above the pre-war level, live-stock and live-stock products 49 per cent., and the index of general agricultural produce 37. On the other hand, nominal wages were higher by 76 per cent., and, since hours of work were shorter, the average cost of labour was at least double what it was in 1913. On ordinary arable land, labour accounts for 30 or 40 per cent. of the total outgoings. Rents are low and artificial fertilisers cheap, but most of the farmer's other charges, like labour, are approximately doubled. Probably his total outgoings have increased by 50 per cent. since 1913. In April 1930 this was fairly balanced for those who produced only live-stock products by an increase in price of 49 per cent. But mixed farms with a price-index somewhere round 37, and still more corn farms with an index of perhaps 10, were getting into an impossible position. Indeed, these figures show the immediate cause and roughly measure the intensity of the depression in arable farming a year ago.

But during the last few months the renewed and catastrophic fall in world prices, especially marked in cereals, has made even the better soils unremunerative. In November 1930, while the general agricultural index had fallen to 29, barley prices were only 11 per cent. above, and those for wheat and oats were 11 and 17 per cent. *below* those in 1911–13. Moreover, milk production, till recently a sheltered and flourishing industry, found its

autumn market crumbling away. Many dairy farmers had to sign contracts at prices much lower than those contemplated by the nominal 'agreement,' while others were unable to find a purchaser. Doubtless, increasing competition from condensed milk and dried milk powder, partly of foreign or overseas origin,[1] and the unusual luxuriance of autumn grass, were the immediate causes of the misfortune, but in times of falling prices immediate causes do but precipitate a fall due ultimately to deeper and more general tendencies. It is these deeper and more fundamental causes which I propose to discuss in these pages.

Some of them are agricultural. The world increased its acreage and production of wheat by about 10 per cent. between 1911 and 1925, and by another 17 per cent. (making 27 per cent. in all) by 1928. The resulting surplus has lowered the price; lowered it greatly, because the demand, unlike that for most industrial products, has little elasticity. Everywhere wheat-growers are depressed, and everywhere Governments meet the emergency by remedies—subsidies, protection, or what not—calculated to relieve the local situation and in reality tending to increase the glut. Similarly with sugar: with production artificially stimulated in many countries, the world market is overloaded. In such circumstances surpluses have somehow to be disposed of, and 'dumping' on the one open market is inevitable. In other cases a favourable season, such as we have recently seen for potatoes and last autumn for grass, creates an excess of home production.

The latter trouble can probably be cured by orderly marketing, provided that the producers can hold together and deal effectively with surplus supplies. To enable them to do so is the object of the Marketing Bill now before Parliament. The former—a world over-production and its consequence, dumping—is a more difficult problem. The consumer gains by cheapness and has more to spend on other things. Moreover, cereals are a very small part of English agricultural produce. The corn-grower suffers, but the much larger number of those who buy feeding-stuffs for live-stock gain by cheap corn. Somehow we want (1) to take full advantage of the cheap produce which other countries are kind or foolish enough to send us, (2) to see that the consumer gets the benefit of the cheapness, and (3) to secure, while prices are falling, an adequate preference for the home farmer. If a quota of English wheat in the English loaf can be arranged without checking the flow of cheap foreign wheat for the poultry farmer, it may point the best way to help the arable farmer over the present emergency. To this proposal we shall return on a later page.

[1] The production of dried or condensed milk in 1924 was 123,000 cwts. Imports in 1924 were 102,337 cwts., and in 1928 they were 199,706 cwts.

Irrespective of surpluses and dumping, it is probable that the costs of production of cereals in new countries, where the land is flat and the fields very large, so that full advantage can be taken of combine-harvesters and other modern machinery, and where the aim is high production per man rather than per acre, is less than is yet possible in England. It may be, as Mr. Orwin has argued, that, to meet the new era of high wages, similar specialisation is, and will be, necessary on English arable farms, even when the Governments of the world have ceased to subsidise the growth of unwanted wheat; or again, it may be necessary on some soils to replace the familiar rotations by alternations of four years of corn with four years of temporary grass to reduce the total labour bill. It may be that English dairy farmers must somehow get their costs of production down into closer conformity with the 'manufacturing' prices of overseas countries. Increased efficiency is always desirable.

Nevertheless, when all these reasons and remedies for our troubles are told, one feels there is more behind. Wheat and sugar may be overdone, and English milk may lose its monopoly. But the reduction in prices is not confined to products for the fall in which special reasons can be assigned. The fall is general, and to examine its ultimate causes we must seek historical parallels and differences in former depressions, and take some account of the economic theory of prices.[2]

In reviewing the history of agriculture for the last 100 years we see alternating periods of prosperity and adversity. When the Napoleonic Wars and their immediate effects were over, a serious depression lasted from 1822 to 1848. From 1850 to 1873 agriculture flourished, and British landowners and farmers led the world in the adoption of new methods. In 1875 the long depression, which older folk remember so well, began. Somewhere about 1900 the tide turned once more, and between 1904 and 1914 modest profits were made. The war and post-war boom will be in all our minds, and we are still in the depths of the depression which followed. In each time of adversity the immediate cause was the same—a fall in the general average prices of agricultural produce, a fall too rapid for the costs of production to be adjusted to the lower level. Some fell more and others less, but, on the whole, agricultural prices moved with the prices of other wholesale commodities.

The alternative ebb and flow during the last century may be

[2] *The Agricultural Crisis*, R. R. Enfield, Longmans, 1924; *Report of the Committee on the Stabilization of Agricultural Prices*, Ministry of Agriculture, Econ. Series, No. 2, 1925; *Politics and the Land*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1927; 'Gold and the Price Level,' Sir Henry Strakosch, *Economist*, July 5, 1930.

seen in the following table for the average prices of all wholesale commodities, the values for 1900 being taken as 100 :

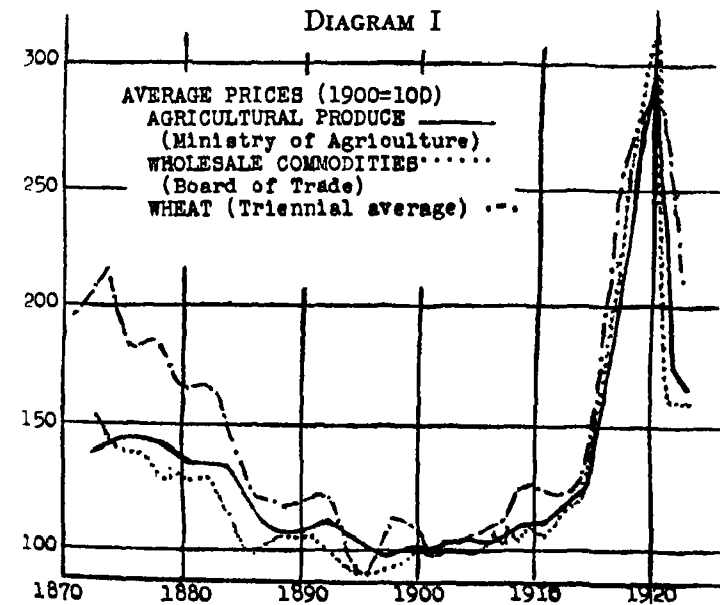
TABLE I.—AVERAGE PRICES OF WHOLESALE COMMODITIES

	Index number.	Percentage change in each period.	
1821–25	154		
		− 25.	Agricultural depression.
1846–50	116		
		+ 20.	Prosperity.
1871–75	138		
		− 40.	Depression.
1894–98	82		
		+ 38.	Prosperity.
1913	113		
		+167.	Great prosperity.
1920	302		
		− 54.	Depression.
1927	140		

It will be seen from Table I. that each period of agricultural depression coincides with a period when the average price-level of all wholesale commodities was falling. Since the agricultural index number was instituted in 1873, we can show this conformity numerically, and illustrate it graphically as on Diagram I. (see *below*).

The diagram shows that the curve of prices is subject to wave-like variations with a period of a few years. But beneath these superficial waves there is a steady tidal drift either up or down. From 1870 to 1900 prices on the whole were falling, and from 1900 to 1914 they were rising, though short-term oscillations sometimes masked for a while the long-term drift. It is the long-term drift with which we are concerned in considering agricultural prosperity and depression.

DIAGRAM I



It is clear from the diagram that average agricultural prices rise and fall in close conformity with those of other wholesale commodities. This fact indicates that, in searching for causes, we must look for general ones which affect all prices, and not only for those special to agriculture. Single commodities, pigs (say) or potatoes, are, of course, affected by special causes, but some of these would produce a rise and some a fall. When, superimposed on these chance oscillations, the general average is moving up or down, we must look beyond special causes and seek for general ones. For instance, the fall in wheat from 1873 to 1900 was about twice as much as the average fall in all agricultural produce. Hence we may fairly say that about half the fall was due to causes special to wheat, chiefly that competition of the new wheat-growing countries to which the whole trouble is usually assigned, and half to causes common to wheat and to other agricultural and non-agricultural commodities. Table II. shows that similarly during recent years, on the average, agricultural prices have fallen *pari passu* with others, though again cereals have suffered most. Here are the figures, with pre-war prices put as 100.

TABLE II.—AVERAGE PRICES

Year.	All commodities.	Agricultural produce.	Year.	All commodities.	Agricultural produce.
1920	295	292	1925	160	159
1921	182	219	1926	148	151
1922	154	169	1927	144	144
1923	152	157	1928	141	147
1924	164	161	1929	135	144

What, then, are the causes which produce these general changes in the average price-level of all wholesale commodities? Perhaps we must first ask, 'What is price?' It is the amount of money in cash or credit that is given for a unit of any kind of goods or services. If the amount of money available increases, as by the influx of precious metals into Europe after the discovery of the New World, and new ways of investment put it into circulation, its value falls; more of it is given for the commodities, and prices rise. The same effect is produced by the introduction of banking methods which enable cash to be used as a basis for credit and its velocity of circulation to be increased. On the other hand, if money becomes relatively scarce, in the long run its value rises—that is, prices fall.

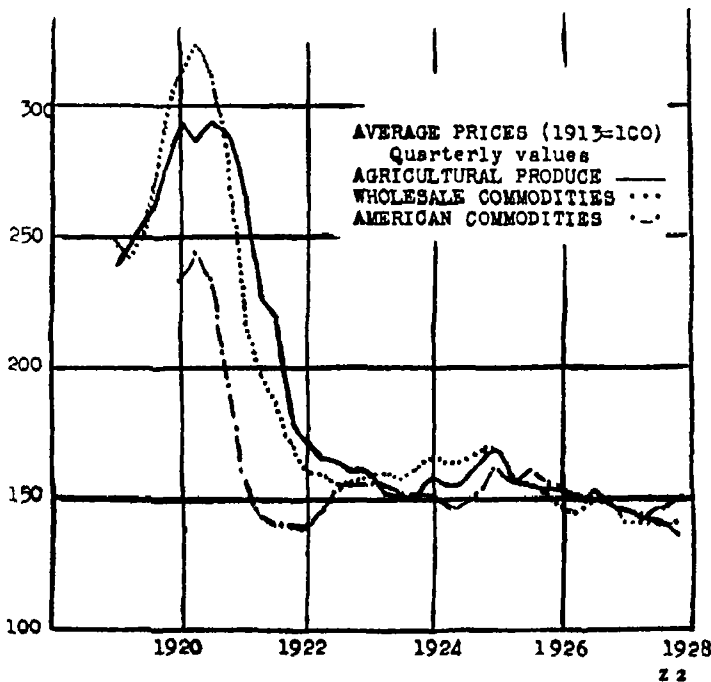
In the middle years of the nineteenth century, when the gold of Australia and California increased the supplies of money, and the development of railways gave it profitable investment, prices rose, and the depression of the 'thirties and early 'forties passed

away. In the years 1871 to 1874 Germany, the United States, and finally France and the other nations of the Latin Union, demonetised silver. The demand for gold reserves increased its value, prices began to fall, and depression returned. The only countries where farming still paid well and land values rose were those, like India and the Argentine, whose currencies were not based on gold. By 1896 the South African mines had increased the world stock of gold. At the first rising wave, a long-term upward tide began to flow and prosperity returned.

Superimposed on these slow and long-continued movements in the general price level, as said above, are the short-term oscillations due to the trade cycle. It may be emphasised once more that it is the general trend with which we are here concerned. The short-term waves are due to more complex causes, different at different times.

During the recent war the urgent need for materials and services involved also a need for means of payment. Bank money was created, and salaries and wages were raised faster than the goods they were used to buy could be manufactured. This process is the essence of inflation, and led to the hectic boom in prices which lasted till 1921. In that year a natural reaction began, business contracted and prices fell, a process hastened and intensified by deliberate deflationary measures.

DIAGRAM II



By 1924 this natural reaction had spent itself, and appearances indicated a period of stability. In England that stability was upset by the return to the gold standard, which involved a rise in the value of the pound sterling to its old parity with the dollar, and a concomitant fall in the price of world commodities measured in pounds. Other countries followed, and now most 'civilised' nations have currencies based on gold, and a consequent need for gold reserves. The history of 1871–4 is being repeated, and a general downward drift of prices has been established. Of course, with each falling wave, other causes have been at work. In 1929 agricultural over-production, the financial crash in America, unrest and a fall in the value of silver in India and China, previous over-borrowing by Germany and Australia, and a general failure to invest savings, all produced their effect.

Nevertheless, agriculture is but one among many depressed industries, and the problem of them all is one and indivisible. The effects of a changing level of prices can be stated first in general terms, and the special agricultural repercussions be dealt with later on. If the value of money in terms of goods and services is falling—that is, if prices are rising—those with fixed incomes suffer, but active industry flourishes. Goods increase in value while being made or transported, and fixed charges, such as the interest on loans or debentures, are satisfied with a continually decreasing fraction of income. Profits increase, obsolete plant can be replaced, capital accumulates, and new industries can be started. Such a period was seen when, in the sixteenth century, the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru were poured into Europe through Spain. On the other hand, when money is scarce or not being used and its value rising, so that prices fall, those in the enjoyment of fixed incomes can buy more and more. But manufacturers and farmers find that markets are always against them. Values shrink while goods are being made or crops grown. Fixed charges become more and more burdensome as an increasing part of the receipts has to go to pay them. Finally profits vanish, and when it is impossible to carry on any longer out of capital resources the wheels of industry stop. Illustrations are numerous, from the decline and fall of the Roman Empire to the depression of to-day.

Another effect has become important, especially in modern England. Sheltered industries, which enjoy some form of natural protection, put up their prices and wages during a boom, and, owing to their strong economic position, are able to maintain part or all of their gains during the ensuing slump.

The growing discrepancy between wholesale prices and retail prices and wages is shown by the following table. The figures in the last column give wage-rates; owing to shorter hours the

total average cost of labour is now about 100 per cent. above pre-war.

TABLE OF PRICES

	Wholesale prices (*Economist*).	Retail prices (cost of living).	Wages (Ministry of Labour).
1919 . .	300	200	217 (Dec. '19)
1920 . .	225	245	275 (Dec. '20)
1921 . .	160	220	254
1922 . .	159	181	196
1923 . .	159	173	175
1924 . .	166	175	177
1925 . .	159	175	180
1926 . .	148	172	180
1927 . .	144	167	181
1928 . .	141	166	179
1929 . .	133	164	176
1930 March .	119	161	174
,, June .	113	154	174
,, September	105	157	—
,, December	98·7	155	—

Thus in September 1930, while wholesale prices were down to pre-war figures, retail prices were still 55 per cent. above them. In this way the sheltered and retail trades engage more than their fair share of the available money and credit, so that the stringency affects more keenly the unsheltered trades exposed to world competition; thus in them the fall of prices is accentuated. Moreover, since the unsheltered trades, in their low-priced struggle for life, have to use the high-priced products of the sheltered trades, their costs of production remain high, their profits vanish, and they themselves languish or die.

Agriculture is not one trade, but many trades—some sheltered, some partially sheltered, and some unsheltered. Hence, till just lately, dairy farmers have done fairly well, poultry farmers have gained by cheap corn, while growers of cereals have been brought near to ruin. The 'turn-over' of agriculture is slow, its economic lag is long. A corn crop harvested in August and sold at Christmas may be sown the previous autumn on land prepared at an even earlier date. Hence farming, especially arable farming, suffers more than most other trades by a rapid fall in prices. There are three partners in the agricultural industry—the landowner, the farmer, and the labourer—and they are differently affected by depression. The labourer is now protected by wages boards and minimum wages, and his real income is higher than before the war. The farmer who bought his land on mortgage is in a bad way; the tenant farmer has been helped by reductions in rent.

Average English agricultural rents in 1929 were only about 10 per cent. more than in 1913, and are still falling. In the depressed arable areas they are below pre-war figures. Outgoings are much higher—on the average, about 55 per cent. of the gross rentals—so that real net rents, allowing for the change in the value of money, are only about half what they were, while taxation takes away much more of the residue. The landowner is bearing a heavy share of the burden of agricultural depression.

The chief agricultural effect of depression has been the acceleration of the conversion of arable land to grass, a process long going on save during the short war-time 'ploughing campaign.' The British farmer has thus taken advantage of the special qualities of our soil and climate, and the preference of our markets for high-grade products. Doubtless it has been a right policy. It has enabled the farmer to meet depression and maintain the total value of his output in the face of growing difficulties. But it gets less effective year by year. East Anglian climate and land will not support good permanent grass, and there is already an over-production of milk. Although some kinds of dairying need as many men as ordinary arable cultivation, on the whole the increase of grass decreases employment, though it is difficult to say by how much.

There are no official figures for the employment given by different types of farming, though some information may be gleaned from the county returns of *The Agricultural Output*, 1925.[3] The highest proportion of arable land, 80 per cent., is in Cambridgeshire. Here the total number of workers employed per 1000 acres was 40·7. The most exclusively dairying county, Cheshire, employed 39·8, Somerset and Dorset 28·7 and 28·8. I suspect that those figures do not include the farmer himself—a negligible correction on the large arable farms of Cambridgeshire, but one which would appreciably raise the figures for total employment on the smaller farms of the West. Middlesex has a large number of horticultural holdings, and shows the high employment figure of 116·2. Kent (66·8) and Worcester (42·2) show large numbers because of fruit growing, and the Isle of Ely (63·3) because of potatoes, but these last three returns include a high proportion of casual labourers. Besides the official county returns, there are certain studies of farming published by universities and colleges. Thus in *Four Years Farming in East Anglia*, issued by the Cambridge School of Agriculture, the average total employment is shown as 40·1 per 1000 acres, of which 4·8 represents unpaid family labour and 35·3 whole-time wage-earners.

Well-managed forestry employs about twelve men per 100 acres while the preliminary planting is going on, and about one

[3] Cmd. 2815.

man per 100 acres thereafter. In the Census of 1921 the number of foresters and woodmen was given as 10,539, and in 1924 the Agricultural Tribunal estimated the number as nearly 16,000—an increase probably due chiefly to the efforts of the Forestry Commission. The area under wood was about 3,200,000 acres, so the actual employment was about one man to 200 acres, showing that British woods are under-staffed. Forestry works in well with cottage holdings, because it needs more men in the winter, but it is clear that, both from the economic point of view and also from that of employment, afforestation is desirable only on very poor land.

Taking the farming industry of England and Wales as a whole, between 1911 and 1929 the number of men engaged in agriculture gradually shrank by about 130,000. This is partly due to the conversion of arable land into grass land, but it also reflects the introduction of improved methods and new forms of machinery which economise labour, while, on the other hand, the development of market gardening must have increased the numbers.

Till now there has been no such unemployment in farming as in other depressed industries like coal and iron. It must be recognised that further improvement in methods—the only way by which the farmer can adapt himself to new conditions—inevitably means a decrease in agricultural employment, though that decrease should, of course, be offset by increased demand for labour in other trades benefiting by the wealth saved or created by this economy. We must accept the paradox that the way to increase *total* employment is for each business to economise in labour, provision being made for the hardships of transition.

And now, after this short analysis of the causes and effects of agricultural depression, we must turn to consider possible remedies.

To go to the root of the evil we must somehow restore confidence to an impoverished and disheartened world, and, when it takes courage and turns the wheels of industry faster, provide adequate currency and credit to finance its growing business. Twice in the last century depression was turned into prosperity by the discovery of new goldfields, and the consequent slow rise in general prices. In a fully explored world it is unlikely that large new gold supplies will come to light. Business is growing at about 3 per cent. per annum, and, it is to be hoped, will grow faster. The stock of monetary gold is increasing only at about 2 per cent., while the South African goldfields are showing signs of exhaustion.[4] Unless some steps are taken to economise gold by international action, or some other method of control devised, we are faced with a time of falling prices—a time to which no

[4] See Report of the Gold Delegation of the League of Nations.

limit can be assigned. With present habits and customs, this inevitably means still further depression and unemployment in all nations. The most important permanent measure, then, is to provide for an expansion in currency and credit when the trade of the world revives and needs them.

Perhaps it is premature to discuss details, but a few general remarks may be of interest. As long as the chief nations have a common basis for money, this country could not act alone. To increase its currency and credit would put up its internal price level and thus increase the burden on the unsheltered and export trades. Unless we abandon the gold standard, international action is necessary. The simplest measure would be for the central banks of the world to guarantee each other in increasing the ratio of credit to reserves when more is wanted. Another method would be an agreement to hold part of the reserves in silver, valued at its market rate. This would widen the basis of credit and raise the price of silver, thus improving the purchasing power of India and China in the markets of the West.

International action to control currency and credit is difficult, and its results must be slow. Is there anything of another nature which one country—this country in particular—can do to help matters ? Put shortly, the trouble is that the pound sterling is rising in value in terms of goods and services, and some but not all costs are fixed in terms of money. If all costs, including wages and fixed charges such as interest, could be adjusted continuously and automatically, we should still have the loss due to economic lag, but the worst consequences of a falling level of prices would be overcome. The fall in the wholesale prices of unsheltered commodities could be handed on to the sheltered and retail trades, the cost of living would fall, and all would be nearly as before on a lower level of prices. The chief obstacle to such an adjustment is the difficulty of lowering costs, including nominal salaries and wages in the sheltered industries. Perhaps this obstacle is insuperable, but international action, even if possible, will be slow, and the need is urgent and immediate if our depressed trades are to be saved. The old automatic method of reducing wages with prices has been destroyed by unemployment insurance and fixed wage-rates. Any adjustment now must be made by consent, though the conditions of unemployment pay should certainly be stiffened. Here, I think, is the first great test of democracy. Will the electorate and the trade unions face facts, and allow nominal wages to be lowered now, so that industry may survive and grow, and pay increasingly high real wages in the future ? The figures for wholesale and retail prices, given on page 337, show that the excess costs in the retail trades keep up the cost of living far more than would, for example, any of the proposals made for ' taxing

food.' There are, of course, great difficulties in reducing retail prices. We all think in terms of nominal salaries and wages, and naturally resist their reduction, even if assured that the cost of living will come down and real incomes be less affected. A complete cure on these lines is probably hopeless, but any action tending to reduce the spread between wholesale and retail prices which may be possible will do something to help other remedies.

Another method of cure for our troubles would be to increase the efficiency of industry fast enough to bring *real* costs of production down in conformity with nominal prices. With the present rapid fall in prices, especially in such agricultural products as cereals, this is physically impossible, but any increase in efficiency helps, and every effort should be made to lower the real costs of production. These three correlated remedies, then, seem to me necessary for a radical and permanent cure for the troubles of industry, and of agriculture as a part of it: (1) An increase in the efficiency of all industrial and agricultural processes; (2) the passing on, as far as possible, of the fall in wholesale prices to retail trade, so as to lower the cost of living and other costs of production; (3) preparation for an expansion in world currency and credit when growing trade needs it.

There remains the problem of rescuing industry from the trough of the present wave. Bank rates are low and credit abundant, so the immediate obstacles are not monetary. It is a question of tiding over the present emergency and of restoring confidence. The fundamental measures described above deal with the future, but to carry men on till times improve and give them courage, temporary measures may be necessary; corn-growing in particular is in a desperate state. If anything is to be done, we must choose between subsidies and protection in some form. It seems to me that payers of income tax cannot subsidise all depressed trades, and agriculture can make out no better case for a subsidy than can some others. On the other hand, I think there is more to be said for protecting agriculture than for protecting other trades. British farmers supply the home market and cannot satisfy the whole of its demands. Therefore protection, if confined to agricultural produce, could certainly keep agricultural prices at a remunerative level, and do so without *directly* raising the price of any export. Moreover, one of the old arguments for the free importation of food—that, by lowering the cost of living, it enabled us, while maintaining a high standard of life, to pay low nominal wages and thus keep down the costs of production—is less convincing now that, either by wage boards or the influence of trade unions, wages are artificially fixed, and, for the most part, fixed without reference to the cost of living. Again, owing to the economic power of the distributing and retail

trades, consumers of foodstuffs do not get the full benefit of low wholesale prices. For all these reasons, economically a stronger case can be made out for protecting agriculture than for protecting any other industry, though it may be more difficult politically.

In normal times the case for free trade is, I think, unanswerable. But, as a temporary remedy to soften the fall of prices in such an emergency as this, protection, where it can be shown to be effective, seems to me justifiable. In the unsheltered branches of agriculture protection would be effective, and the only question that remains is whether the harm that it would do might outweigh the good. Let us take the case of wheat. If a duty, high enough to make the price remunerative, were put on all imports of wheat and flour, doubtless the harm done, in an increased cost of food, would be great. But suppose that a part of the market were reserved for the English farmer and free imports welcomed for the rest. Millers would be legally bound to buy English wheat to a certain fraction of their whole purchases, and this quota could be adjusted to give, by the natural play of demand and supply, a remunerative price for English wheat. This scheme would only put up the cost of a loaf of bread by one-tenth to one-fourth of a penny as prices varied, and, to the consumer, would be almost or quite inappreciable. He might well be asked to bear this negligible burden in exchange for the continued benefit of free imports of 'dumped' and other cheap foreign grain.

Thus I think the best special measures for the relief of agriculture are, firstly, improvements in marketing for such things as milk and potatoes, where imports are less important than home supplies; secondly, for unsheltered commodities like wheat, a modified form of protection, such as would be given by a quota system limited to a term of years. This seems the least harmful and dangerous plan of relief which is practicable. I think this scheme may be justified as a temporary measure, but I must point out that protection will not long protect in face of shrinking prices, and neither the arguments for protection nor those for free trade go to the root of the evil—a fall in the general level of world prices due chiefly to monetary causes. It is that process that must be stopped if we seek a permanent cure for industrial and agricultural depression.

W. C. D. Dampier-Whetham.

THE TUBERCULOSIS TANGLE

TUBERCULOSIS has been described as 'one of the most curable' diseases. The authority for this comforting and encouraging statement is Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who for several years was, of all laymen, probably the one best qualified to express an opinion on such a point. In spite of this, however, the melancholy fact remains that most of the recognised victims of this curable disease are never cured. What is the meaning of this disturbing discrepancy? Either the disease is not curable, or the methods at present employed are at fault and responsible for failure to cure, and, indeed, to stamp it out altogether. Very few authorities would admit that tuberculosis is incurable. The truth is that it can be 'cured,' meaning thereby that the morbid changes which it produces in the body can be rendered quiescent and later obsolescent with varying degrees of permanence and success. Comparatively few cases, however, are brought to a state of healing which can definitely and without euphemism be described as 'cured.' In this article an attempt will be made to explain this present failure to cure tuberculosis and to point out how this can be successfully effected.

The question is not merely a medical one. It concerns every ratepayer and taxpayer very intimately. The cost of tuberculosis is enormous; there are about 350,000 known victims of tuberculosis in this country, some of whom are in sanatoriums, receiving treatment which costs the ratepayers anything up to 3*l.* a head per week. Others, having had this treatment, are endeavouring—usually with little success—to find work. In the meantime they, and their wives and young children if they have any, are supported by the ratepayers. These ex-sanatorium patients are often capable of conveying infection, often compelled to live in the same room as their families, with the result that the spread of infection is facilitated. These unfortunate people are a burden to the State and a menace to their friends and relatives unless they can secure enough money to pay for the special conditions in which alone they can hope to stay the progress of the disease and protect their families from their own fate. According to Sir Robert Jones, it is quite usual for the consumptive father of a

family, unemployed and maintained by the municipality, to cook the children's meals while the mother goes out to cook other people's in order to increase the family's slender resources. When the weather is cold or damp the family remain indoors, the windows tightly shut, breathing infection! Thus consumptives multiply and the cost of tuberculosis mounts up.

Is all this inevitable? And if not, why does it go on? In order to discuss this it is necessary to revert to the earlier question of the curability of tuberculosis. If it is curable, why is it not cured? The answer to this is that, like many other diseases, it is curable only if taken in time. If definite evidence of disease is detected in an early stage and treated before it has time to make much headway, it can be brought to a standstill and is unlikely to cause any further trouble. Take the analogy of a butterfly net: a small tear when it first appears can easily be patched up and the whole net will then perform its normal functions. If, however, the small hole is neglected and the net is continually in use, it will certainly grow larger and larger. When a large hole has developed, it is difficult to patch up, and the repair takes longer; and, further, the net is unlikely ever to be quite satisfactory, as it will always be liable to break open, and probably, after one or two more accidents of this kind, it will be thrown away and a new one substituted.

Much the same sequence of events occurs in tuberculosis. The tubercle bacillus begins operations in a small way, and if treatment is promptly given the counter-measures overcome it by walling-up the troublesome bacilli in a sphere of calcium. As the whole metabolism of the patient has been trained in the course of treatment to favour calcification, and so to suppress this kind of invasion, it is improbable that any further advance of the disease will take place. It is then possible to claim that a cure has been effected. If, on the other hand, the disease has made considerable progress before treatment is given, not only is the walling-up process far more difficult, but it takes much longer. It may be that the maximum calcifying powers of the patient cannot keep pace with the progress of the disease, and in this event the condition becomes hopeless and death must ensue. When the disease has been unopposed for an appreciable time, a big hole, or cavity, results; and, even if calcification of the tuberculous foci subsequently takes place, the cavity remains. The patient is then handicapped in several ways. His injured lung will obviously not serve him as well as an uninjured one. At the same time, unless he maintains his power to keep the bacilli walled-up, the disease will break out afresh, very likely with fatal results. In these circumstances cure is out of the question, for lung tissue once destroyed cannot, so far as is known, be renewed.

What will be possible in the future, who can tell? But in the meantime, what is to be done?

Medical opinion is unanimous to the effect that patients should be treated in as early a stage as possible, and the Ministry of Health, being fully alive to the importance of this, persistently urge local tuberculosis officers to secure early notifications. Every possible medical and administrative measure is indeed taken to enable them to do so; and yet in a recent Ministry report[1] Sir George Newman was compelled to admit that in 4593 instances in 1928 death preceded notification! If medical and administrative activity alone could solve the problem there would not be more cases of tuberculosis than of cholera. But it is overwhelmingly clear that the praiseworthy methods now in operation do not achieve anything like the reward they deserve. The majority of admissions to sanatoriums are not early cases: the big hole is there, the lungs have been permanently damaged, and cure is out of the question. The reasons for this delay are nor far to seek, and will be found by examining the patient's rather than the medical man's position. A working man, feeling tired, somewhat slack, and perhaps slightly dyspeptic, goes to a doctor, is given a tonic or some bismuth, and away he goes. Not feeling much the better, he may comment unfavourably on doctors and take a few patent medicines, but still without any benefit. After a time he begins to cough a little: nothing serious, just a dry irritating cough, for which he has a linctus. The lassitude increases, and one day he decides to go again to the doctor, who may suspect nothing and prescribe accordingly. A bottle of medicine, and the man goes off hoping that it may perhaps do some good. On the other hand, the doctor may say that he suspects tuberculosis, and thus brings his patient face to face with a difficult problem. If found to be tuberculous he may be sent to a sanatorium and his family have to live as best it may without his earnings, for these will probably cease; his employer may not keep his job open for him, and even if he does the other workmen may object to his presence when he returns. No other employer is likely to employ 'a consumptive,' fresh from a sanatorium, when plenty of fit men are available. Eventually he decides that, whatever happens, he must not be found out: after all, he does not really feel ill, only a little below par—quite able to do his job, but tired in the evenings. So he continues to work, and avoids that suspicious busybody of a doctor—*because he literally cannot afford to be tuberculous.*

That explains why early notifications are scarce, and the problem of tuberculosis is as yet unsolved. In the first place, the early signs are vague, indecisive, and 'might be anything'; secondly, for a worker to be diagnosed as tuberculous is tanta-

[1] Annual Report, Chief. Med. Offr., Ministry of Health, 1929, p. 111.

mount to economic ruin. He is ruined from the moment it is known, for he is obliged to leave his work and his family simultaneously, and, though he will be fed and looked after, the question how they will get on will worry him incessantly. When he comes out of the sanatorium he will be unemployed and impoverished, will wear himself out eating little and seeking work, at a time when good food and rest are essential. It is indeed unnecessary to labour the argument, for everyone familiar with the facts recognises the accuracy of the picture, and that examples are everywhere only too frequent. Is it surprising, then, that early notifications are scarce, when every human and economic factor tends to make patients conceal, rather than reveal, their condition ?

This is the crux of the whole question. It seems strange to say so ; but it will be generally agreed, save by some extremists, that further progress in conquering tuberculosis can now be made only upon economic lines. Medicine has done what it can ; it has discovered the bacillus and its habits, shown how it can be attacked and finally besieged. The point is that economic considerations too often prevent it from getting a chance. It is, therefore, quite evident that all our efforts should be directed towards encouraging early cases to come forward for diagnosis. This is already clear to large numbers of medical authorities ; but though some of them think that the way to achieve this is to urge tuberculosis officers and their staffs on to fiercer endeavours, it is obvious that this method has failed in the past, and there does not appear to be any reason why it should succeed in the future. It is ' agin human nature ' to expect such a change so long as consumptives are penalised for being consumptive. Let there be no mistake about this : once a man is a certified consumptive he loses his job and does not regain it, and often all his savings are exhausted and irretrievably lost. But after he has been temporarily patched up he is sent back to his demoralised and unhappy family, who then have an unemployable and infectious invalid in their midst to add to their other worries. Though this was not intended by the national tuberculosis scheme, this is how it does work, as every social worker knows only too well.

It should now have been made amply clear that it is very largely ignorance and economic fear which prevent the tuberculosis authorities from securing ' early ' cases. How, then, can these be combated ? To my mind there is only one effective way, and that is by protecting the consumptive from the economic consequences of his disease. In order to do this a special environment, in which the damaged organism can function without overstrain, is needed. Work, graduated to the strength of the sufferer, and wages sufficient for himself and his family, must be

provided; and the whole undertaking must be so conducted as to avoid crushing financial loss. If such provision were made, if consumptives knew that they would have the opportunity of living under such conditions, would they not be far more ready to come forward for diagnosis? And if the wages obtainable were reasonably high, and living conditions pleasant, is it not likely that instead of trying to discover consumptives the difficulty would be, on the contrary, to detect and exclude the non-tuberculous persons who would seek to be diagnosed as consumptives?

Now, if it were impossible to create such an environment, and if it were impracticable to make the suggested provision except at a heavy annual cost, these suggestions would be quite useless. But it is not impossible. At the Papworth Village Settlement, near Cambridge, this has been done, the special environment created, and the anticipated heavy annual cost reduced to nothing at all. Furthermore, although the married tuberculous residents of Papworth are living normal family lives with their wives and children, no child born in the village has shown evidence of clinical tuberculosis.

It may be well here to give a brief description of Papworth. It is a village with the following additions: a hospital and sanatorium of more than 300 beds; about 100 cottages in which permanently sub-standard married tuberculous persons, formerly patients in the sanatorium, live with their families; three hostels in which unmarried workers are accommodated; and workshops in which patients are trained and settlers work. The settlers, who are constantly increasing in number, have built up a remarkable manufacturing business, embracing eleven quite diverse departments; beginning in 1918 with a turnover of 400*l.* and a wage bill of 174*l.* for the year, they succeeded in 1929 in selling goods to the value of 65,000*l.* and paying wages to themselves totalling 24,000*l.* In twelve years the sub-standard settlers of Papworth have made and sold 345,000*l.* worth of goods and have received 135,500*l.* in wages. In 1929 there was not any loss on the industries; indeed, after full provision for all contingencies, a small profit of some 50*l.* remained. This is the answer to the statement that consumptives are 'no good'! They may be, and usually are, no good in the outside world; but in the special environment which they need they can at least maintain themselves. They cannot earn profits. In consequence the Papworth Industries cannot raise capital in the ordinary way. But, given the capital, they can employ successfully a slowly increasing number of persons who would otherwise inevitably become an expense to the State.

There are means by which Papworths can be multiplied with-

out any additional cost to public funds. All that is required is a short Act enabling local authorities to divert to the service of village settlement loans money now being spent in pauperising the tuberculous workless. When this necessary preliminary is once passed, and the machinery for implementing this diversion set up, nothing will be wanting, for there are already several progressive local authorities anxious to start Papworths as soon as the funds are obtainable. Papworth itself began by being experimental. It is, and always has been, entirely dependent upon the gifts of the generous for the whole of its capital and for every one of the extensions necessitated by the increasing and pathetic demands for admission. Even now it is sadly in debt to its bankers. But it has tried to show what consumptives can do in the right conditions, and, as it has succeeded, it seems only reasonable to suggest its development on a national scale. In such developments it would be foolish to rely exclusively upon charitable aid; but it so happens that the savings effected by a village settlement more than cover its capital cost amortised over fifteen or twenty years with interest at 5 per cent. This, as was pointed out to me by Mr. Reynell Wreford, is the key to the question of national development; and in February of this year I submitted to the Minister of Health a memorandum on the subject, an abstract of which appeared in *The Times* of February 17 last, and was recently published, almost *in extenso*, in the *Lancet*.

If there were a chain of Papworths available for tuberculous persons, the spectre of economic disaster would be laid for ever, and there would no longer be any reason to conceal a tuberculous condition. In consequence, the proportion of 'early' cases notified would increase, slowly at first, but more and more rapidly as the benefits of the scheme became apparent.

There would thus be established a complete and effective organisation for combating tuberculosis. Those with incipient tuberculosis would no longer dread this diagnosis, for, in the absence of 'cure' by means of sanatorium treatment, they would have before them the prospect of life and employment in the pleasant conditions of a village settlement. Many, and probably most, of these, having suffered little permanent damage, could after a time be reabsorbed into ordinary industry. The others—save only those temperamentally unsuited—could be housed and employed in village settlements, and live comfortably with their families without fear of infecting them.

To sum up. The position is surely this: that existing measures have proved to be both unsuccessful and wasteful because they are based upon a delusion—the delusion that 'early' cases form the majority of notifications. An anti-tuberculosis campaign can be successful only if it removes the economic fears surrounding

diagnosis, which can be removed only by the economic protection afforded by village settlements. Lastly, and extremely important, an adequate number of village settlements can be built up without any increase in public expenditure.

In 1919 an Inter-departmental Committee of the Ministry of Health and Pensions recommended a grant of 1,000,000*l.* for the creation of further village settlements on the lines of Papworth. Only 20,000*l.* of this has yet been granted. Is it too much to hope that now, after a lapse of eleven years, each with its sorry tale of misery and ruin for victims of the disease, steps will be taken to carry into effect the considered advice of this expert and influential Committee ?

P. C. VARRIER-JONES.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH 'VARIETY'?

As I write I look back across more than forty years to a time when the music-hall as an institution was extremely 'unfashionable' and enormously popular. I made my first approaches to it along the path of the amateur, first as a mandolinist, then as a singer of such comic songs as 'Where did you get that Hat?' and the like; and in the early 'nineties I seem to have become sufficiently established as a professional to give a concert on my own account. It took place at the Gresham Hall, Brixton, on March 18, 1891, and the printed programme lies before me as I write. The affair was playfully announced as 'Mr. George Robey's One Hundred and Third Annual Concert,' and on the outside page of the programme were the significant words 'Ladies Invited.' In those days ladies were not supposed to patronise variety entertainments. Yet surely never was there a more innocent affair than that '103rd annual concert.' Thirty-five 'stars' of more or less radiance volunteered their services, and the contributions ranged from a fantasia on the bones to 'Come into the Garden, Maud,' 'The Lost Chord,' and 'The Bogey Man.' Somebody was also to have sung 'I fear no Foe,' but he failed to appear. Perhaps he was suffering from a cold.

In those days music-halls (or, as we now call them, variety theatres) abounded, with nightly programmes consisting of twenty or more 'turns'—musical, vocal, comic, pathetic, acrobatic, ventriloquial, saltatorial, and so forth. The average prices of seats were as follows: private boxes, *2l.* *2s.* to *10s.* *6d.*; fauteuils, *3s.*; stalls, *2s.*; balcony, *1s.*; gallery, *6d.* Drinking and smoking were permitted everywhere; 70 per cent. of the audience were of the male sex, and the 'chairman' was a great feature of the scene. Generally attired in a rather autumnal-looking suit of evening dress, this functionary sat at a table of his own, facing the stage and with his back to the audience, and it was his business to announce the various 'turns.' He did this in what is called the 'grand manner,' preceding each with an admonitory rap on the table with a wooden hammer. His dignity, indeed, was monumental; so also, as a rule, was his thirst. He was generally a man of middle age who looked older,

and the way in which he 'discussed' glass after glass of refreshment during the three hours of the entertainment always made a deep impression on those who were beholding it for the first time. One of the last of them in London was to be seen at the old Metropolitan Music-hall, in the Edgware Road—a hall which still 'carries on' as gaily as ever. One of the last in the provinces figured at the Oxford Music-hall, in New Road, Brighton—a hall which has since been pulled down and rebuilt and is now a cinema.

The variety theatre really originated in the so-called 'sing-songs,' which 100 years ago used to be held in taverns, and of one of which we have so amusing a description in the twentieth chapter of *Pickwick*. Their object was to keep the patrons of the house together, and there was always a chairman, who announced the 'turns,' and who occasionally—as in the case of Mr. Lowten in Dickens's description—deigned to 'oblige' with a song. Admission was free, but all present were expected to consume and pay for a fair share of the contents of the house's cellars. The fair sex was rigidly excluded, and as a rule the atmosphere became very convivial towards the end of the evening. It will be remembered, for example, that when, at a late hour, Mr. Pickwick retired from the 'Magpie and Stump' one of the gentlemen of the company had fallen asleep, while 'the majority of the remaining visitors were deeply occupied in the humorous process of dropping melted tallow-grease into his brandy and water.'

From such humble beginnings grew the music-hall, with men and women as singers, dancers, acrobats and so forth. In the 'eighties and 'nineties they were prospering all over England, though it was not until the present century that it became—shall we say ?—perfectly respectable for a lady to be present as one of the audience. To-day, of course, the fair sex abounds on both sides of the footlights, to the great advantage of manners in general—and probably also to the promotion of temperance. In my young days the drinking during a music-hall programme took place in the hall itself, and in front of every fauteuil stood a tiny railed ledge for the accommodation of the patron's bottle and tumbler. To-day, as a rule, whatever drinking there is takes place at the buffets during the 'interval,' precisely as in a theatre. The little railed ledges have disappeared, and in their place we often find penny-in-the-slot machines containing—chocolate! Such an innovation as this does, indeed, speak volumes. It is enough to make the old-fashioned *habitué* tear his hair. But it is part of the invasion of every sphere in these days by woman, and I have every respect for the pious souls who regard it as a step onward and upward. At any rate, I admit that a bar of

chocolate is a prettier sight in a temple of music than a beer bottle.

In my early days choruses were sung by the audience with immense gusto, and when the song happened to be 'patriotic' and its chorus had a catchy tune it would soon be whistled and sung all over the town. One such ballad, introduced at a time when Russia seemed to be threatening our then ally, Turkey, with war, became historical. Its chorus ran as follows:

> We don't want to fight, but, by jingo, if we do,
> We've got the men, we've got the ships, we've got the money too!
> We've fought the Bear before, boys, and while we're Britons true,
> The Russians shall not have Constantinople!

Many a Gladstonian meeting in those days was broken up to the air of that dreadful doggerel; and from that time down to the present moment it has been popular to dub fire-eating politicians 'Jingoes.' Almost as popular as the 'patriotic' song was the 'moral' ballad, in which, for example, a mother who had sinned and suffered warned a young daughter against the perils of the 'broad path' in such words as:

> There'll come a time some day, when I have passed away!
> There'll be no mother to guide you day by day!
> Think of the things I've said! Honour the man you wed!
> Always remember my story!—There'll come a time!

This would be taken up with a fervour rising in the last four words to a vast masculine roar; and no doubt it was this sort of exhibition which led Mr. Oscar Wilde to describe one of the audiences of his day as 'a large crowd of very immoral persons loudly applauding very moral sentiments.' I need, of course, hardly observe that the crowd in a music-hall gallery in the 'eighties and 'nineties was quite as 'moral' as any other crowd or congregation in the land. It may have been boisterous, but it was not profligate. Like other wits, however, Mr. Wilde would have his joke.

Even in Victorian days, however, fire-eating chauvinism and moral platitudes formed by no means the whole, or anything approaching the whole, of the music-hall's appeal. Then as now the comedian loomed large. So also did the dancer, the gymnast, the conjuror, the siffleur, the negro impersonator, and the animal trainer with his dogs or elephants. As I write another programme of those far-off days lies before me—that of the Royal Theatre of Varieties, in Holborn, for the night of November 11, 1892. The words 'George Robey, Comedian' figure third in the bill, indicating a performer who was still in the early part

of his career; but the twenty 'turns' in it included such artists as Albert Chevalier (whose 'coster' songs were so justly admired), George Beauchamp, Charles Coborn, Eugene Stratton (the original 'whistling coon'), those clever 'musical grotesques' the Hulines, the daring trick bicyclists known as the Selbini troupe, that bright little singer and dancer Ada Reeve, and last, but not least, the affable 'Professor' Parker with his performing dogs.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark that the task of the music-hall performer is a far harder one than that of the actor. In a stage play the performer is helped not only by his author and his fellow-actors and actresses, but also by the appropriate scene provided. In a music-hall 'turn' the performer's sole support has often been the orchestra. There he or she stands, a lonely figure in the centre of the stage, singing something comic or pathetic, with a scenic background which is often a discord rather than a harmony. Who, for example, has not seen some Mr. Fortescue, the renowned bass, or Miss Montmorency, the great contralto, singing some such words as 'Thou'rt passing hence, my Brother' or 'Hark, from the deep and distant Dell I hear the Convent Matin Bell,' with a painted background representing Bushey Park or Piccadilly Circus?

Yet what wonderful things some of them have done in that discordant eminence! As I look back and compare the flourishing state of the 'halls' in those early years with the struggle they are so gallantly making for prosperity to-day I cannot but feel that one reason for any decline there may be in their popularity is the falling off in the number of artists who, in such difficult conditions, could yet move vast audiences to laughter and cheers. We all know what distinguished figures there were in the London theatres of the 'eighties and 'nineties. I venture to say that there were figures no less accomplished in their way in the music-halls. Who that saw him does not remember that wonderful little man Dan Leno, and the peals of laughter he evoked in his shop-walker song with no other aids than a pair of paint-brush moustaches, a long frock-coat, and the drollest dance in the world? Who that ever heard (and watched) that comic genius Arthur Roberts (still happily with us) singing 'I'm living with Mother now' does not still laugh over the memory of his extraordinary facial play, his realistic mimicry, and the drollery and originality of the whole impersonation? And Lottie Collins (with her amazing *entrain*), John Nash (with his infectious laugh), G. H. Chirgwin (with his one-stringed fiddle and his diamond-whited eye), Dutch Daly and his concertina, Herbert Campbell (with his largeness of person and humour), Marie Lloyd (with her abounding high spirits and wonderful grip on even the largest

audiences), Harriet Vernon and Lily Burnand (with their pleasant voices and personal comeliness), Cinquevalli (that master of the conjuror's art), the pretty Sisters Bilton, Charles Godfrey, Alec Hurley, Vesta Tilley, Gus Elen (another 'coster' comedian hardly inferior even to Albert Chevalier), R. G. Knowles (with his handsome face, tall figure, opera-hat, long frock-coat, white trousers and pleasant American way of speech), Harry Randall, Tom Costello, the Griffiths Brothers (with their amusing donkey impersonation), T. E. Dunville—and so many more ! We have plenty of accomplished and popular native artists to-day. Indeed, the general level is probably higher than it was when these uncrowned entertainers were in their prime. But in the music-hall, as in the theatre, one cannot help feeling that the raising of the level has been accompanied by a lowering of the peaks ; and, in spheres where personality inevitably plays so great a part, the feeling is irresistible that they may have lost as much as they have gained in the change.

There are, however, other and far more menacing causes for any apparent decline in the vogue of the variety theatre, and undoubtedly the most effective of these has been the sudden and enormous popularity of the cinema. One can hardly take a walk in any of our cities or towns to-day without having the tremendous intruder thrust upon us. On all sides one sees new and magnificent picture-houses rising to accommodate thousands of people in comparatively cheap seats amid glittering surroundings, and in which the principal entertainment is the easily grasped one of transcendent photography. Even when the films were 'silent' their charm was already powerful. They could present the spectator with 'effects' such as no theatre, much less any music-hall, could even remotely approach. For example, the sinking of the ship, which has always been such a problem to the theatrical producer of the opening scene of Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest*, became mere child's play to a picture-producer, who could show a raging sea stretching away for miles, with half a dozen ships sinking in it, and, if required, one or two in flames in the distance, with firemen flying towards them in aeroplanes !

Then came the 'talkie,' bringing with it the added charm of the human voice—or what passes for that organ ; though it must be admitted that much of the early 'talking' from the screen sounded more like barking than anything else, and was particularly grotesque when, as often happened, it came, or seemed to come, from the pretty lips of young and refined-looking girls. This, however, has been improved. In fact, the chief difficulty at present with the voices of the 'talkies' is the foreign accent and choice of words with which even supposedly English charac-

ters so often embellish the English tongue. To hear a British Earl inviting an officer in the Horse Guards to enter his room with such an exclamation as 'Sure! Come right in' can scarcely impress even the least sophisticated English spectator with the idea that he is in the neighbourhood of Whitehall. Here again, no doubt, we may hope for improvement when our English picture-producers get really into their stride.

Obviously, however, and in spite of all its crudities, such an undoubted attraction as the cinema must be a serious rival to every other form of popular entertainment. Neither a theatre nor a music-hall can open its doors at noon and provide its patrons with a programme that continues until 11 o'clock at night, with the further privilege (denied by law to the music-hall and the playhouse) of being open on Sunday evenings from 6 till 10.20 or later. Small wonder that 'variety' is feeling the draught! In a provincial city lately my landlady came to me one Monday morning and addressed me in the following words: 'Oh, can you get me a couple of free seats for your show to-night? I should so like to see it, but I spent all the money I can spare on amusement in going to the pictures yesterday!' And there is a wider economic side to this situation than I have yet hinted at. The general community have to pay in more ways than one for their interest in the pictures. Wherever a music-hall artist works he must also live. He must pay for his board, his lodging, and a hundred other things in the towns. Such profits, moreover, as he may draw to the theatre in which he is performing go to swell a local 'treasury' and a local banking account. In the case of the pictures, most of which at present come to us from abroad, local landladies and local tradespeople have no chance of earning anything. They are only called upon to spend money, most of which at present goes across the seas to enrich other nations. Five hundred foreign 'talkies' are said to come into Great Britain every year, and we are reported to be sending 8,000,000*l.* per annum of good British money abroad in consequence.

Such is the situation with which variety is confronted to-day, and in the face of which it is putting up its fight. Are we doing all that is possible? Can one make any suggestion? Perhaps one or two may be worth considering. In the first place, I think the whole idea of the variety programme to-day should be as British as possible. Our picture-producers are awake to this fact and are making a bold effort to stem the 'foreign invasion.' At Elstree and elsewhere native pictures have been made, on a reasonable financial basis, which have shown that they can hold their own against the best of the foreign importations. Let the management of our variety houses take heed of that movement.

No man, of course, wants to keep out any really brilliant foreign performer. I do, however, believe it to be the simple truth to-day, as it was forty years ago, that there are no better comedians, no sweeter singers, no prettier dancers, no more daring and accomplished acrobats and conjurors, than those of our own land; and if, in variety as elsewhere, we believe that British goods are still the best, why should we not act up to the faith that is in us?

Secondly—if I may say so—I think many of our variety artists make a mistake in not having their songs specially written and composed for them, and then buying them so that they become their own property and cannot be sung by anyone else without the owner's permission. An accepted policy to-day is for songs to be owned by some firm of publishers who give them out to any professional who cares to sing them. One result of this is that as soon as a good lyric with a good tune 'catches on' it gets into the nightly repertory of a number of vocalists of varied quality, some of whom may sing it very well, while others may render it a good deal less than justice; with the final result that nobody has much chance of winning distinction by it. All Dan Leno's principal songs were written for him and bought by him. Anybody in those days who wanted to hear 'The Shop-walker' could only hear it from one artist—and, of course, heard it superlatively done. Such men as Herbert Darnley and E. W. Rogers, who wrote many of Dan Leno's and Jennie Hill's songs, also wrote some of mine, and I always found the money paid for them a capital investment. Marie Lloyd, Herbert Campbell, Charles Godfrey and other 'stars' of the pre-war years possessed exclusive rights in nearly all their famous songs, with the result that they were able to keep a particularly effective one in their repertory for quite a long time. I wonder, for example, how many years G. H. Chirgwin sang 'The Blind Boy' nightly, to the delight of his admirers and maintenance of his popularity.

We possess at the present moment quite as clever native lyricists and composers for the variety theatre as those of bygone years, but I doubt if we are making the most of their abilities. A number of the lyrics sung nowadays come from abroad, and their 'music' comes with them. I do not claim to be a composer or a poet, but when I compare some of them with the words and music of such old-time native songs as 'Over the Garden Wall,' 'The Man who broke the Bank at Monte Carlo,' 'At T inity Church I met my Doom,' 'Up I came with my Little Lot,' 'He's got 'em On,' 'Hang up your Hat behind the Door,' 'Wait till the Clouds roll by,' 'Keep in the Middle of the Road,' 'A Bicycle built for Two,' and ever so many more, I could almost weep. On the

variety stage, as elsewhere, it is personality that tells, and I am convinced that a music-hall star's best means of impressing his personality on the public is by selecting his own repertory, putting all he has and knows into it, keeping it exclusively as his own, and giving the so-called 'free song' a rest. It cannot be profitable in the long run for the same songs, or the same sort of songs, to be heard all over the place at the same time from all sorts of singers. We do not want to turn 'variety' into 'uniformity.' Every programme should have its own individuality, just as every artist should have his or hers. Such was the old ideal, and I still believe it to be the best.

What is Wrong with Variety? I believe the final answer to that question lies: (i.) in the enormous difficulty the leading music-halls seem to have in getting what they call a 'top of the bill' (*i.e.*, the artist who has the power of drawing the public to see not only himself but the lesser attractions), and (ii.) in the way in which they try to surmount that difficulty. As I have suggested, our own artists are not encouraged to look out for the best available original material and make it their own exclusive property. As a result, they are kept more or less on one level, with the inevitable result of an impoverishment of our programmes. Then, in their distracted search for the 'colossal attraction,' managers suddenly engage some almost unknown foreign artist, black or white, and give him, on his first appearance on a British stage, all the publicity which, in the old days, it took even the most gifted of our native artists years to achieve. This policy strikes me as obviously unfair to the men and women of our own land, who have not only the ambition, but also the ability, to shine in the variety world. In these things I am a nationalist, not an internationalist. I am convinced that, with the managerial encouragement which is their due, our variety artists are capable of providing programmes every whit as attractive as those of the palmy days, but to do so they must have the managements warmly and firmly on their side.

The history of such old houses as the Metropolitan, in Edgware Road, is a proof that, given the sort of entertainment they like, the British public are as fond of variety as ever. Our music-halls to-day are certainly far more comfortable than they used to be. They are also probably a good deal more hygienic. In the old days there was an ever-present aroma of 'last night's smoke and beer,' which can scarcely have been healthy and which certainly was not pleasant. And, hard as their work is to-day, especially with 'two houses a night' (and in certain cases three a day), I doubt if any of our artists would care to change places with those of pre-war years who had to appear at two or three halls nightly,

rushing, say, from the Canterbury, in the Westminster Bridge Road, to the Holborn, and thence to the Pavilion, in Piccadilly Circus, in a cab or brougham, breathlessly effecting changes of costume and 'make-up' on the journey! For such work as ours one hall a night is certainly sufficient, particularly when it means two 'houses'—*i.e.*, two audiences; and when I have to give a couple of 'shows' in an evening I consider myself far better off waiting and getting ready for the second in a dressing-room than poor Dan Leno was when struggling with his 'make-up' in a cab.

There are Jeremiahs who prophesy doleful things for the music-hall, but, as Americans say, they make me tired. After more than forty years in it I see no real reason for being dismal about it. When I was a boy these doleful people's ancestors were talking of Wagner's music as dead and done with, while some of their relatives at the present moment are for ever holding inquests on Shakespeare. I wonder if any of these Jeremiahs have ever been to one of the annual 'command performances' in aid of the numerous and richly deserving music-hall charities and benevolent funds which the King and Queen graciously attend in person, and have seen how their Majesties and the audience in general enjoy the varied talents of the performers? Do they even realise the immense advance in public recognition of the genius and value of the variety stage which the presence of their Majesties on such occasions implies?

In those 'nineties of which I have written the merest idea of such an honour as the presence of a British Sovereign in a music-hall never occurred even to the most sanguine imagination. To-day the whole public opinion of the country recognises such visits as in complete accord with the fitness of things. Is that a sign of decline? Indeed, the fact that I, a variety comedian, am invited to write about the music-halls in these pages seems to me a striking proof of the interest taken in the 'halls.' As I have shown, the institution has its difficulties to contend with, both from within and without; but even in the popularity of the cinema I see nothing to be afraid of, so long as our artists are true to our great past and are given a fair chance. Our programmes have changed with the times. For example, the dramatic 'sketch,' the stage band, and the troupes of remarkably skilled dancing girls which are so popular to-day were virtually unknown to the music-hall of the early 'nineties. I welcome them all.

In conclusion, there are people who belittle variety as 'the Cinderella of the arts.' I beg they will continue to do so; for Cinderella herself is now as old as the music-halls, yet is not she still as young and as popular as ever? Her ugly sisters in the

fairy tale snubbed her and left her to wash up and mind the fire while they went to the ball; but was it not she who in the end cut them out, married the Fairy Prince, and lived happy ever after? Wherefore let them go on calling Variety by her name—and let Variety take heed that it is deserved!

GEORGE ROBEY.

THE FUTURE OF FISHING

AND SOME PASTS

If pessimism is natural to disillusioned old age, youth, which feels more deeply, sounds deeper depths of misery. Old age escapes, thank goodness, the utter despair of excitable youth when a good fish is lost, or when there is no fly and the trout will not rise. It is enough for old age to have risen his fish even if he does not hook it; it is a triumph to have hooked his fish even if he loses it. For old age does not feel that the capture is the main thing in fishing—in fact, has developed a sneaking dislike of killing anything. Not that an old fisherman is not human enough to enjoy success in a normal way. But if full success cannot be had, he is satisfied to be by a river, to see all that is to be seen, and hear all that is to be heard, to absorb all the beauty of the riverside, to enjoy the blessing of solitude in an over-populous world. Old age knows what hasty youth is quick to doubt—that sooner or later, upstream or down, in pool or in stream, a fish will rise, if fish are there.

If fish are there! That, alas, seems far from a certainty in this crowded island of ours, unless fishermen realise the dangers, and organise all possible powers—publicity, propaganda, appeal to those who are not fishermen but who love the amenities of the country, and finally the power of the vote, to prevent the pollution of our waters and the destruction of our fish. From the rich man who pays vast sums for his fishing, and who has nothing to show for it, to the small boy who spends his Saturday afternoons by the side of a pond with his eyes glued to a float which never bobs, we fishermen are in danger of losing what some of us find the best things in life. Surely the craft, the mystery, of the fisherman, no small part of the charm of the countryside, is worth fighting for? Surely, now that so many of us are fishermen—the number has been estimated at 200,000 and more 'coarse' fishermen alone—there is hope of saving our waters? But the dangers are very serious. The forces against us are many and powerful. They appeal to varied interests, they often act with the best intentions (as when they plead for the sacred cause of employment and the

country's industries); and perpetual vigilance is required, as the danger takes new forms almost from day to day.

One danger, that of indiscriminate poaching, is much less important—at any rate, in this island—than it used to be. At one time, of course, it was otherwise. Thomas Stoddart in his *Angler's Companion* (1847) tells of 300 spawning salmon slaughtered in one night not far from Melrose, on the Tweed, by a single boat, and he puts the number of spawning fish so taken by night-leistering in the Tweed in September 1846 at 4000 fish 'according to the most moderate calculation.' And poaching went on, though possibly not on such a vast scale, in all the rivers of the country, as long as food was scarce and rivers were inadequately protected. It was intensified when railways came, for then people poached for profit and not merely for food: the fish could be sent away by train and fetched good prices. But railways also enable anglers to go further afield; and owners of fishings, discovering their value as angling lettings, took steps to put down poaching, while the more active poachers got employment as watchers and gillies. Food became cheaper to obtain legitimately and it was no longer necessary to poach for a living.

It was long, as the history of the Wye shows, before another danger was overcome, the exercise by owners of their legal rights of netting in the fresh water. On the Wye good came out of this evil, for the proprietors of the lower waters netted so greedily, in order to secure the high profits from the sale of fish, that the river was almost depleted, the netting rights became valueless, and the Fisheries Association was able to buy them up. The result was that the river 'came back,' and more fish than ever before have been caught in the Wye—now one of the few bright spots in the history of British fisheries—by angling and by the legitimate netting in the estuary. Over-netting is a form of destruction due in great part to ignorance: in this case the proprietors of the lower waters could not see that, if they would not let sufficient salmon into the upper waters to spawn, there would be no stock of fish left. In Norway, now, the men of the fiords cannot see that by netting every 100 yards or so up 30 miles of estuary so many salmon are taken as they nose along the shore that soon these magnificent rivers will be deserts. In the old days ignorance also caused immense destruction of potential salmon, for it was believed that salmon parr were a separate variety of fish, and they were caught in great numbers. Even so late as 1841 Hofland advises a long rod to enable you to 'take ten or twelve dozen of this delicate fish in a few hours'; and Captain Medwin, the friend of Byron and Shelley, in his *Angler in Wales* (1834) recounts without blushing the proud capture of hundreds of these poor little fish in one day. No longer are salmon parr caught except

by mistake, even though an odd one may be taken occasionally for use in spinning. No longer is salmon roe, always spoken of by the old writers as a deadly bait, openly used by trout anglers; there is, thank goodness, much less netting in fresh waters. And another enemy, the weirs which obstructed the passage of salmon to the upper reaches of the rivers, have been largely cleared away or made easy for the fish, thanks to Frank Buckland and his successors.

But if the direct attack on the fish has died away, the far more serious danger remains, and is intensified—the attack on the water in which the fish dwell, by pollution, by diversion from its springs for human needs, by diversion of its current for use as power. Pollution has been a growing evil since modern fishing literature began. The Thames, formerly a famous salmon river, was the first to go; no salmon have been caught there for some hundred years, and, though the water is much purer than it was, all attempts to restock it have been in vain. The Trent is only a little better, as far as the salmon is concerned, and one could name many rivers in the industrial North which hold no fish at all: no less than thirty-three rivers in England and Wales are described in the last Report (1930) on River Pollution and Fisheries as 'grossly polluted.' Of course, in the manufacturing districts, industrial pollution has been going on for the best part of a century. But pollution from sewage has increased with the growth of population and modern sanitary arrangements. And each new industry creates a new danger to the rivers and the fish supply—the destruction of the fish in the Witham and other streams happened only yesterday—though, happily, modern science seems able to cope with the dangers of sugar beet effluents, with the results of artificial silk products, and, to some extent, if the right materials are used, with the effects of modern road-making. Unfortunately, while a certain amount of pollution will not seriously affect fish life if a river runs in sufficient volume to dilute it (as is shown in the case of the Rhine), the rivers of this small country, never big enough to stand much poison, are depleted to a growing extent by the subtraction of more and more water from the springs by the water companies which supply the growing needs of a population more and more anxious for domestic water. Even in living memory, for instance, the rivers round London have shrunk in volume as the reservoirs below the chalk are tapped. And as the flow of water diminishes, the effect of the pollution grows. The time is gone when the little Hertfordshire Ver could hold a seven-pound trout. The silver Chess, where Froude caught his three-pounders, and where lesser anglers have had many happy days, is, I am told, foul and small. The Wandle, not so long ago famous—the Wandle which Hofland

praised as a 'beautifully clear stream' which 'will not yield its fish to a bungler in the art'—is an eyesore. No, our streams will not stand—at any rate, in their depleted condition—the pollution of industrialism and modern road washings. And now there is a new danger which so far has threatened only Scottish fishermen—the diversion of water for electric power. Its possibilities are fully set out by Mr. Calderwood, late of the Scottish Fishery Board, in his book on *Salmon and Sea Trout*. Like pollution, this new terror threatens the fish in more than one way. It may be possible, as its advocates claim, to take the mature salmon up over the vast dams which are necessary to hold up the great head of water required, though this has to be proved. It is difficult, however, it would seem, to arrange to get the smolts down. And the raised level of the locks not only submerges the best spawning grounds, but it would leave bare and empty great stretches of the reservoirs, as the water is used for its destined purpose, killing the water weeds which nourish the food for the young fish.

Now, no good fisherman, however enthusiastic, would claim that great schemes of industrial development should be wasted, that new industries such as artificial silk production should be stifled, that new agricultural methods such as sugar beet cultivation should be prevented, in the interests of their craft. They would never be so foolish as to deny the necessary water for these purposes, or for the treatment of the waste and sewage of the urban, and of the rural, population. They would not oppose (though they might lament) the disfigurement of the Highlands by electric power schemes, if they were assured that the schemes were required for fresh business, and would not merely throw collieries out of work. But they would, and should, and do claim that pure water and clean rivers are not only a national asset that should not be wasted, but a national necessity. They assert that, with the help of what science has done, and can do, with good will and with good organisation, there need be no antagonism between those who develop the country's industries and those who cherish her amenities They maintain that there is no need nowadays for pollution, and that we, as a self-respecting nation, should never allow again such horrors as the Irwell in Manchester forty years ago,

> Dark and foul, dark and foul,
> By the smoky town in its murky cowl,

because there is no need for it, because these things can and must be prevented. Charles Kingsley, good fisherman that he was, was perhaps too enthusiastic about the 'wise new fishing laws' which were to bring the salmon back to Winchester and Salisbury. We have seen many salmon laws, and many committees and

commissions, since the Salmon Fisheries Act of 1861, which he praises in the *Water-Babies*, and we have not had as much good out of them as had been hoped. But we have learned much, all this time, in the way of science; we have learned to apply it in the matter of sewage treatment, and (if rather after the damage has been done in some cases) how to deal with the perils of sugar beet. Best of all, as the case of the Wye shows, we have learned to help ourselves intelligently, with the aid of such laws as we have managed to get passed.

Even if it is admitted that better laws are required, much may be done with the existing powers, and it is a sad thing that, even now, full use is not made of the powers which might be used. One thing experience has taught us, and that is that, in order to save a river, there must be an authority controlling its whole course, with all its tributaries, from the source to the mouth. The work of the Thames Conservancy (though it has not yet brought back the salmon) shows what can be done, by ceaseless vigilance, to keep a river clean. Both the Thames and the Lea Conservancy have special powers. But it is possible under the existing general law (the Local Government Act of 1888) to set up an authority, a rivers board, to control the whole length of any river, including its tributaries, so far as it is subject to the Rivers Pollution Prevention statutes. And one of the first acts of the Joint Advisory Committee on River Pollution, which was appointed by the late Government, was to draw attention to these powers, and to the small expense to the rates involved in the case of the few boards which had been set up under the Act.

In spite of this recommendation, in spite of the fact that the Ministry of Health has circularised more than once the local authorities, in spite of the good scientific work done by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries in the investigation of pollution and the ready help given by its officials and its laboratory wherever possible, pollution still continues, and is bound to increase unless public opinion is properly instructed and is organised to prevent it. Only the other day a noble coal-owner wrote to *The Times* urging the use of British tar, rather than foreign bitumen, on the roads in the interests of British collieries and British employment. Now tar is fatal to rivers, while bitumen can be innocuous; and if all the road authorities who have been laboriously converted to the use of bitumen (mainly by the efforts of the Ministry) reverted to tar, there would have been disaster. Happily, it was shown that the treatment of bitumen for roads led to the employment of many men who would be thrown out of work if the use of that material were discarded. But the mere suggestion shows what vigilance is needed, and how necessary is the widest publicity.

And publicity and propaganda among fishermen is not enough.

The active co-operation of the new movement to save the amenities of the country must be enlisted. It is not only fishermen who suffer from waters fouled, blackened, evil-smelling, choked with refuse and dusty cans ; it is all who love England, and who travel, or who would travel at home rather than abroad. Then the appeal can well be made, not only to societies of beauty-lovers, but to the hotel-keepers, to the municipalities who desire to attract tourists, and to the organisers of the 'Come to Britain Movement.' People are more particular about bad smells and drains than they used to be, and who knows but that an organised campaign of publicity *against* some health resort or cathedral town which had failed to clean its river might not result in such pressure by a modern-minded municipality, anxious to push its tourist traffic, that public opinion would insist on the right thing being done ?

Somehow or other it can and must be done, for it is not only the rich man with his exclusive salmon who asks for it. It is hardly necessary to say nowadays that, if the salmon is not allowed to run up the river and spawn, the whole vast industry of salmon netting, giving much employment and supplying great quantities of food, would be destroyed ; and the salmon caught by angling are but a small proportion of the whole. No, it is the thousands of ' coarse ' fishers, working men and others in the great towns, who suffer the loss of sport and fresh air which means so much to them. True they cannot plead that destruction of their fish would mean much to the food supply, for—at any rate, in most of England—there is little market for ' coarse ' fish. But they are just as devoted to their sport, their skill is just as excellent, as that of the salmon fishers, and their claim to have pure water just as insistent—even more so. For the salmon fisher can often afford, if Scotland fails him, to go to Norway, or British Columbia, or New Zealand, while a befouled Trent, a poisoned Witham, a ruined Irwell, means to many an honest angler the destruction of his only chance of escape from smoke and city.

Supposing that the fishing clubs exercise all their energies and get their local authorities to set up river boards, and see that those boards exercise all their powers ? Supposing that the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and kindred agencies make 'pure water ' the first object of their crusade ? Supposing that some of the millions which are spent on roads are devoted to providing great reservoirs, primarily to store rainwater which now goes to waste, but also to be stocked and afford fishing for towns and for villages all over the country ? Then the rising generation will not be doomed, as now seems likely, to do without what their fathers have enjoyed as boys and men—what is, in

all its forms, the best anodyne for tired brains, the art and craft of fishing.

For it is memories of all forms of fishing that age recalls, chewing the cud of sweet and bitter happenings, even if lack of holidays and pence has meant that now there is only time for a day or two with trout and very occasionally a rare salmon. There was that wonderful day when two small boys got among the perch in a Welsh lake, and the small arms were so tired that they could scarcely pull in the fierce, eager fish. There then was the bitter cold of that January day when, first allowed alone on a Cheshire mere, with strict injunctions not to use the punt, the schoolboy disobeyed orders, unmoored the rickety craft, and caught fourteen pike with the bottled dace and the precious rod—how heavy it was !—on which he had spent his Christmas presents. Then he recalls the agony of losing the big trout (he must have been all of a pound !) which, after days of indifference, at last took the worm, drifted under the swaying feelers of a blackberry bush, and which used those long branches with skill and agility to tangle the line and escape, after showing his broad side in his struggles. Perhaps this was an even more sickening moment than when the fisherman, now grown up and fishing a broad Irish river, saw, after a long struggle, the prawn drop from the mouth of the great salmon almost within reach of the gaff, and the white shadow sink slowly into the deep brown water. But, though the first keenness of youth was gone, only the vision of old Jerry the gillie stamping and swearing on the bank turned tears into laughter.

Laughter and tears, but much more cheerfulness than grief, for one can remember and enjoy, in retrospect, the bad days and the good : that is what fishing memories are. And those happy memories are what we want for our children and for other fishermen's children. Will they ever have them, as things are going now, unless we find new water for them, and purify the old ?

MAURICE HEADLAM.

TENNYSON'S UNPUBLISHED POEMS

I. Boyhood and Youth

I hope to be able to present to readers of *The Nineteenth Century*, during the next few months, a number of unpublished poems and fragments by Alfred Tennyson. It is peculiarly fitting that these should be made public in *The Nineteenth Century*, for the founder of the Review was, as is well known, a close friend of the poet, several of whose later poems made their first appearance in its columns.[1]

These poems are all from MSS. which were preserved by the poet and left by him to his son Hallam, Lord Tennyson, who included in his memoir of his father and in the notes which he added to the collected editions of Tennyson's works selections from the unpublished material. Before his death he presented to Trinity College, Cambridge, a number of the poet's MSS. on conditions which prevent any use being made of these for the purpose of publication. He retained, however, a considerable number of MSS., and by his will left me the power to publish any of these at my discretion, bearing in mind the poet's objection to *variorum* readings—' the chips of the workshop,' as he used to call them.

I have had some difficulty in deciding on what principle to select these for publication.

On the one hand, there is the fact that the poet did not think them suitable for publication during his life, nor his son after him.

On the other hand, Tennyson's extreme fastidiousness is well known. He would often reject a poem for technical blemishes which he could not satisfactorily overcome, although to the world these defects might be less important than the positive qualities of the whole. Then there were clear reasons, founded on his own hatred of personal publicity, why he should refrain from publishing early and immature work. He would be the last man to make capital of his own incredible precocity, as illustrated, for example, in *The Devil and the Lady*, which made so profound

[1] The first number of *The Nineteenth Century*, which was published in March 1877, contained as its first item a prefatory sonnet, specially written by the Poet for the occasion.—Ed., *Nineteenth Century and After*.

an impression on the critics when it was published for the first time at the beginning of 1930. But this precocity has a legitimate interest for lovers of literature, and the evidence of it a genuine historical value. Moreover, the poems of the adolescent and undergraduate years, in addition to their intrinsic charm, throw a very interesting light on the character and development of the young poet.

Finally, it has to be remembered that, although the poet never published these poems, he did not destroy them, which he would surely have done had he wished to remove all chance of their being given to the world.

On the whole, therefore, I have no hesitation in putting a liberal interpretation on the discretion given to me.

RHYMING HEROICS

My first quotation will be from what appears to be the earliest extant example of Tennyson's verse—a translation into rhyming heroics of the first ninety-three lines of Claudian's *Proserpine*, a Latin poem now almost forgotten.

The MS. of this fragment is in the same notebook as that of the earliest version of *The Devil and the Lady*, which it precedes, and the two poems are apparently the only two surviving examples of Tennyson's work before adolescence. The title-page of the notebook is inscribed 'Translation of Claudian's *Proserpine* by A. Tennyson,' and bears no reference to *The Devil and the Lady*, so that the Claudian translation is evidently the earlier poem of the two. Tennyson himself said that he wrote 'hundreds and hundreds of lines in the regular Popeian metre,' after reading Pope's *Iliad*, which was a favourite book of his when he was about eleven or twelve.

The first draft of *The Devil and the Lady* was written when he was fourteen (see the Preface to the edition published by Macmillan & Co. in February of last year), and this translation therefore belongs to a period between the eleventh and fourteenth years of the poet. The poem is of particular interest, as Tennyson's published work includes only one example of the rhyming heroic metre, the brief introduction and conclusion to the *Vision of Sin*. The *Proserpine* fragment is a close, and exceedingly skilful, imitation of the conventional eighteenth-century style, including the occasional use of the Alexandrine. The verse, though spirited and amusing, has no claim to originality, whereas in the *Vision of Sin*, lines which were first published in 1842, nearly twenty years later, Tennyson abandoned the antithetical eighteenth-century style altogether and gave the rhythm a markedly trochaic character, which differentiates it completely

from the conventional couplet. There is a poem at Trinity on Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow, which is written in the same metre and seems to represent an intermediate style. This was probably written when the poet was about sixteen. I subjoin the opening lines of the *Proserpine*. As a translation it is free and gives the general sense rather than the detailed meaning of the original, the young poet using 133 English lines to render 93 of Claudian's.

TRANSLATION OF CLAUDIAN'S 'PROSERPINE'[1]

The gloomy chariot of the God of Night
And the wan stars that sickened at the sight
And the dark nuptials of th' infernal King
With senses rapt in holy thought, I sing.
Away! Away! Profane ones! ye whose days
Are spent in endless sin and error's maze,
Seraphic transports through my bosom roll
All Phœbus fills my heart and fires my soul.
Lo! the shrines tremble and a heavenly light
Streams from their vaulted roofs serenely bright,
The God—the God, appears! the yawning ground
Moans at the view—the temples quake around
And high in air the Eleusinians raise
The sacred torch with undulating blaze.
Hiss the green snakes to sacred rapture giv'n
And meekly lift their scaly necks to heav'n,
With easy lapse they win their gentle way
And rear their rosy crests and listen to my lay.
See! see! where triform Hecate dimly stands
And mild Iacchus leads the tuneful bands,
Immortal glories round his temples shine,
And flow'ring ivy wreaths his brows entwine;
From Parthia's land he clasps beneath his chin
The speckled honours of the tiger's skin,
A vine clad thyrsus with celestial grace
Sustains his reeling feet and props his falling pace
Ye mighty Demons, whose tremendous sway
The shadowy tribes of airy Ghosts obey
To whose insatiate portion ever fall
All things that perish on this earthly ball,
Whom livid Styx with lurid torrent bounds
And fiery Phlegethon for aye surrounds
Dark, deep and whirling round his flaming caves
The braying vortex of his breathless waves,

[1] In printing the various poems I have adhered as far as possible to the spelling and punctuation of the original MSS.—C. B. L. T.

Eternal spirits ! to your bard explain
The dread Arcana of the Stygian reign,
How that stern Deity, Infernal Jove,
First felt the power, and own'd the force of love,
How Hell's fair Empress first was snatch'd away
From Earth's bright regions and the face of day,
How anxious Ceres wander'd far and near
Now torn by grief and tortur'd now by fear,
Whence laws to man are giv'n, and acorns yield
To the rich produce of the golden field.

The Genesis of 'Timbuctoo'

It is well known that when Tennyson was in his second year at Cambridge his father pressed him to enter for the Prize Poem (the 'Chancellor's Medal'). He consented, though much against his will. The subject of the composition was *Timbuctoo*, a choice which may seem rather ridiculous to us in these days. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, owing to the voyages of Mungo Park and Laing, and the romance which had gathered about the various efforts to discover the source of the Niger, Timbuctoo stood for something mysterious, sinister and beautiful. Tennyson, apparently unwilling to devote much thought or labour to the task, sent home for an early poem on the somewhat incongruous theme of *Armageddon*, which he adapted to the subject in hand. He won the prize, in spite of the fact that his poem was in blank verse instead of the rhyming couplet, which was still regarded as the only fitting metre for a prize poem, and in spite of an obscurity and lack of form which was no doubt partly due to the method of its composition. Incidentally, it is perhaps worth recalling that Tennyson prefixed the following motto to *Timbuctoo* :

Deep in that lion-haunted inland lies
A mystic city, goal of high Emprise.
CHAPMAN.

Swinburne is said to have searched Chapman's original poems and translations without finding this couplet, which he believed to be Tennyson's own.[3]

Armageddon is evidently very early work, seeming from the handwriting to have been written when the poet was not more than fifteen. *Timbuctoo* is printed in the Eversley Edition of *Tennyson's Works*,[4] and a comparison of the two poems shows that only a very small quantity of *Armageddon* was actually incorporated in it, though there is a similarity between the

[3] See Tennyson's *Suppressed Poems* (J. C. Thomson: Sands & Co., 1911).
[4] See p. 317 of *Poems and Ballads*, vol. i.

general framework of the poems. In each an angel comes down to the poet when standing on a mountain, but what the angel says and the poet sees necessarily differs in each.

Armageddon is Miltonic in subject and occasionally in style, another evidence of its early date; but, quite apart from its interest in connexion with the Prize Poem, I think it has enough imagination and original fire to make it worthy of preservation, especially having regard to the very early age at which it was evidently written.

The following quotations will give an idea of its quality. The first few lines are from the opening:

I stood upon the mountain which oerlooks
The valley of Megiddo.—Broad before me
Lay a huge plain wherein the wandering eye
Weary with gazing found no resting-place,
Unbroken by the ridge of mound or hill
Or far off cone of some aerial mount
Varying the horizon's sameness.
Eve came down
Upon the valleys and the sun was setting;
Never set sun with such portentous glare
Since he arose on that gay morn when Earth
First drunk the light of his prolific ray.
Strange figures thickly thronged his burning orb
Spirits of discord seemed to weave across
His fiery disk a web of bloody haze,
Through whose reticulations struggled forth
His ineffectual, intercepted beams
Curtaining in one dark terrific pall
Of dun-red light heaven's azure and earth's green.

Next I will give a part of the second and third sections of the poem, which contain passages afterwards used in the Prize Poem[5]:

The rustling of white wings—the bright descent
Of a young seraph! And he stood beside me
In the wide foldings of his argent Robes
There on the ridge, and look'd into my face
With his unutterable shining eyes
So that with hasty motion I did veil
My vision with both hands and saw before me
Such coloured spots as dance before the eyes
Of those that gaze upon the noonday sun.
'O Son of man, why stand you here alone
Upon the mountain, knowing not the things

[5] *Cf.* Eversley Edition, vol. i., pp. 319 and 320.

Which will be, and the gathering of the nations
Unto the mighty battle of the Lord ?
Thy sense is clogg'd with dull Mortality
Thy spirit fettered with the bond of clay.
Open thine eyes and see ! '
I look'd but not
Upon his face, for it was wonderful
With its exceeding brightness and the light
Of the great angel mind that look'd from out
The starry glowing of his restless eyes.
I felt my soul grow god-like, and my spirit
With supernatural excitation bound
Within me and my mental eye grow large
With such a vast circumference of thought
That, in my vanity, I seemed to stand
Upon the outward verge and bound alone
Of God's omniscience. Each failing sense
As with a momentary flash of light
Grew thrillingly distinct and keen. I saw
The smallest grain that dappled the dark Earth,
The indistinctest atom in deep air,
The Moon's white cities and the opal width
Of her small glowing Lakes, her silver heights
Unvisited with dew of vagrant cloud,
And the unsounded, undescended depth
Of her black hollows. Nay—the hum of men
Or other things talking in unknown tongues
And notes of busy life in distant worlds
Beat, like a far wave, on my anxious ear.
I wondered with deep wonder at myself :
My mind seem'd wing'd with knowledge and the strength
Of holy musings and immense Ideas
Even to Infinitude. All sense of Time
And Being and Place was swallowed up and lost
Within a victory of boundless thought.
I was a part of the Unchangeable,
A scintillation of Eternal Mind
Remix'd and burning with its Parent fire.
Yea ! in that hour I could have fallen down
Before my own strong soul and worshipp'd it.
Highly and holily the Angel look'd :
Immeasurable solicitude and Awe
And solemn Adoration and high Faith
Were trac'd on his imperishable front ;
Then with a mournful and ineffable smile
Which but to look on for a moment fill'd

My eyes with irresistible sweet tears,
In accents of majèstic melody
Like a swollen river's gushings in still night
Mingled with floating music, thus he spoke.

III

' O Everlasting God and thou not less
The Everlasting Man (since that great spirit
Which permeates and informs thine inward sense
Though limited in action, capable
Of the extreme of knowledge, whether join'd
Unto thee in conception or confin'd
From former wanderings in other shapes
I know not, deathless as it's God's own life
Burns on with inextinguishable strength)
O Lords of Earth and Tyrannies of Hell
And thrones of Heaven whose triple pride shall clash
In the annihilating anarchy
Of unimaginable war, a day
Of darkness riseth on ye, a thick day
Pall'd with dun wreaths of dusky fight, a day
Of many thunders and confusèd noise,
Of bloody grapplings in the interval
Of the opposèd Battle—a great day
Of wonderful revealings and vast sights
And inconceivable visions such as yet
Have never shone into the heart of Man—
THE DAY of the Lord God ! '

I will next give some poems of the early residence at Cambridge, whither Tennyson went in February 1828, in his nineteenth year.

The following lines are from a notebook, inscribed ' A Tennyson, Trin. Coll. Camb.' They were probably written in a mood of depression during the poet's first days at the University :

Playfellow winds and stars, my friends of old,
    (For sure your voice was friendly, your eyes bright
    With sympathy, what Time my spirit was cold
    And frozen at the fountain, my cheek white
As my own hope's quench'd ashes) as your memories
    More than yourselves you look, so overcast
    With steam of this dull Town your burning eyes :
Now surely e'en your memories wear more light
Than do your present selves. Ye sympathise
As ever with me, stars, from first to last.

The following fragment is evidently of early origin. It occurs in the same notebook as that last quoted. An earlier and less complete version exists in a notebook which contains some very early verses, apparently of about the date of *The Devil and the Lady* (written aged fourteen). The fragment is in three somewhat disconnected parts. The first is addressed to a brook—not, I think, the famous Somersby brook, though no doubt the description is in parts reminiscent of it, but to an imaginary stream. The second is addressed to the Moon, the last to Darkness.

FRAGMENT

O bosky brook which I have lov'd to trace
Thro' all thy green and winding ways,
Wandering in the pure light of youthful days
　　Along yon dusky windy hills,
Whose dark indent and wild variety
Curtails the Southern sky,
Following thro' many a windy grove of Pines,
White undergrowth of hemlock and hoar lines
Of sallows whitening to the fitful breeze,
　　The voiceful influx of thy tangled rills—
How happy were the fresh and dewy years
　　When by thy damp and rushy side
　　In the deep yellow Eventide
I wept sweet tears,
Watching the red hour of the dying sun,
And felt my mind dilate
With solemn uncontrollable pleasure, when
The sad curve of the hueless Moon
Sole in her state
Varied with steadfast shades the glimmering plain
And full of lovely light
Appeared the mountain tarn's unbroken sleep,
Which never felt the dewy sweep
Of oars but blackly lay
Beneath the sunny living noon
Most like an insulated part of night,
Tho' fair by night as day :
So deep, that when day's manhood wears his crown
Of hottest rays in Heaven's windy Hall,
To one who pryeth curiously down,
From underneath the unfathomable pall
　　And pressure of the upright wave
The abiding eyes of Space from forth the grave
　　Of that black Element,

Shine out like wonderful gleams
Of thrilling and mysterious beauty sent
From gay shapes sparkling through the gloom of dreams.

II

Well have I known thee, whatsoe'er thy phase
In every time and place,
Pale Priestess of grey Night,
Whether thy flood of mournful rays,
Parted by dewless point of Conic Hill,
Adown its richer side
Fell straying
Into the varied valley underneath ;
Or where within the eddying tide
Of some tumultuous mountain rill
Like some delusive charm
Thy mimic form,
Full opposite to thy reality,
Broken and flashing and playing
In tremulous darts of slender light
Beguiled the sight ;
Or on the screaming waste of desolate heath
In midnight full of sound ;
Or in close pastures soft as dewy sleep,
Or in the hollow deep
Of woods whose counterchang'd embroidery
Of light and darkness chequered the old moss
On the damp ground ;
Or whether thou becamest the bright boss
Of thine own halo's dusky shield,
Or when thou burnest beaconlike upon
The margin of the dun and dappled field
Of vagrant waves, or, higher risen, dost link
Thy reflex to the steadfast brink
With such a lustrous chord of solemn sheen
That the heart vibrates with desire to pace
The palpitating track of buoyant rays ;
Or when the loud sea gambols and the spray
Of its confliction shoots and spreads and falls
Blossoming round the everduring walls
Which build up the giant cape
Whose massed and wonder-stirring shape
And jutting head,
Citadel-crowned and tempest-buffeted,[6]

[6] The line 'Tempest-buffeted, citadel-crowned' occurs in the poem *Will*, published in 1855.

Runs far away,
(What time the White West glows with sickening ray)
And in the middle ocean meets the surging shock
And plumes with snowy sheen each gather'd crest,
The lighthouse glowing from the secret rock
The seabird piping on the wild salt waste.

III

I savour of the Egyptian and adore
Thee, venerable dark ! august obscure !
Sublimest Athor ! [7]
It is not that I doat upon
Thy glooms because the weary mind is fraught
With fond comparison
Of thy deep shadow to its inward strife,
But rather
That as thou wert the parent of all life
E'en so thou art the mother of all thought,
Which wells not freely from the mind's recess
When the sharp sunlight occupies the sense
With this fair world's exceeding comeliness,
The goodly show and varied excellence
Of lithe tall trees, the languor of sweet flowers
Into the universal herbage woven,
High hills and broad fair vallies river-cloven,
Part strown with lordly cities and with towers,
Part spotted with the gliding white of pregnant sails,
Add murmur, which the buxom gales
(As my glowing brows they fan)
Bear upward through the happy heights of air,
Chirp, bellow, bark and distant shout of man—
Not that the mind is edged,
Not that the spirit of thought is freshlier fledg'd
With stillness like the stillness of the tomb
And grossest gloom
As it were of the inner sepulchre.
Rare sound, spare light will best address
The soul for awful muse and solemn watchfulness.

The following fragment occurs in the same notebook as the preceding poem, *O Bosky Brook*. It, too, appears to belong to the Somersby-Cambridge transition period. The serpent simile at the close is of remarkable power. The MS. is very illegible, and I am uncertain about line 16.

[7] Apparently Hathor, an Egyptian deity originally regarded as Goddess of the Sky.

FRAGMENT

Ay me! those childish lispings roll
As thunder thro' my heart and soul,
Those fair eyes in my inmost frame
Are subtle shafts of pierceant flame.

Blessèd cursed Memory,
Shadow, spirit as thou may'st be,
Why hast thou become to me
A conscience dropping tears of fire
On the heart which vain desire
Vexeth all too bitterly?
When the wand of circumstance
All at once hath bid thee glance
From the body of the Past
Like a wandering ghost aghast,
Why wearest thou, mad Memory,
Lip and lip and hair and eye,
Life—life without life or breath,
Death forth issuing from Death?
May goes not before dark December,
Nor doth the year change suddenly—
Wherefore do I so remember
That Hope is born of Memory
Nightly in the house of dreams?
But when I wake, at once she seems
The faery changeling wan Despair
Who laughs all day and never speaks—
O dark of bright, O foul of fair,
A frightful child with shrivelled cheeks.

Why at break of cheerful day
Doth my spirit faint away
Like a wanderer in the night?
Why in visions of the night
Am I shaken with delight
Like a lark at dawn of day?
As a hungry serpent coiled
Round a palm tree in the wild,
When his bakèd jaws are bare
Burning in the burning air
And his corky tongue is black
With the raging famine crack,
If perchance afar he sees
Winding up among the trees
Lordly headed Buffaloes

Or but hears their distant lows,
With the fierce remembrance drunk
He crushes all the stalwart trunk
Round which his fainting folds are prest,
With delirium causing throes
Of anticipated zest.

The following fragment is from the same notebook inscribed 'A Tennyson. Trin: Coll: Cambridge.' An earlier version of the first few lines also exists. The fragment, which represents a youthful mood of depression, similar to that which produced the *Supposed Confessions of a Second Rate Sensitive Mind*, was evidently intended to be the first step in a moral and metaphysical argument.

PERIDI DIEM

I

And thou has lost a day! Oh mighty boast!
Dost thou miss one day only? I have lost
A life, perchance an immortality:
I never liv'd a day, but daily die,
    I have no real breath;
My being is a vacant worthlessness,
A carcase in the coffin of this flesh
    Pierc'd thro' with loathly worms of utter Death.
My soul is but th' eternal mystic lamp
Lighting that charnel damp,
Wounding with dreadful days that solid gloom
And shadowing forth th' unutterable tomb,
Making a 'darkness visible'
Of that which without thee we had not felt
As darkness, dark ourselves and loving night,
Night bats into the filtering crevices
Hook'd, clinging, darkness fed, at ease:
Night owls whose organs were not made for light
I must needs pore upon the mysteries
Of my own infinite nature and torment
My spirits with a fruitless discontent:
As in the malignant light
Of a dim, dripping, moonenfolding night
Young ravens fallen from their cherishing nest
On the elm summit, flutter in agony
With a continual cry
About its roots, and fluttering trail and spoil
Their new plumes on the misty soil,
But not the more for this

Shall the loved mother minister
Aerial food and to their wonted rest
Win them upon the topmost branch in air
With sleep-compelling down of her most glossy breast.
In chill discomfort still they cry:
What is the death of life if this be not to die?

II

You tell me that to me a Power is given,
An effluence of serenest fire from Heaven,
Pure, vapourless, and white,
As God himself in kind, a spirit-guiding light,
Fed from each self originating spring
Of most inviolate Godhead, issuing
From underneath the shuddering stairs which climb
The Throne,
Where each intense pulsation
And going on o' th' heart of God's great life,
Out of the sphere of Time,
As from an actual centre is heard to beat,
And, to the thrilling mass communicate,
Goes through and through with musical fire and through
The spiritual nerves and arteries
Of those first spirits, which round the incorruptible base
Bow, with furled pinions veiling their immortal eyes,
As not enduring, face to face
Eye combat with the unutterable gaze.
These are the highest few:
Thence to the lower broader circle runs
The sovran subtil impulse on and on,
Until all Heaven, an inconceivable cone
Of vision-shadowing vans and claspéd palms
Of circle below circle, file below
File, one life, one heart, one glow,
Even to the latest range which tramples on the highest suns,
With every infinite pulsation
Brightens and darkens; downward, downward still
The mighty pulses thrill
With wreathed light and sound
Thro' the rare webwork woven round
The highest spheres,
Prompting the audible growth of great harmonious years
Base of the cone
Last of the link
Each rolling sun and horned moon
All the awful and surpassing lights

Which we from every zone
Of the orbed Earth survey on Summer nights
(When nights are deepest and most clear)
Are in their station cold;
The latest energies of light they drink:
The latest fiat of Divine Art,
Our Planets, slumbering in their swiftness, hear
The last beat of the thunder of God's heart.

I will conclude this article with a whimsical little poem, obviously of the Cambridge period, which has, amongst other peculiarities, nine consecutive rhymes. It expresses quaintly, but sincerely, Tennyson's lifelong affection and admiration for Milton. It refers, of course, to the mulberry tree at Christ's College, reported to have been planted by the poet.

MILTON'S MULBERRY

Look what love the puddle-pated square-caps have for me!
I am Milton's Mulberry, Milton's Milton's Mulberry,
But they whip't and rusticated him who planted me
Milton's, Milton's Mulberry, Milton's Milton's Mulberry!
Old and hollow, somewhat crooked in the shoulders as you see,
Full of summer foliage yet but propped and padded curiously,
I would sooner have been planted by the hand that planted me
Than have grown in Paradise and dropped my fruit on Adam's knee!
Look what love the tiny witted Trenchers have for me.

I suspect that Tennyson intended 'him who planted me' and 'hand that planted me' to be scanned 'spondee, dactyl.'

C. B. L. TENNYSON.

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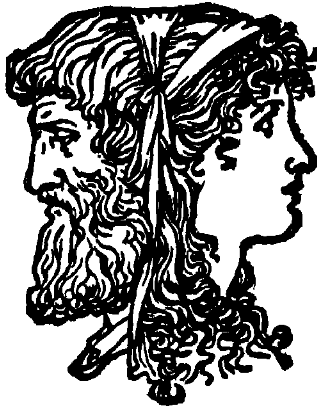
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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



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THE TROUBLES OF A MINORITY GOVERNMENT

Last November I ventured in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century and After* to prophesy that nothing would arise in the parliamentary arena of sufficient gravity to prevent the continued existence of the Labour Government for at least two more years. A number of critics, some of my own party, told me that, while they admired my optimism, they were rather sceptical of my prophetic gifts.

Since that date the normal course of parliamentary life has been rudely disturbed by several events, some of them quite unexpected, which appeared likely to upset any political calculations and bring the end of the Government well within sight. Those who had prophesied smooth things were referred to the realities and perplexities of the moment. On February 18 the Education Bill, embodying in its own clauses a defeat of the Government, was summarily rejected by the House of Lords. A fortnight later the Trade Disputes Bill fell on such evil days

in committee that, in Mr. Churchill's graphic language, its 'throat was cut.' Next came the formation of Sir Oswald Mosley's New Party, and the consequent withdrawal of some five members from the Parliamentary Labour Party was followed almost immediately by the sudden resignation of Sir Charles Trevelyan and the minor incident of Lord Arnold's surrender of his sinecure office.

Optimism in the face of this veritable congeries of disasters seemed to many observers utterly misplaced. I was reminded by a friend of an experience of my own in Brussels during the earliest days of the war. On the evening of August 19, 1914, I sat smoking on the terrace of the Hotel Astoria with my colleagues General Sir Alfred Keogh and Lord Somerleyton, while newsboys ran about in the street below selling copies of the *Soir* and calling out 'La situation militaire reste bonne.' Within half an hour our tranquillity was rudely broken by the arrival at headlong speed of a Belgian military cyclist with the news that a German *avant garde* of Uhlans was advancing on Brussels and only 7 kilometres away! Dismayed at the inglorious possibility of being made prisoners in the first fortnight of the war, we motored off just in time towards Boulogne.

The Belgian analogy, however, does not hold good in the political circumstances of to-day. The enemy forces have not broken through the Government's lines, nor is its security seriously weakened by a few affairs of outposts and half a dozen deserters. Our reverses during the last few weeks have been spectacular rather than serious. Hailed by opponents as fatal to the continuance of the Government beyond the session, they have in fact served to harden the feelings of resentment against those who have failed us, to deepen the personal loyalty to Mr. MacDonald, and to demonstrate more clearly than ever the real strength of the Labour Party.

It would, of course, be futile to assert that the determination of the Government to continue in office until they are able to complete as much as possible of their election programme will mean straightforward sailing in untroubled waters. But the Government is at any rate freed from any feeling of widespread hostility on the part of the general public. Sinister pictures are, it is true, drawn from time to time in the Press of public indignation directed against the Labour Party, rising in volume and expressing itself in clamant demands for a speedy dissolution. No such active drift of public sentiment exists to-day. It is obviously clear from recent bye-elections that a very large section of the electorate, sometimes approximating to 50 per cent., is at present too apathetic to express in the polling booth any political views whatever. No more interest is taken in an

Islington bye-election than in a London County Council contest at Marylebone. The wave of economic depression which has swept over the land has produced among the working classes a widespread feeling of political apathy unprecedented in the political history of the present century. The electors have to a considerable degree lost faith temporarily in the efficacy of Parliament, but they display no special resentment against the party in office. Labour voters abstain from the poll in thousands, but they are not transferring their allegiance to the Conservative Party. From time to time the supporters of Labour voice their disappointment that the Government 'doesn't do more for the unemployed.' But they have by this time come to realise that no Government could ever find work for more than a fraction of the vast army of unemployed men and women. The working classes are waiting with that patience which is characteristic of our poorer countrymen. There have been periods, as, *e.g.*, the years just preceding 1906, when national hostility and distrust, beginning with the famous Woolwich election of 1903, became so evident and widespread that at last the resignation of the Government became only a matter of weeks. No such popular demand exists to-day.

Can we specify any special and recent happenings which have seriously undermined the foundations of the Labour Government and diminished its prestige? No frontal attacks by the Conservative Party alone can be regarded as at all formidable. The Labour Party—and this is a fact sometimes overlooked both inside and outside Parliament—possesses, apart from any Liberal help, a normal majority of nearly thirty over Mr. Baldwin's supporters. The Conservatives can always deal hard blows at the minority Labour Government by securing the defeat of measures sent up to the Lords. In this way the rejection of the Education Bill has been already achieved—a deplorable and unworthy action in keeping with the worst traditions of our Second Chamber. The Land Utilisation Bill has been reprieved by a second reading for subsequent mutilation and ultimate destruction. The Conservative members of the Trade Disputes Bill Committee have joined hands with the Liberals in supporting an amendment which was held by the trade union leaders—rightly or wrongly—to render useless the further examination of the measure. These assaults upon the strength and prestige of the Government have occurred up to the present, and others of a similar type may be expected in the coming months. Hitherto they have signally failed to secure the defeat of a first-class measure on the floor of the House—though the carrying of the Scurr amendment made the Cabinet wince—and still less to contrive and use successfully the only weapon which will kill the Labour Government, a direct vote of censure.

While the menace of Conservative threats leaves the Labour Party unafraid, we are bound to face the question as to the influence of certain recent events on the attitude of the Liberal Party in the House. The good-will which had been steadily increasing in the relations between the two parties was suddenly disturbed by the success of the Liberal amendment to the Trade Disputes Bill. The defeat of the Government on this vital clause in the Bill spread consternation among the majority of the Liberal members, and raised angry resentment from the Labour ranks. It seems quite clear that no such catastrophe was premeditated on the part of the Liberals, and that someone had blundered pretty badly on one side or the other. '*The motives behind the Liberal amendment,*' *writes* the *Manchester Guardian,* 'are not clear, and, it must be admitted, nothing that was said in its favour in committee removes an impression that those who framed it had no clear idea themselves.' Bitter recriminations were exchanged in the lobbies, and it was even alleged that the general wording of the ill-starred amendment had been approved beforehand by a Cabinet Minister—himself a leading light in trade unionism.

The storm, however, speedily subsided ; for, if the truth must be told, a large number of Labour members, though wholeheartedly in sympathy with the aims and purposes of trade unionism, do at times grow restive over a tendency on the part of their trade union colleagues to monopolise attention and almost to claim to dictate to the Cabinet and the party the course of Labour policy and tactics. Nevertheless, the whole party heartily approves of the rumoured intention of the Government to introduce during the session a simple one-clause Act rescinding the ungenerous Act of 1927 and leaving our organised workers in the position they occupied under the earlier legislation of the 'seventies and 1913. We were informed at an earlier date that this proposal was irregular and impracticable, but a legal way out appears to have been discovered, and the Liberal Party can scarcely object to the restoration of legislation created by themselves.

To-day, indeed, the difference between the practical politics of that large section of the Liberals who refused to follow Sir John Simon and those of the average Labour member is a matter more of form than substance. While Liberalism refuses any public endorsement of Socialism as a creed, it is ready to consider any measure of State or municipal Socialism on its merits. Mr. Morrison's splendid scheme of a unified and publicly controlled traffic for London's vast area will doubtless be supported by three-quarters of the Liberal members. Indeed, by an interesting paradox, Liberals like Sir Herbert Samuel, Sir William Edge,

Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. Mander—to quote a few names only—provide at times an asset to the Government more reliable than that afforded by a section of its own malcontents, who are never weary of denouncing Liberals as the capitalist enemies of labour. Sir Herbert Samuel is an especial favourite with the Labour members, who admire his sincerity and his fighting qualities; and the Labour benches are generally well filled when he is speaking.

Much of the excitement which followed upon the Liberal amendment, and, indeed, the whole question of strikes on a large scale, is, as a matter of fact, felt to be somewhat unreal and fictitious. Every practical politician knows perfectly well that if, for any overwhelming and compelling cause, the working classes of this country were ever united in their determination to frustrate what they regarded as a flagrant and intolerable injustice on the part of the employing class over a large area, or some act of dangerous folly—such as an utterly unpopular war—on the part of the State, no such impediment as a Trade Disputes Act would prevent a general refusal to work.

But equally convinced are the trade union leaders of to-day—more especially the older and more experienced men—that the probability of any more or less general strike in our days is extremely remote. Economic and social facts are stronger than mere slogans. The late Mr. Frank Rose, M.P., an eccentric but shrewd representative of Scottish labour, used to stress the fact that the weekly contributions levied on the members of the trades unions were utterly inadequate for the maintenance of any general strike of a prolonged character. Even nine days of such action in 1926 inflicted so terrible a drain on the resources of the unions that recovery was a slow and painful process. Mr. Rose might have added another and perhaps more cogent reason against the probability of any general refusal to work. The ultimate success of such enterprises has been rendered almost impossible by the invention of the internal combustion engine. Any State which can lay its hands on tens of thousands of motor vehicles and controls the supplies of petrol can in a few days, under an Emergency Act, defy any attempts to coerce the population by a partial paralysis of the railways. Nor can such threats as cutting off electricity or flooding the mines retain their former terrors as long as the Government has at its command, apart altogether from civilian volunteers, a large supply of skilled ratings from the Royal Navy and sappers from the Army and motor mechanics from the Air Force.

It is obvious that the right to strike must be legally guaranteed and the partisan legislation of 1927 with respect to 'contracting in' overridden. Nevertheless, many thoughtful people in the Labour movement are gradually coming to the conclusion that

force and violence cannot for all time be regarded as the *ultima ratio* in disputes between employers and employed. In every direction the best elements in the civilised world are steadily holding out their hands to peace. Arbitration is the order of the day in all things international: why should the internal life of the nation still in economic disputes be regulated by periodic resorts to sheer force, and rule out even the possibility of industrial arbitration? The difficulties of securing an adequate mechanism for such peaceful settlement are formidable; and it may be that we shall not attain to new and better methods save through much tribulation. But no student of sociology can really doubt that, as in the outside world, so too in the industrial disputes of our fellow-countrymen, some means of peaceful settlement will ultimately be devised.

With Toryism powerless against them and three-quarters of the Liberal members prepared to render support to their measures, only one source of danger threatens the Labour Government. The Labour Party has its own Achilles heel. It has never possessed a sense of discipline in any degree comparable to what is found in the older parties. Labour leaders have made a virtue of necessity and emphasised from time to time our tolerance of minor differences and our dislike of anything savouring of official persecution. It may be, however, that this amiable attitude towards delinquents on the part of our leaders may, to some extent, have missed its mark. A natural desire to avoid any undue repression of enthusiasm even when unorthodox, more especially among younger politicians, or, on the other hand, a more practical unwillingness to make martyrs of foolish and obstinate malcontents—neither of these tendencies has, one must admit, been fully justified by results. The disloyalty in the ranks of Labour has increased to such an extent that in the voting on a vital clause in a first-class measure on March 4 some thirty M.P.'s apparently abstained from the division while twelve (counting twenty-four on a division) went into the Opposition lobby! Nevertheless, the Parliamentary Labour Party as far back as 1908 accepted a rule which is perfectly well known, and has never been rescinded, that members are permitted in cases of conscience or deep personal conviction to abstain from voting, but are in no circumstances allowed to record a vote against their own Government. When the history of the Labour movement is written some adequate notice will, I trust, record the amazing patience, self-control and tact which have characterised the Prime Minister, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Tom Kennedy in the face of flagrant and dangerous disloyalties.

But here again, as in the case of the Liberal dissentients, we now know where we stand. The peak point of direct action

against the Government on the part of its *soi-disant* supporters has now been reached. The membership of the 'Clyde group' is now practically fixed. Mr. Maxton will continue in season and out of season to denounce and at times oppose the Government, rising in his place like the melancholy spokesman of a Greek chorus, chanting the hopeless misery of the workers and the utter failure of the Labour Government to help them :

> *ὢ πόποι, ἀνάριθμα γὰρ*
> *φέρω πήματα*
> *νοσεῖ δ'ἐμοὶ πρόπας στόλος*
> *οὐδ 'ἔνι φροντίδος ἔγχος*
> *ᾧ τις ἀλέξεται.*

Now, therefore, that the fighting strength of the rebel group is known and can be discounted in advance, it is probable that during the remainder of this session and the other sessions that lie before us few if any occasions will arise when, at any rate on a major issue, the Maxton group will find any pretext for going over to the enemy in the lobbies. As regards the Electoral Reform Bill, now that the Government has leapt over the difficult hurdle of the Alternative Vote, the 'Clydesiders' could scarcely oppose the remaining clauses, full as they are of reasonable demands, definitely based on Labour policy.

The only active defection in its own ranks which would be fatal to the Labour Government would be any concerted hostility on the part of the trade union members. This would be serious indeed, and at one moment, when the Liberal amendments wrecked the prospects of the Trade Disputes Bill, feeling rose high among the trade union leaders, and some of them were even talking of an election in the spring. But with very few exceptions the loyalty of the trade unionists in the House of Commons is unquestioned ; they have been trained in a school of corporate action and discipline, of which the average Independent Labour Party member has had no experience, and loyalty to an accepted leader is a primary article of their political faith. The fine quality of their team work has been shown by the general condemnation of that persistent critic and opponent of the Government Mr. W. J. Brown. It would be affectation to deny that the Electoral Reform Bill is for some reason regarded with suspicion or even dislike by a large number of the trade union members. The obvious necessity for some such change in a definitely three (or more) party electorate has not, I think, been adequately appreciated. In some constituencies, too, where Conservatives at the next General Election will almost certainly continue at the bottom of the poll it is felt that the chances of the Labour candidate are seriously diminished. Yet when the party filed into the lobbies on March 16 one noticed among the

crowd of the Government's supporters a number of men who might quite well lose their seats in the immediate future because of the Alternative Vote. They nevertheless voted steadily for the policy of the Cabinet.

The resignations of Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Oswald Mosley, and Lord Arnold have scarcely ruffled the surface of Labour politics. The final statement of the Minister of Education, with its wholly unnecessary and ungenerous peroration, was listened to in chilly silence: the report of the Consultative Committee that the National Executive had expelled the member for Smethwick from the party was greeted with shouts of approval. The defection of minor individuals, Lady Cynthia Mosley and Messrs. Strachey and Forgan, was only irritating because it would probably involve some more bye-elections, with a corresponding drain on the party's exiguous resources, and the possibility of losing a seat or two to the Conservatives in such contests. Lord Arnold's resignation was chiefly notable for the slight air of mystery which surrounds it.

It is too early to predict with any assurance the future of the New Party. Its leader is liberally endowed with enthusiasm and self-confidence, an admirable speaker with those platform tricks of emphasis and gesture which attract a popular audience. But the events of his brief and varied career as a politician would seem to suggest that he lacks sound judgment of men and affairs and any real capacity for organisation. That the new party possesses, at any rate for the present, a great deal of money is obvious from the fact of its lurid advertisements, and the offer of a substantial salary plus expenses may well detach more than one agent from his political allegiance. Stories are told of large contributions, furnished rather with the object of ultimately smashing the Labour Party than from any marked sympathy for the quaint *mélange* of policies inscribed on the banners of the Mosley Party. Of one thing in this connexion we can be sure, that whatever the number of New Party candidates which eventually materialises, they will draw such support as accrues to them mainly from the ranks of the Conservatives. The ordinary working man will not readily cast his vote for a party which is financed almost entirely by wealthy men, whose zeal for democracy is, to say the least, decidedly suspect.

Even if the worst happens to the Labour candidates who are placed in the field to meet the Mosley nominees, and the Conservative Party is thereby enriched by five additional votes in the Commons, there is no cause for alarm as to the power of the Government to complete its programme of legislation and to choose its own time for an appeal to the electorate. Suppose, further, that the lead given by Sir John Simon, coupled with the

seductive invitation of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, succeeds in a final loss to the Liberal Parliamentary Party of eight members, the Government can still, from henceforward till the end of their period of office, depend on a working majority of, say, sixty. Apart from chance divisions on minor concerns, which may excite special animosity—*e.g.*, some incident like the Hunsdon appointment—there would, as has been said above, be little likelihood of any concerted voting against the Government on the part of the Maxton group. But even if malcontents in another fit of sheer perversity carried their round dozen of votes into the Opposition lobby on some first-class measure, the Government's majority need not sink for that particular division below thirty to forty. In this connexion it is well worth remembering that the Liberal Government of 1892 carried on for three years with a maximum majority of forty.

The continuance in office of the present Government until at least the autumn of 1932 is of vital importance alike to the party and the nation. By the normal working of the Parliament Act a number of admirable measures will have been placed on the Statute-book in November of next year. The rejected Education Act will have extended the school age, with a guarantee (thanks to the Scurr amendment) of some just treatment for the non-provided schools, which may possibly be dealt with in a shorter Bill sent up to the Lords before the present session ends. The cessation of the hateful sectarian dog-fight which has been with us for fifty years would be hailed with delight by all true lovers of education, and all those who stand for religious peace and tolerance. The extension of the Widows' Pensions Act, a measure almost unequalled in its splendid humanity, the Coal Mines Act, the Housing Act, the Consumers' Council, the Taxation of Land Values, and Mr. Morrison's fine scheme for the unification of London's confused traffic, the two agricultural Bills—these and other measures, coupled with much admirable administrative work, will, in the event of an election in 1932, form a really splendid record of parliamentary achievement. The Electoral Bill, though not over-popular with the rank and file, will be of immense gain to the Labour Party. Liberals, too, will gain ; while the animosity of the Conservative Party to the measure is based on the certainty of almost inevitable losses, more especially in the rural areas.

But, from a much broader point of view, thoughtful men and women may well desire that Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues should be in charge of the Government next year. The great Imperial question which for the moment overshadows all others is the future of India. It is no exaggeration to suggest that it would be morally indefensible on the part of the existing Government to relinquish the reins of office until the new Round

Table Conference has met, and, we hope and pray, secured an honourable and permanent solution of former differences. Can any impartial mind contemplate without misgiving the possible transference of the Indian negotiations at this stage to a Conservative Party whose leader's views find no certain support among the rank and file and are widely divergent from those of colleagues like Mr. Churchill ? There, too, on our line of immediate advance, stands Russia. The bitter animosities raised by Lord Brentford's grotesque raid in 1928 have happily died down, and our trade with Russia has now reached the highest point in recent years. Question time in the Commons, apart from set debates, will convince any listener that in general the Conservative Party is obsessed with a violent and sometimes quite irrational hatred of Russia and all things Russian. Are our international relations, and still more our British trade prospects, to be imperilled by a change of Government which may follow the lead set by Messrs. Churchill and Locker-Lampson, to go no further ?

And, finally, most impartial minds would hold that, whatever the possibilities of international disarmament may be, the Conference of 1932 might well be left in the hands of the Prime Minister and his two able colleagues, Messrs. Henderson and Alexander, who have won the praise of even their political opponents for their energetic and successful work during the visit to Rome. Whatever vicissitudes of success or failure a General Election in 1932 or 1933 may bring to our three parties is a matter of small concern in comparison to the great Imperial and international issues of the moment—and the greatest of these is India.

E. N. BENNETT.

RATIONALISATION AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRY

The following pages contain an appreciation of the industrial position with a postscript. The appreciation leads up to a policy for Great Britain if events proceed normally. The postscript refers to possibilities which may upset all normal forecasts.

THERE are few subjects which excite more interest and discussion at the present time than the course which industry is likely to take in the future and the conditions which will prevail if improvements in organisation and technique—in other words, Rationalisation—continue to be as rapid as they have been in recent years. Speculation on the subject is natural. The great paradox of to-day is the existence of poverty as a result of superabundance. A stupendous increase in productivity has been followed by acute depression and unemployment. Small wonder that people of all classes and conditions are asking what is the connexion between the two! It is worth while, therefore, to examine the question in its various aspects.

What has caused the recent slump? What course of development is industry likely to take in future? What will be the effect of increased rationalisation? Again, will it be possible to avoid or mitigate the severity of future slumps by preventive measures? If so, can they be applied by individual nations, or will their efficacy depend on concerted action? As regards Great Britain, is our existing pessimism justified? Lastly, in the light of such considerations, what will be the best line of industrial policy for Great Britain to pursue, and are there any factors, which are at present incalculable, which should be watched? These are the issues, but, of course, any discussion of them within the compass of a short article can only be in bare outline.

Rationalisation is a subject which lends itself to vague anticipations which can sound impressive in conversation and can carry off a speech which is otherwise thin and unconvincing. The House of Commons itself has been solemnly informed of late that the old trade cycle of prosperity and depression with which we are familiar may be known no more; that it has been banished

by the tremendous productivity of the present time. It has been warned that the displacement of labour caused by rationalisation may be cumulative and has been given to understand that the process of modernising industry may be too painful for society to bear.

Are we to take such statements seriously as a reasoned forecast of what may happen in the future? It is quite true that the modernisation of industry has caused a great displacement of labour. But that is not a new phenomenon. The industrial history of the world has been one of improvement in method, but the process has gone forward more quickly at some periods than at others. The last ten years, stimulated by the experiences of the war, have been years of very rapid development throughout the world. So much is clear from the statistics which are published by the League of Nations. These records also demonstrate how, during the years in question, and especially in the seven years from 1923–29, Europe, worn and dislocated by the war, made a remarkable recovery and overtook the development of the other regions of the world. England alone was a marked exception. The general advance in production and in prosperity was very rapid, and 1929 saw the culmination of a prolonged period of expansion.

The story of the reaction, following the colossal bout of speculation in America, is common knowledge. So, too, is the condition of hardship which now exists in many countries. Misery and abundance exist side by side. Wheat is a striking instance in point. The Canadian farmer is full of anxiety because he cannot sell it except at a figure which is far below even his low cost of production. On the other hand, the British artisan is out of work because the market for the products of his industry has shrunk. Each wants to buy what the other has to sell, but he cannot do so because the economic world is out of joint. There is nothing, however, to indicate that rationalisation played the chief, or even a very considerable, part in causing the dislocation Records do not show that in the flourishing years of 1927, 1928, and the first half of 1929, when rationalisation was proceeding rapidly, there was a surfeit of goods that could not be sold. Over-production was not the principal cause of the slump, but if over-production of any commodity played a part in it, it was that of wheat; and even the gigantic surplus of wheat was due more to a misplaced bounty of Providence than to misguided human ingenuity; to good weather in both hemispheres in two successive years, rather than to breeds of wheat and combine machines, although the latter no doubt contributed to the general glut.

So far as manufactured goods are concerned, each successive year during the period of expansion showed an increase over its predecessor and all previous totals were surpassed in 1928 and

1929. In the latter year the output of steel in the twelve principal producing countries reached a total of 114,000 tons and the consumption of copper, tin, aluminium, spelter, and other metals also exceeded previous records. The same was true of finished articles. In certain cases manufacturing capacity was not used to its fullest extent. But that did not connote lack of employment. So far as can be gathered from international statistics (which are notoriously inadequate), employment was good in industrial countries during those years—as good as in any of the piping times of pre-war prosperity. In some countries the unemployed were an almost negligible fraction. Only in Great Britain, and intermittently in Germany,[1] was the problem of unemployment serious. Yet rationalisation had been proceeding rapidly. The rate of progress differed in different countries, and among the great manufacturing nations it was slowest in England. Clearly rationalisation was not causing a successively increasing total of unemployment. On the contrary, until the collapse came in the autumn of 1929, consumption kept pace with the increased output of manufactured goods. Displacements of workers took place in large numbers, it is true, but, so far as indications show, they were fairly completely absorbed.

When the reaction came it was bound to be international in scope. The very excess of the previous speculation in the United States caused it to be very acute, and the size and special position of that country affected other nations and caused the depression to be greater than it would otherwise have been. The downward movement was further accelerated by the increasing shortage of gold. It is possible, and indeed probable, that the method of production in some of the rationalised industries contributed to the same end. Some modern plants effect great economies provided they are operated at full capacity, but costs increase rapidly when they are working short time. In a time of depression, therefore, the tendency is to continue to run at full load, longer than circumstances would otherwise warrant, in order to gain a larger share of the consumption which still exists. On the other hand, if output is restricted, whether by agreement between producers or not, costs increase and the price of the article is less easily reduced. The part played by rationalisation was, however, in any case of small importance among the causes which have gone to create the intensity and the intractability of the present slump.

[1] In Germany conditions have been peculiar. Lack of domestic capital, supplemented by intermittent influxes from outside; the impoverishment of families with fixed incomes through the fall of the mark; the disproportionately large number of women in the labour market; the maintenance of high domestic prices by kartels—all have joined with the very rapid process of rationalisation to make the course of industry irregular. Germany is thus a special case from which no general inferences can be drawn.

So much for the past. What is the most likely forecast of the future of industry? What development awaits it? What conditions will prevail? Mass production and other economies will, of course, be further developed. The picture of the future which presents itself to the pessimists is one in which the machine has become the master of man; economy of labour has proceeded so far that a handful of men can produce all the wheat the community needs, another handful all the boots and shoes, another all the cotton goods, and so on; and most of the people are standing at street corners unemployed. It is a picture suggested by the dislocations of to-day and the paradox of hunger caused by too much plenty. A very brief examination, however, reveals the fallacies of the conception.

Although improvements in production continue to be made, are there not potential markets which can absorb a large increase even of the existing classes of goods? In a Central African village quite recently a negro had obtained a pair of ordinary walking shoes in which he strutted proudly to and fro. This distinction in a shoeless village procured for him a respect rivalling that of the chief. Are there, then, no potential markets for ordinary commodities? Will not such great areas, when they are fully opened up, be able to absorb large quantities of them. Again, what is involved in this 'opening-up'? Obviously, railway development on a large scale. A publicist the other day lamented the fact that there was no future for the British iron and steel industry. He pointed out that the railway development of the United States and of the Argentine was nearly finished. It is true, of course, that we have to meet competitors who did not exist in early days. But who can say that the railway development of the world is even half accomplished? At the present time the railway mileage in Brazil is slightly less than that of Great Britain. The area of the country is thirty times as great, and it is a country in which the possible production is stupendous. After making due deduction for the value of the Amazon, as the greatest inland waterway in the world, the possibilities of railway development in Brazil must be immense. What is true of Brazil is true of Africa and of Asia.

For other goods, however, there is no need to look so far afield for the market. It is at our doors. The number of cars on the road in this country will very probably be doubled, trebled, or even quadrupled, within the next five years. A Morris car is listed at £100; other cars are announced or foreshadowed at £90 or less. There is one car for every four human beings—men, women, and children—in California. Why not one for every ten or twelve in England?

Considerations such as these proceed, like the apprehensions

they are adduced to meet, upon the assumption that the
of the goods which the world consumes will tend to be more
nore of the existing type, only mass-produced. All experi-
however, goes to prove the contrary. The habitual tendency
men and women to demand goods of a higher grade. The
not good enough ; they want something better. The new
car, for instance, costs nearly twice as much as the old.
s also true of dress goods. The trade in ready-made dresses
omen has developed further in America than in this country.
have there a wide range not only of sizes, but of shapes
styles. The materials are of increasingly good quality.
higher-grade articles, even if mass-produced, involve more
n labour.

ass production, however, cannot provide for all human
, even if the range be increased through the ingenuity of
n inventiveness. The desire for individuality is never likely
appear, or indeed to be sensibly diminished. The range of
ardised articles is always increasing—the standard itself
constantly raised; but over and above this the world will
nd individuality of expression and goods which standardised
ction, just because it is standardised, cannot supply. That
y, in so many industries, there are two distinct sections of
ade. These sections will remain distinct even though they
at a boundary line, and that line itself may shift. In the
ry trade the distinction is particularly obvious. Beautiful
rtistic china will always command a market. This is true
of cheaper earthenware which shows evidence of hand-
nanship. The recent exhibition of cotton goods in London,
examples of finely woven, beautifully printed materials,
that in the cotton trade the distinction is just as real. So
in the worsted and woollen trade and in most industries
are devoted to producing articles for immediate personal
r consumption.

would seem, therefore, that, even if the march of science
still, the limit of the possible demand for human labour
ot been reached or even descried. The advance of science,
er, far from being checked, has been the most outstanding
e of recent years. The motor car is only a creation of some
years since. The cinema, with the tens of thousands of
to whom it gives employment, the gramophone, the artifi-
lk industry, and wireless are newer still. These new inven-
like aviation, like the application of electricity to human
, are still in their infancy. Yet they employ millions of
1s. And what inventions are yet to come! If there is any
to be learned from the past, we are only on the threshold
ther conquest of Nature's secrets and of Nature's forces.

With new powers of production, new activities of mind and new needs will develop also.

The problem can also be viewed from another angle. Should we put a stop to the process of rationalisation if we could? That is in effect the issue raised by those who profess so great alarm as to the future. The question has only to be put in its crude form for its absurdity to be manifest. No doubt the primeval curse of Adam that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow was in fact a blessing. An idle world would be a very real purgatory. But it is absurd to suggest that mankind should not harness Nature to its purposes. By saving himself unnecessary toil man is set free for other activities which raise the standard of his well-being. Those who utter jeremiads to-day about mass production or automatic looms are the spiritual descendants of those to whom the power loom was an evil portent a hundred years ago. To such 'solemn prattlers' the evil began further back. On this hypothesis the earliest offender was the man who invented the wheel! He committed the unforgivable sin of dislocating the porterage trade of those ancient days. But in another and a truer view he was the benefactor who enriched the spaces of the earth with commerce and industry, which till then had been confined to seacoasts and to the shores of navigable rivers. Surely it is more reasonable to look forward to a state of affairs when new discoveries, new needs, new desires, will still create a demand which will be enough to keep the world at work for eight hours a day and five and a half days a week. But it should be also a world in which the production and the supply of goods will be so ample and universal that a new balance of considerations will arise. As mankind was told over two thousand years ago, the essence of happiness really consists of a proper 'energy' or activity of the mind, although for that activity to function the individual must be 'adequately furnished with material goods.' If a six-hour day suffices in the future for a sufficiently ample supply of goods, will not the additional hours of leisure be worth more than the extra supply resulting from a day of eight hours' work? Such speculations are not likely to become matters of practical consideration in the near future, but they are at least a likelier forecast of more remote possibilities than the pessimistic anticipations which are the small coin of conversation and speeches to-day.

The truth is that the apprehensions of the pessimists are based on an entirely wrong conception of the facts. This is natural in the circumstances of the present slump, but it is none the less mistaken. Productivity cannot be too great. What is wrong is the recurrent dislocation of the world's economy, which puts production and consumption out of step with one another. It

may be argued with some force that when such dislocations occur, the effects are intensified by modern developments in industry. If this is so, it makes the prevention of these crises all the more necessary, but it is no justification for a desire to retard the progress of improvements in production. One of the first duties of statesmanship to-day is to see that a concerted endeavour is made to reach agreement as to the causes of the present depression and the factors which have made it so acute. When this has been done it should not be impossible to devise methods for mitigating, even though they cannot wholly prevent, future occurrences of the same kind. At present the world goes blundering along. Attempts have been made to restrict either the free production or the free sale of almost every raw material. Wheat, sugar, rubber, copper, coffee are instances, but they do not exhaust the list. The whole history of such restrictions has been a record of failure. In nearly every case the results of the attempted remedies have been worse than the disease. Incidentally, they illustrate the fact that Government action may be as harmful as the most unrestricted private enterprise, especially when it takes the form of management of an industry and is not confined simply to its regulation. While, therefore, remedial or, still better, preventive measures may be necessary, they should be preceded by and based upon a careful and authoritative analysis of the facts and principles involved.

Something is already being done. Currency, and through currency the supply of gold, has a great effect on the expansion or contraction of trade and industry. The Gold Delegation at Geneva, and the work which it has done already, is a first step in the right direction. But there are other points that need investigation. During a period of trade expansion, especially in the later stages before the peak is reached, business is very active. There is a great demand for credit for financing industry itself, and also, it may be, for Stock Exchange dealings. The Bank rate is raised, and the rise serves *pro tanto* as a check. It ought not to be beyond the realms of possibility for such a check to be applied earlier and with more precision, so as to prevent expansion going so far that it entails a harmful reaction. If this were possible, the violence of trade fluctuations could be avoided. A policy of postponing public works in good times and of executing them during periods of depression could also be applied with some accuracy, instead of in the haphazard manner in which action is taken at present. The possibility of such action, however, presupposes a study which has not yet been made of the velocity of credit and the means by which its increase or decrease can be measured.

Considerations such as these are obvious. One is tempted to ask if they are being studied by the National Economic Council

and when the fruits of their study will be ripe for the garnering. Great *réclame* was demanded for the Council on its institution. The sceptic is tempted to liken it to the Ju Ju of some West African tribe—trotted forth for ceremonial purposes and on those occasions augustly dumb; of great usefulness, however, to the tribal chiefs, who can claim to have consulted it in private and to possess an authority for their own pronouncements which they would not otherwise possess.

Action by any one country, however, will obviously be ineffectual. Not even the British Empire, let alone Great Britain, is sufficiently self-contained. International action would clearly be necessary. What is more, despite stops and setbacks, international action, with conventions and regulations, will undoubtedy increase. This development may be resisted by people who dislike further encroachments on national sovereignty, but, however great one's sympathies with these feelings, such a development is absolutely inevitable. It was inevitable from the beginning of the new era, as far back as the steam locomotive and the telegraph. The world was then linked up; its great spaces were partitioned out. There is no longer a continent in which the reverberations of the jealousies of great nations can lose themselves and let the rest of the world remain undisturbed. The world has become a fine, tense network. A touch at any one point, and the whole quivers. This is true in the political sphere, and it is yet more true in the economic. No country can live to itself alone. Russia and China are partly outside the world system, and their very existence in such a position is a disturbing factor in the world's economy. In such circumstances the need for international co-operation will inevitably increase. One of its earliest activities should be an analysis of the recent trade depression, which will have the co-operation and the approval both of practical bankers and business men and economists.

The forecast of future developments contained in the foregoing paragraphs is general in character. It is worth considering whether any conclusions of value can be drawn from its application to the special circumstances of this country.

What is the reason for all the pessimism in England to-day? If rationalisation has not played such a sinister part hitherto, why all these gloomy prognostications of its effects in the future? The reason for our pessimism is to be found in our industrial experience of the last nine years. We are suffering, not only from the world slump, but from a hard core of unemployment which lasted for eight years before the world slump began—eight years of prosperity for other countries, but of depression for our

own. This is the sinister feature in the problem that faces this country. The United States has been as hard hit by the world slump as we have, but the memory of years of abounding prosperity is still fresh in the minds of American citizens. It breeds in them—and deservedly and legitimately so—confidence in the future and a belief in the ultimate return of prosperity. Moreover, as confidence is a vital factor in the problem, it is in itself a help to recovery.

In the case of Germany the circumstances are different, but the moral is similar. Post-war Germany is a poor country. She has no resources comparable to our great income from foreign investments. She is short of capital, poor and feeling the pinch dreadfully. That is why extreme parties at each end of the political scale gained adherents at the last election. That is why, with Russia as her near neighbour in the east, the political problem presented by Germany to-day is of the first magnitude. But, once there is a turn of the tide in world trade, the prospects of Germany are better than our own. During the years preceding the slump her share of the export trade of the world had been steadily increasing, while ours had been as steadily decreasing. Even during the slump the setback in Germany has been much less severe than in England. For the first time her export trade, despite the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, has surpassed our own. All indications go to show that Germany will get her full share of any recovery in world trade. All indications show that we shall not do so, unless we mend our ways. There is, therefore, very real reason for anxiety as to the future of British industry. For that very reason, however, this is not a time to take a gloomy joy in pessimism. No hypochondriac ever makes himself better by dwelling on his infirmities. It is easy to give instances of the displacement of workmen and workwomen by some new machine, and to say that there is as yet no proof that they have been fully absorbed elsewhere. It is tempting to argue loosely from this as to the baneful possibilities of rationalisation as a whole. But such speeches do no good. They lead nowhere. The great need of the country is for a positive policy based on a clear analysis of the situation. It is too much to hope for an agreement on the fiscal controversy. But the analysis should provide answers to certain other definite questions. Ought the country to press on with rationalisation ? What should be its policy as between maintaining staple industries and developing special trades ? What should be the British attitude towards international action ?

The answer to the first question is obvious. This country must rationalise with the rest of the world and keep abreast of all improvements. It is Hobson's choice. On this point Free

Traders and Tariff Reformers will be united, however much they may differ otherwise on trade policy. Both realise the necessity of our overseas trade and the fact that in recent years our competitors have taken a substantial portion of it from us. It will be suicidal not to adopt any improvements that may be possible in technique, or in the economic management of industry.

Secondly, it is clear that it is both possible and desirable for us to maintain our basic industries. We can no longer hold the first place in the world in iron and steel, but there is no reason why our iron and steel industry should not be great and prosperous, and indeed occupy the second place among nations. There is still a great market for iron and steel manufacturers in many lands, and not least within the British Empire. So, too, with other basic industries. It is equally true, however, that as the world grows more prosperous it will continually demand goods of increasingly fine quality and artistic finish and specialties. Great Britain holds the lead for high-class goods in many trades, and she ought to make every effort to maintain it. The record of this country for inventiveness is very high, and from the days of Philip de Comines till now observers have testified to the ingenuity of the English in industrial matters.

The third question concerns international action. There can be little objection to joint co-operation with other countries to prevent or to mitigate the extreme violence of industrial fluctuations. On this there will be general agreement. On the other hand, conventions which aim at fixing the standard of labour conditions present considerable difficulties, and on this question opinions differ widely. Industrial standards are generally higher in Great Britain than in other countries. It is sometimes assumed, therefore, that international conventions which aim at raising general standards must be advantageous to Great Britain, and it is not always realised that in some countries they are nullified through loose interpretations, the undue grant of dispensations, or a simple lack of enforcement. The truth is that such conventions as these are good when they are clear and can be enforced; they are bad when they are ambiguous and easily susceptible of evasion, for their ratification without adequate enforcement proves a positive bar to progress.

Under normal conditions international action in industrial matters will develop slowly. This development may, however, be accelerated by some special stimulus. It is possible that such a stimulus may come from Russia. The Five-Year Plan—or, rather, what the Five-Year Plan stands for—is just one of those matters which a wise man takes into account but upon which he suspends judgment. It is foolish to assume that it will be carried out completely or up to schedule time. It is equally foolish to

pooh-pooh it altogether. It is one of those clouds which appear on the horizon no bigger than a man's hand. Often they dissolve and disappear as they cross the sky; sometimes, however, they fill the heavens.

What is the essence of the Plan ? An article is selected which is of common use and can be made by mass production. The main requisites for its production are three: capital to build the factories and instal the latest machinery; a labour force, either willing or cowed into submission, which will work for a subsistence far below what is ordinarily received; and an imported staff of skilled engineers and managers to erect the factory and train and manage the labour force. Combined with these is the determination to disregard, if need be, the cost of production —absurdly low as it might be if the above conditions are realised —and to reduce the export price of the article (at the expense, of course, of the Russian people) to a figure which will ensure its sale in foreign markets. Theoretically, there is nothing to prevent Russia, in such circumstances, from flooding foreign markets with goods at a price with which no other nation could compete. The only limit is the degree to which the unfortunate citizens of Russia can be starved in order to subsidise such an export trade. Doubtless, the theory also contemplates as a consummation of the policy that, when foreign markets have been conquered, the remuneration of the suffering Russian proletariat shall be raised. The Plan may not materialise. But if it does, or if it is only partially realised, it may well create an entirely new situation in the world. An illustration of what might occur is provided by the recent shipments of Russian wheat. Russian wheat has been sold this season at Hull at 15*s.* 9*d.* per quarter—less than half the amount obtained for Canadian or Argentine wheat before Russian exports broke the price. These sales and the uncertainty as to shipments in the spring months have had a most demoralising effect on a market which was already weak. If manufactured goods are exported and dumped in a similar manner the effect may be utterly disorganising. Import duties of the ordinary kind would prove totally inadequate to deal with goods dumped at prices which may have no relation even to the abnormally low cost of their production.

To meet such a development international action is essential, although it may be difficult to arrange. Such dumping will obviously hurt the countries which normally export similar goods, but it will give an initial advantage to those that import them. There is thus an apparent clash of interest. This clash, however, is more apparent than real. In the long run, any great disorganisation hurts all industrial countries and threatens the general standard of living in them all. If this danger materialises

on a sufficient scale to make it really formidable, concerted international action is essential. Indeed, it is only through the absence of such international concert in the earlier stages that the Plan has any chance of success. One indispensable requisite for carrying it through is the supply of adequate capital from outside Russia. Such is the power of international rivalry that this capital is actually being supplied. Unable to estimate the chances of success of the Plan, uneasy at its possibilities, at its reaction on themselves as well as on other civilised nations, England, Germany, and the United States are yet providing the necessary capital. If, by their aid, they help the Plan to materialise and the problematical danger to become a real menace, it will be one of the sorriest bankruptcies of statesmanship on the record of history.

ARTHUR STEEL-MAITLAND.

MR. GANDHI

In the present article an attempt will be made to present in a purely objective form an account of Mr. Gandhi as a factor in Indian politics. Innumerable publications, from full-sized books to ephemeral newspaper articles, have dealt fully and continuously during the past few years with the less mundane aspects of Mr. Gandhi's character and with the deep influence which he exercises on the minds of men and women of all races by virtue of his spiritual qualities. His own autobiography and the studies of him published by, among others, his English friend Mr. F. C. Andrews, by M. Romain Rolland, and M. René Fülop-Miller are available for those who wish to study this aspect of Mr. Gandhi's life. Naturally, all this side of Mr. Gandhi's character is of the very greatest importance to a study of his activities and influence in Indian politics, and to it is very largely due the compelling hold which he has on the hearts of his countrymen. This, also, it is which enables him to take and keep the very centre of the political stage at times of crisis. Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi has many of the practical qualities which lead more mundane and ordinary politicians to success, and the present writer feels that a study of this particular side of his character, as exemplified in his political activities in India over the past ten years or so, will be of some value in helping students of Indian affairs to gain a fuller understanding of this outstanding figure in the recent history of India.

The events of Mr. Gandhi's life show that he has always had a very practical side to his character, and it is probable that very few of the leaders of politics anywhere excel him in the faculty to seize on the weak points of an opponent's position and correspondingly to exploit the stronger points of his own. His work on behalf of his countrymen in South Africa is a very striking example of this. What Mr. Gandhi, in effect, did was to direct world attention to the grievances against which he was fighting and to keep it concentrated there until the more onerous of them, at any rate, were removed. In a sentence, Mr. Gandhi realised that far and away the most effective weapon he could use was the weapon of publicity, and, as the course of events showed, he employed it

with considerable skill and resolution. Undoubtedly, it was this clear-sighted practical side of his character which caused him, on the outbreak of the Great War, to support the cause of Great Britain and to busy himself in various beneficial social activities. He saw, none more clearly, that the triumph of the ideas and principles on which Kaiserism was based could not but be disastrous for countries in the position of his own. Whatever grievances he might have had against the British administration in India, he had no grievance against the basic principles of the British Commonwealth of Nations as exemplified in the association between England and her self-governing Dominions, and the Declaration of August 1917 in which Mr. Montagu, speaking for His Majesty's Government, stated that the goal of the latter's policy in India was the advance by stages to responsible self-government foreshadowed the application ultimately of these great basic principles to India also. This is not to say that Mr. Gandhi was in any way enamoured of British government as such, or, even, indeed, that he regarded any modern Western form of government with anything but disfavour. An almost lifelong follower of Tolstoy, Mr. Gandhi believed, and still believes, that modern civilisation, which he identifies with mere materialism, is something alien from and inimical to the true nature of man, and that all the activities in which the circumstances of their lives force men to engage in any modern civilisation degrade them and stifle their noblest aspirations. In India Mr. Gandhi believed that the gradual strengthening and development of British rule, with its inevitable accompaniment of Western education and the inrush of Western ideas, had produced a slave mentality which was one of the most deplorable of all the results of subjection to foreign rule.

Nevertheless, until 1919 Mr. Gandhi made no important attempt to translate his ideas into political action. His characteristic doctrine of Satyagraha—that is, translated into a familiar English equivalent, passive resistance, or, as it is now called, civil disobedience—was developed in his mind before 1919, and it is possible that he might have attempted to apply it before that year had it not been for the influence of the late Mr. Gokhale, one of the noblest spirits in Indian history. Mr. Gokhale, with his firmer hold on reality, saw clearly enough the dire consequences to which a passive resistance or civil disobedience movement must lead in the existing circumstances, social, religious, and political, of India, and he persuaded Mr. Gandhi to promise not to launch any such movement until he had satisfied himself as to his ability to control it at all stages and keep it from degenerating into mere violence and anarchy. The event which caused Mr. Gandhi to launch his first passive resistance movement, that which developed

into the non-co-operation-*cum*-Khilafat movement of 1920, and out of which the existing alignment of political forces and creeds in India has developed, was the Rowlatt Bill. The latter was framed in accordance with certain suggestions made by a Committee, presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt, which had been formed at the end of the war to inquire into the steps necessary to be taken to guard against the apprehended activities of certain subversive forces and influences during the critical period of transition from war to peace conditions in India. The Bill proposed to arm the Executive with certain extraordinary powers. Bitterly and unanimously opposed by the elected members of the old Imperial Legislative Council, the provisions of the Bill were grotesquely distorted by public rumour until large sections of the population believed that the Government was arming itself with powers to interfere with their most sacred religious and domestic rights. The excitement engendered by these rumours was one expression of the general aftermath of the war, and it is well known now how this excitement blazed up in various parts of Bombay, and particularly in the Punjab, into widespread and formidable risings.

In certain incidents connected with the suppression of these risings, and particularly in the shooting at Amritsar, Mr. Gandhi saw at once the motive and justification for the starting of his long-deferred campaign of passive resistance against the Government of India and the Western materialism of which he regarded it as the embodiment. Into the details of the non-co-operation movement, which virtually began with this decision, there is no need to enter, since our object is to examine the broad scope and purpose, and the quality, so to speak, of the movement for which Mr. Gandhi had thus made himself responsible. Mr. Gandhi prepared for the non-co-operation movement by a carefully organised and well-sustained campaign in the Press and on the platform throughout the length and breadth of India, and one of the inevitable results of the war—namely, the imposition of terms of peace by the victorious Allies on defeated Turkey—gave him the opportunity, which he took quickly and skilfully, to realise one of his old ideals—the union of Hindus and Muhammadans in a national movement against foreign power. The publication of the draft Treaty of Sèvres in December 1919 produced a passionate outburst of Muhammadan feeling which spread from a small, advanced section of Muhammadan opinion of pan-Islamic and pro-Turkish views to the bulk of the Muhammadan community of India, both educated and uneducated. The Treaty was believed by the majority of Indian Muhammadans to portend the utter subversion of Islam by the Christian Powers, and even the well-known action of the

Indian Government in impressing the views of the Indian Muhammadans on His Majesty's Government did not allay the discontent. In November 1919, at the meeting of the Khilafat Conference in Delhi, Mr. Gandhi suggested that Hindus should demonstrate their solidarity of feeling with their Muhammadan brethren by joining the latter in a refusal to acquiesce any longer in the British rule of India unless the British Government restored to the Ottoman Empire its political and religious status. And here comes in one of the strange inconsistencies which so puzzle students of Mr. Gandhi's activities. For, only a month later, at the annual meeting of the All-India National Congress at Amritsar, Mr. Gandhi supported co-operation in the working of the new Constitution of India contained in the Government of India Act of 1919, that is, the Constitution more popularly known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Of course, this support was of very brief duration, and from the beginning of 1920 the non-co-operation movement got fairly under way. From time to time, during its progress, events occurred which caused Mr. Gandhi infinite distress and led him to make a public acknowledgment of error, but control of the movement quickly passed out of his hands, and he was compelled to remain a passive spectator of events which had formed no part of his original programme. Indeed, in this original non-co-operation movement are to be seen all the strength and weakness of Mr. Gandhi in politics, and, also, the limits of his influence with the leaders of sections of political opinion other than his own.

In different guise, owing to different circumstances, the results of the non-co-operation movement of 1920 and onwards have repeated themselves in Mr. Gandhi's later activities. The reason for this also may be sought in the movement we are discussing. It had nothing to set up against the existing system except the vague and unpractical idealism of Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of passive resistance. In other words, emotion took the place of a practical political and economic programme, and as emotion subsided, partly by reason of the removal of the circumstances which had given it birth, and partly by mere flux of time, the movement gradually slowed down and, in the end, came to a full stop. In none of the events of the years 1920 to 1923, when this first phase of the non-co-operation movement may be said to have ended, is the importance of this lack of a constructive programme more clearly shown than in the course of Hindu-Muhammadan relations. As the traditional sympathy of Great Britain with the Muhammadan world, and the improvement in the position and prospects of the Turks, became more and more apparent, the basis of the Hindu-Muhammadan *entente* melted away, and there was no constructive political policy with a states-

manlike solution of the problem of minority safeguards—which alone could have any chance of keeping the Muhammadans in the *entente*—to replace them. So, after a period of gradual disintegration, the Hindu-Muhammadan *entente* quite definitely broke down in the autumn of 1922 with Hindu-Muhammadan riots at Multan in the Western Punjab, which proved to be the precursor of some years of intercommunal strife, marked by such outstanding episodes as the great riots in Kohat, Calcutta, and Bombay.

It was not only with Muhammadans that Mr. Gandhi failed in these years, for all the various schools and sections of thought which are classed together under the generic title of Moderate—such sections, for example, as the Indian Liberals, the non-Brahmins of the South, Parsees, and others—refused to join in non-co-operation. There were very few of the leaders of these sections of thought who had not very great sympathy with Mr. Gandhi's ideals or the greatest reverence for him personally, but they were not prepared to face the danger of the catastrophic breakdown of law and order latent in the non-co-operation movement merely as an act of revulsion from the existing system of government and without a programme for a political system alternative to it. Moreover, it must be remembered that in February 1921 the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were inaugurated both at the Centre and in the Provinces, and, whatever may be said about them now, these Reforms did offer scope for constructive political work and an opportunity to gain practical experience which might serve as a safe basis for future advance. At any rate, the moderate sections of Indian opinion threw in their lot with the supporters of progress by way of a constitutional agitation, and not by way of non-co-operation. Here, again, there seems to be very little doubt that some, at any rate, of the more moderate leaders would have joined Mr. Gandhi and stayed with him had he had a clearly thought out practical programme of work to which they could give their adherence and which would satisfy the natural human instinct to be doing and making something.

But Mr. Gandhi's ideas were soon to be still more strongly combated, and by a man who, for a time, exercised an influence in the country possibly as great as that of Mr. Gandhi, namely, the late Mr. C. R. Das. Even with the National Congress hostile to them and taking no part in them, the new Legislatures set up by the 1919 Act became, within the first three years of their existence, the political centre of gravity of India, and to Mr. Gandhi's two chief lieutenants, namely, the late Mr. C. R. Das and the late Pundit Motilal Nehru, it had become clear that even opposition to the new Constitution would have to be carried on from inside

the new Legislatures, and they urged, therefore, that Congressmen should stand for election to these bodies if only for the purpose of obstructing from within their further functioning. Mr. Gandhi strenuously withstood this innovation, but, of course, the other two carried the majority of Congress against him, and Congressmen duly entered the various Legislatures at the General Elections of 1923. One is tempted to wonder what would have happened if Mr. C. R. Das had not died in 1925, for there is no doubt that he was one of the greatest constructive politicians, perhaps the greatest, which modern India has produced, and before his death he, at any rate, had got far beyond mere negative non-co-operation, and was, as far as we can see, prepared to embark on a far-seeing, constructive programme. In the last speech which he ever made—a speech delivered on May 2, 1925, at Faridpur in Bengal—when addressing the Bengal Provincial Congress Association, Mr. Das spoke as follows:

> . . . The Empire idea gives us a vivid sense of many advantages. Dominion Status to-day is in no sense servitude. . . . It is realised that under modern conditions no nation can live in isolation, and Dominion Status, whilst it affords complete protection to each constituent composing the great Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire, secures to each the rights to realise itself, develop itself and fulfil itself, and therefore it expresses and implies all the elements of Swaraj which I have mentioned. To me the idea is specially attractive because of its deep spiritual significance. . . .

After his defeat over the question of Congress entry into the Legislatures, Mr. Gandhi decided to leave politics to the leaders of the Congress minority and the other parties, and after presiding over the All-India National Congress at Belgaum in 1924 he ceased to take an active share in Indian politics for some years. At any time between 1924 and 1928 a student of Indian affairs would have been justified in saying that while Mr. Gandhi's personal reputation and the reverence in which he was held in India and elsewhere were growing all the time, he simply did not count as a factor in politics, although the same student would have admitted that Mr. Gandhi could probably return to the centre of the political stage at any time he chose, provided a suitable occasion were afforded him. Between 1924 and 1928 Indian politics were undergoing a cyclical change. Hindu-Muhammadan antagonism, based as much on the struggle for political power as on the old traditional and religious enmity, grew to be the dominating feature of Indian public life. Younger politicians, like Pundit Jawahirlal Nehru, son of the late Pundit Motilal Nehru, the famous leader of the Congress Party after the death of Mr. C. R. Das, and Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, together with other less well-known men, had risen to prominent places in

the political firmament, bringing with them more extreme views and calling into the political arena, through the so-called Youth Movement, great numbers of Indian youths, and chiefly educated youths. India's political temperature rose steadily during these years, and then at the end of 1927 came the announcement of the Statutory Commission, composed entirely of Englishmen, which at once alienated from co-operation with the Government some sections of Indian political opinion, particularly the Indian Liberal section, which had helped to work the Reforms from their inception, but now refused to participate in any way in the Commission's inquiry. Yet all this time Mr. Gandhi remained aloof from politics, contenting himself with observing them and commenting on them in his paper *Young India.*

The actual occasion of his return to active politics may be said to be the meeting of the All-India National Congress at Calcutta in December 1928. It is necessary to explain that in August 1928 was published a document known generally as the Nehru Report, from the name of its chief signatory, Pundit Motilal Nehru. This document had been drawn up by a committee composed of persons drawn from all those sections of Indian political opinion which refused to co-operate with the Statutory Commission. Briefly, it demanded full Dominion Status for India immediately, qualified by one or two temporary reservations, as, for example, in the matter of the Army and Defence. For some time past a struggle for the leadership of the National Congress had been going on between Pundit Motilal Nehru and a well-known Madrassi political leader, Mr. Srinivasa Ayengar. The latter declared that Dominion Status for India did not satisfy him, as he wanted complete independence, and he announced that he intended to oppose the acceptance of the Nehru Report by the National Congress. It was at this crisis that Mr. Gandhi was begged to return to politics to act as *deus ex machina*, at the Calcutta meeting of the National Congress. Mr. Gandhi complied with the request, and by his great personal influence managed to get a resolution accepted by the Congress which, in effect, left both the supporters of Dominion Status and the supporters of complete independence for India free to pursue their rival ideals within the Congress fold. But in the Congress resolution referred to was the condition that, unless the Constitution for India proposed in the Nehru Report were accepted by the British Parliament on or before December 31, 1930, the Congress would revive non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every other aid to the Government.

In such circumstances as these Mr. Gandhi returned again to politics. The year 1929 will always stand out as one of the most important in the history of British India, for it was at the end of October that Lord Irwin made his now famous announcement in

which he stated that the natural issue of India's political development was Dominion Status, and in which he invited Indian political leaders and the Indian Princes to attend a Round Table Conference in London to discuss the whole question of India's political future. Between the meeting of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta and the publication of Lord Irwin's announcement there had been a steadily growing drift towards extremism in language, in policy, and even in deeds, on the part of the Left Wing, and chiefly on the part of the Youth Movement, whilst on the other hand it had become quite clear that the leaders of the old co-operating sections who had been estranged by the all-British character of the Statutory Commission, and even some of the Right Wing Congressmen, had become definitely uneasy at the drift towards extremism and wanted some honourable way to return to co-operation with the Government. Lord Irwin, interpreting rightly these developments, secured the agreement of His Majesty's Government to his announcement which was published on October 31, 1929.

The publication brought Mr. Gandhi once more to a parting of the ways, at which he had to make a momentous decision. The effect of the announcement on Indian opinion was astonishing. With the exception of the Congress Party, political India welcomed the prospects of honourable co-operation held out, and clearly intended to accept Lord Irwin's invitation to the London Conference. Even in the Congress Party there was division of opinion. The Right Wing of Congress was obviously inclined to welcome the announcement, but the Left Wing, led by the younger Nehru, expressed dissatisfaction. From his actions during the important days between November 1 and the end of December 1929 it is a fair inference that Mr. Gandhi himself was undecided, at any rate at first, as to the attitude which he ought to adopt. There can be very little doubt that he had no desire to renew non-co-operation, for the calamitous results of his earlier movement must have always remained as poignant memories. A meeting of political leaders of the various sections including Congress, which had refused to co-operate with the Statutory Commission, was held at Delhi on November 1 and 2, and, in the end, all present, including Mr. Gandhi and the two Nehrus, signed a manifesto accepting the Viceroy's announcement, subject, however, to certain assumptions, the most important of which (and the only one which need be mentioned here) was that the Conference proposed in the announcement would meet to draw up a Constitution giving India full Dominion Status. When this manifesto was first issued it was described in certain quarters, both in this country and in India, as a victory for extremism. It was said that the Indian

Moderate leaders had surrendered to the Left Wing of Congress in demanding immediate Dominion Status and in asking for the release of political prisoners, which was another of the assumptions contained in the manifesto. The Moderate leaders, however, pointed out that the clauses in the manifesto objected to were assumptions or recommendations and not conditions precedent to their taking part in the Conference. They further pointed out that the Left Wing of Congress had themselves advanced a long way towards the Right by agreeing to a Dominion Status Constitution for India and thus tacitly dropping their demand for independence. However this may be, the interesting point about this meeting of leaders at Delhi is that, as the present writer was assured by one who took part in the deliberations, it was Mr. Gandhi who pressed the younger Nehru to sign the manifesto, which seems to show that he, at any rate, saw possibilities of making the announcement the basis for a new orientation of his political work and effort. Lively hopes were expressed that Mr. Gandhi himself would go to the Conference and take an active part in its work. As we now know, these hopes were doomed to disappointment, and on December 23, 1929, in an interview which he had with the Viceroy, together with Pundit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Gandhi announced that he would not attend the Conference except on the condition that it would meet to draw up a Constitution which would give India full Dominion Status forthwith.

Immediately after leaving the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi proceeded to Lahore for the annual meeting of the All-India National Congress. There is no need to traverse again the events of the 1929 session of the India Congress. All that we need notice here is that Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards the Round Table Conference and his expressed determination to have it boycotted by Congress met with the strongest opposition from many of the Nationalist leaders assembled in Lahore, including important leaders of the Congress Party itself. Much of the opposition, and certainly the most determined part of it, took place within the closed doors of the Subjects Committee of the National Congress, and so never attained any great publicity. But in the Subjects Committee Mr. Gandhi and his chief ally, the younger Nehru, had to fight desperately for their majority, and at the end of the Lahore session Mr. Gandhi and the two Nehrus were left practically isolated so far as first-class figures in the Indian political world were concerned. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to see Mr. Gandhi's reaction to this strenuous fight in the somewhat despondent message which he gave to the Press the day he left Lahore. In this message he said that conditions in India were not yet ripe for the inauguration of civil disobedience. Nevertheless, five or six weeks later he announced

that he intended to begin civil disobedience by breaking the Salt Law, and, as all the world knows, he inaugurated this programme in March last year. Now, between leaving Lahore and announcing his determination to start civil disobedience, Mr. Gandhi cannot have discerned any development in Indian politics favourable to civil disobedience, or, at any rate, to non-violent civil disobedience. None of the other political parties or leaders had declared in favour of civil disobedience, but, on the contrary, the Round Table Conference had undoubtedly strengthened its hold on Indian imagination. Of course, the civil disobedience movement had provided a rival ideal to the Conference, but, nevertheless, it was and is an ideal to which the vast majority of leading Indian politicians and the responsible sections of Indian opinion resolutely refused to adhere. The statesmanlike handling of the situation by Lord Irwin and his Government prevented the large swing of opinion against the Conference and in favour of civil disobedience which no doubt Mr. Gandhi, and certainly his chief lieutenants, had hoped for. Thus, at another great crisis in the history of India, Mr. Gandhi found himself acting in opposition to large and important sections of Indian opinion and in opposition to political leaders of different communities and schools of political thought whose nationalist ardour and patriotism cannot be questioned by anybody.

Since those days the tremendous episode of the Indian Round Table Conference—one of the great turning points, not only in the history of the British Empire, but of the whole world —has occurred. The whole world knows the results of the Conference, and it is not too much to say that informed and responsible opinion in Great Britain, in India, and in the rest of the world has welcomed and approved the settlement reached by the representatives of Great Britain and India. The subsequent course of events in India, particularly the strenuous advocacy of certain of the leading Indian delegates of the work of the Conference, is also well known. From the moment when Lord Reading and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made their historic speeches the adhesion of Indian opinion, including a large section of the National Congress, was a foregone conclusion. There are not many things that are clear at this moment in the riddle of Indian politics, but one of those things is that the Prime Minister's speech at the adjournment of the Round Table Conference and the agreement recently arrived at by Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi have given satisfaction to all those people who, in any part of the world, are looking for a permanent, equitable, and constructive solution of the problem of India's political future. Mr. Gandhi's conduct of his negotiations with Lord Irwin and the pact to which he agreed give rise to lively hopes that this time—

that is, in the vital work which lies before the statesmen of Great Britain and India from now onwards—he will be found in accord with and working side by side with the other leaders of Indian politics. For Mr. Gandhi himself the present is another turning-point. As we have seen, twice before, when he has had to choose between co-operation in constructive work and non-co-operation, he has chosen the latter. Whatever may be said for or against his previous choices, it is idle to deny that the Round Table Conference has permanently and fundamentally altered the whole character of the Indian political problem. The basic principles of the future government of India have been laid down in a manner and on a plan which commanded the satisfaction of India's representatives at the Conference. But a vast amount remains to be done by Indians themselves. The Conference drew the outline of a plan of government. Many of the details of the plan were omitted, and even parts of the outline—and important parts at that—were not drawn. Certain of the problems arising out of the existence of minority communities, for example, can be solved by none but Indians themselves, and altogether there is vast scope at the moment for the exercise by Indian leaders of the highest qualities of statesmanship and conciliation. Is Mr. Gandhi, with his immense influence, going to join in this work, or is he not?

One chapter in Indian history is closed—the long chapter which culminated in the Round Table Conference, with all that it has meant for India. Methods, ideas, and doctrines which were appropriate during this earlier chapter are now outworn—they have done their work and must be replaced by fresh ideas and fresh methods. Will Mr. Gandhi join with those of his countrymen—and among them are the noblest and most patriotic—who are going to develop these new ideas and use these new instruments? His agreement with Lord Irwin gives some ground for hope that he will. Some contribution to the answer of our question will be supplied by the forthcoming session of the All-India National Congress at Karachi. Clearly, the answer is of vital importance to India.

J. COATMAN.

THE NAVAL TREATY AND AFTER

CONSIDERABLE capital has been made of the economy that will accrue to the British Empire by the whittling down of the sea-going fleet brought about by the London Naval Treaty. The First Lord of the Admiralty stated last year that 4,000,000*l.* had been saved on the Estimates by the reductions made by the Labour Government in the building programmes for 1928 and 1929, five and twelve vessels respectively having been cancelled. Further retrenchment has been effected this year.[1]

The Treaty has brought about a capital ship building 'holiday' until the end of 1936, and the disposal, or scrapping in the near future, of certain of our older capital ships. Our cruisers have been reduced to fifty, a number incompatible with security in any future possible war. Unless we exercise the Safeguarding Clause, Part III., Article 21, our destroyer tonnage can also be regarded as insufficient.

Most serious of all is the resulting diminution in the personnel of the Navy, which is now 93,650. By March 31, 1932, it will have shrunk to 91,840. This is the lowest figure since 1895, and whether or not it is a matter for congratulation is open to grave doubt. Recent official figures gave the numbers of the personnel of the American and Japanese navies as 114,000 and 85,000 respectively—increases of 47,000 and 35,000 over the corresponding figures for 1914.

It is impossible to view this serious attenuation in ships and trained men with complacency. A detailed examination of the Treaty shows that, so far from the situation having been cleared and economy effected for all time, an agreement still remains to be reached between the five Powers on the important subject of the individual size and armament of capital ships. Moreover, we shall still have to embark upon considerable building programmes in the future if the British Fleet is not to fall below the levels set forth in the Washington and London Treaties. *Besides actual numbers, the age of the vessels comprising the seagoing fleet must also be taken into account.* 'Parity' in tonnage with the United States does not necessarily mean parity in actual strength.

[1] See Cmd. 3799. *Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty. Explanatory of the Navy Estimates*, 1931. (H.M.S.O., 3*d.* net.)

For the purpose of considering the effects of the Treaty upon British naval strength in the future, it is as well to deal separately with each class of vessel.

Capital Ships

The five Powers—with reservations on the part of France and Italy—agreed upon a capital ship 'holiday' during the years 1931 to 1936 inclusive, while the capital ship strength of Britain, the United States, and Japan will be reduced to the Washington Treaty (1922) figures of fifteen, fifteen, nine, respectively, by 1932 instead of in 1936, as foreshadowed at Washington.

In accordance with this ruling, Britain has already disposed of two of her older capital ships, while three more will be scrapped in the comparatively near future. The vessels affected are the battleships *Benbow*, *Emperor of India*, *Iron Duke*, and *Marlborough*, which would not normally have disappeared until 1934 under the existing age limits, and the *Tiger*, which would not have been scrapped until 1935. At the same time, the United States will scrap four older vessels and Japan one. Each of the three Powers is allowed to use one of the vessels earmarked for disposal as a training ship, provided she is rendered unfit for fighting service.

France and Italy, however, each reserved the right to construct 70,000 tons of accumulated capital ships tonnage that they were allowed by the Washington Treaty to lay down in 1927 and 1929, but did not, in fact, start to build. The effect of this reservation upon Britain will be dealt with later.

The capital ship 'holiday' means that no new vessel of this type can be laid down by the other three Powers before December 31, 1936. All that can be done before this date is to produce the design of a new type of vessel to replace the old, a process which ordinarily takes between a year and eighteen months. But no final design can be decided upon pending the result of the next Naval Conference in 1935, for the London Treaty left undefined the life, the displacement, and armament of any capital ship of the future. It merely proclaimed the 'holiday.' The Washington Treaty laid down the effective life as twenty years, while limiting the displacement to 35,000 tons, and the calibre of the guns to 16 inches. The twenty-year life is abrogated for the time by the 'holiday.' The limiting characteristics in size and gun power remain, except in so far as they are altered in the recent Franco-Italian agreement.

British naval opinion now favours a life of twenty-six years, a maximum tonnage limit of 25,000, and a maximum gun calibre of 12 inches. It is believed that at the Conference last spring the British delegates expressed a wish that these figures should be generally agreed to. The United States, however, desired to

retain the Washington limits, while Japan, though agreeing with the tonnage suggested by Britain, wished to retain the 14-inch gun. No agreement was reached. The matter was conveniently dropped.

In spite of the hope expressed by the present Government that battleships will in due course disappear, professional opinion in all the oceanic Powers favours their retention as the essential backbone of modern fleets. The naval advisers to any British Government, moreover, are unlikely ever to agree to an American suggestion that their number should be reduced below the Washington figure of fifteen. The British Fleet must be capable, if necessary, of being split into two portions for operations in different parts of the world. With a proportion of vessels always absent refitting, a smaller number than fifteen would be insufficient for our strategical needs.

The situation, then, is that we cannot finally decide upon the design of any capital ship of the future until after the next Naval Conference due to be held in 1935, at which, it is to be presumed, we shall continue to press for the general adoption of a smaller type of vessel more economical to build and to maintain than that allowed for at Washington.

The 35,000-ton *Nelson* and *Rodney*, armed with nine 16-inch guns, produced as a result of the Washington Treaty, cost about 7,500,000*l.* apiece. The British delegates who attended the Washington Conference have sometimes been blamed for agreeing to the construction of such huge vessels. It must be remembered, however, that in 1922, largely as a result of the war, naval minds were considering ships of about 48,000 tons armed with 18-inch guns.[1] It is now generally admitted that the *Nelson* and *Rodney* are too large and too costly for our needs, though it goes without saying that we could not afford appreciably to reduce size and gun armament unless other maritime Powers consented to do the same. France and Italy have already done so.

In any case, by the terms of the London Treaty, we cannot begin to *build* before 1937. Allowing four years for design and construction, this means that no new capital ship can be completed, at the earliest, before 1940, by which time three of the battleships of the *Queen Elizabeth* type will be twenty-five years old from the date of their completion. The fifteen capital ships that remain to us reach the age of twenty-six years, the limit now suggested by British naval experts, during the following years: *Queen Elizabeth, Warspite*, and *Barham*, in 1941; *Valiant, Malaya, Resolution, Revenge, Royal Oak, Royal Sovereign, Renown*, and *Repulse*, in 1942; *Ramillies*, in 1943; *Hood*, in 1946; *Nelson* and *Rodney*, in 1953.

During a life of twenty years a capital ship must undergo two

[1] The battle-cruiser *Hood*, laid down in 1916 and completed four years later, has a displacement of 41,200 tons. She carries eight 15-inch guns.

extensive refits. She cannot be made to last beyond twenty-six years without undergoing a third heavy refit which practically amounts to reconstruction, and is as expensive as the first and second combined. On the analogy of the old motor car, the retention of which after a certain period produces repair bills for more than the machine is worth, the keeping of a ship beyond a certain period is also uneconomic.

Had the 25,000-ton ship with 12-inch guns and a twenty-six-year life been agreed to at the London Conference, and no capital ship ' holiday ' been decided upon, it is understood to have been the intention of the Admiralty to have recommended the laying down of one new vessel a year, starting in 1931. This would have meant the gradual replacement of thirteen existing ships, up to and including the *Hood*, by 1946. By that time the *Hood* will be twenty-six years old. If this scheme had been carried through, the *Repulse, Renown*, and *Ramillies* would each have been one or two years over the age limit on relief in 1943, 1944, and 1945 respectively. This slight extension might have been accepted.

In present conditions, however, if we lay down only one new capital ship a year after 1936, and complete the first by 1940, the replacement of the thirteen ships already referred to cannot be completed until 1952. They would probably be relieved in the following order, which is that adopted in the Washington Treaty :

Completed.	Name.	Date Replaced.	Years Old from Date of Completion.
1915 . .	*Queen Elizabeth* .	1940	25
1915 . .	*Warspite* . .	1941	26
1915 . .	*Barham* . .	1942	27
1916 . .	*Malaya* . .	1943	27
1916 . .	*Royal Sovereign* .	1944	28
1916 . .	*Revenge* . .	1945	29
1916 . .	*Resolution* . .	1946	30
1916 . .	*Royal Oak* . .	1947	31
1916 . .	*Valiant* . .	1948	32
1916 . .	*Repulse* . .	1949	33
1916 . .	*Renown* . .	1950	34
1917 . .	*Ramillies* . .	1951	34
1920 . .	*Hood* . .	1952	32

Eleven of the ships in the foregoing list are twenty-seven years of age or more on relief, two, the *Renown* and *Ramillies*, being thirty-four years old from their date of completion. If we possessed ships of this age now, the old battleships of the *Majestic* class built in 1894–7 would still form part of our fighting fleet.

It is extremely unlikely that the abolition of capital ships will be agreed to at any future Naval Conference, either by the United States, Japan, or by the responsible naval advisers to any British Government. This being the case, one of two things must happen. Either we must scrap the older vessels without replacement when they can no longer perform useful service, or else we must lay down more than one capital ship a year starting in 1937. If we adopt the first alternative we shall not, for a period of ten years in the future, possess the fifteen vessels considered by responsible naval opinion to be necessary for our security. If, on the other hand, we decided to lay down more than one ship a year, we are still faced with the difficulty that no less than eleven of the existing vessels, completed in 1915 and 1916, reach the age of twenty-six years in 1941 and 1942, and all fall due for replacement in these two years.

If we laid down even two ships a year after 1936, we should still have six vessels over age on replacement, which would start in 1940. The table below shows how this would operate:

Names.	Date Replaced.	Age on Replacement.
Queen Elizabeth *Warspite*	1940	25
Barham *Malaya*	1941	26
Royal Sovereign *Revenge*	1942	26
Resolution *Royal Oak*	1943	27
Valiant *Repulse*	1944	28
Renown *Ramillies*	1945	29 28
Hood	1946	26

In short, if a strength of fifteen capital ships in a state of efficiency is to be maintained in the future, it cannot be done without laying down two vessels a year in and from 1937, and by giving some of the older vessels a third and very expensive long refit practically amounting to reconstruction.

Assuming, then, that the abolition of battleships is no more likely to be effected four years hence than it was last spring, the capital ship 'holiday' of the London Treaty, so far from being an economy for all time, has merely suspended the dates of replacement. In other words, instead of spreading out a programme of replacement construction over fifteen years, that is, from the laying down of the first keel in 1931 to the completion of the thirteenth ship in 1946, it has necessitated the building of the same number of vessels in nine years, that is, between 1937 and 1946, unless our naval security is to be seriously impaired.

Another point which gives food for serious thought is the fact that France and Italy, in accordance with the terms of their recent agreement, can each complete two capital ships before December 31, 1936. The displacement of these vessels is not to exceed 23,333 tons, while their guns must not be larger than 12-inch. France's new ships are required as a counter-measure to the German 'pocket battleship' *Ersatz Preussen* and her sisters. Though, perhaps, individually weaker, the French battle-cruisers will outlast ours by many years. They may also be faster.

CRUISERS

Subject to any possible increase in the total cruiser tonnage of the British Empire which may be considered desirable in the future under the terms of the Safeguarding Clause of the Three-Power portion of the London Naval Treaty (Part III., Article 21), we have limited ourselves to a total tonnage in cruisers of 339,000 tons, made up in fifty ships.

Fifty cruisers have been accepted by the Government as sufficient for our present needs, though naval opinion considers this number as inadequate. This total was calculated on a twenty-year age limit, and both at the London Naval Conference and in the previous conversations between Mr. Hoover and Mr. MacDonald in America, Britain put forward her claim to build fourteen new 6-inch-gun cruisers with a total tonnage of 90,720 in replacement of older vessels.

By the London Naval Treaty a twenty-year age limit for cruisers was not accepted for all classes, and in Annex I., section 1 (*a*), of the Five-Power portion of the Treaty the effective life of surface vessels exceeding 3000 but not exceeding 10,000 tons—which comprises cruisers of all classes—is set down

as being sixteen years from the date of completion for ships laid down before January 1, 1920, and twenty years for ships laid down after December 31, 1919. These new age limits were put in during the last week of the Conference because Japan was particularly anxious to spread the replacement of her cruisers over a number of years to keep her dockyards in operation.

The following table shows the present cruiser strength of the British Empire in vessels built, building, completing, and projected, together with the years in which the older vessels become due for scrapping under the ruling already quoted :

Class.	No. in Class.	Tons.	Armament.	Remarks.	Nos. in Class reaching Age Limit.						
					'31.	'32.	'33.	'34.	'35.	'36.	'37.
Norfolk .	2	10,000	8–8 in	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
York .	2	8,400	6–8 in.	*Exeter*, due for completion 1931.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
London .	4	10,000	8–8 in.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kent .	7	10,000	8–8 in.	Includes two of Royal Australian Navy.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawkins .	4	9,800 (approx.)	6 or 7 7·5 in.	—	—	—	—	1	1	2*	—
All the above carry guns larger than 6-inch											
Leander .	6†	Under 7,000	6 in.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1‡	About 5,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
'E' Class	2	7,550 (approx.)	7–6 in.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
'D' Class	8§	4,850	6–6 in.	—	—	—	—	3	2	—	1
Carlisle .	5	4,200	5–6 in.	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—
Ceres .	5	4,290	5–6 in.	—	—	—	3	2	—	—	—
Caledon .	3	4,180	5–6 in.	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Centaur .	2	4,120	4–6 in.	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Cambrian .	5	3,920	4–6 in.	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	—
Comus .	3	3,895	4–6 in.	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Adelaide .	1	5,100	9–6 in.	Royal Australian Navy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brisbane .	1	5,120	8–6 in.	,,	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	61				5	6	6	7	6	2	1

* *Frobisher* and *Effingham* are to be scrapped in 1936 though under age (Part III., Article 20 (*a*), of London Naval Treaty).

† *Leander*, laid down under 1929 programme; due for completion 1933 *Neptune*, *Orion*, *Achilles*, authorised under 1930 programme, but not yet laid down, may be completed by 1934. Two more of same type, authorised under 1931 programme, may be completed by 1935.

‡ Authorised under 1931 programme; may be completed by 1935.

§ Includes *Dunedin* and *Diomede* of New Zealand Division of R.N.

It will be seen that we have sixty-one cruisers built, building, completing, or projected. Of the heavier ships, two, the *Vindictive* and *Hawkins*, reach their sixteen years age limits in 1934

and 1935 respectively. The other two of the same class, the *Frobisher* and *Effingham*, were not completed until 1924 and 1925, so that their lives would not normally terminate until 1940 and 1941. Under the terms of the Three-Power portion of the Treaty (Part III., Article 20 (*a*)), however, these two vessels 'may be disposed of during 1936.'

It may be considered a waste of money to scrap still good vessels before they reach their age limits; and so it undoubtedly is. The reason, however, is that the United States considers the *Hawkins* class as the equivalent of the 8-inch-gun cruisers, of which we already possess our quota of fifteen. Were we to retain them, an equivalent increase might also be demanded by America and Japan. However, professional naval opinion in this country now favours cruisers of about 7000 tons armed with 6-inch guns, which are large enough and powerful enough for fleet or convoy duties, or for any other work that cruisers may have to perform, while a 5000-ton cruiser is to be built under this year's Estimates. The British view in this respect is that individual size and gun power should be kept as low as possible compatible with efficiency. If it were possible, naval experts would prefer to see the disappearance of the 8-inch-gun ships, which are definitely too large and too costly for our needs. Notwithstanding, we must possess a proportion of 8-inch-gun ships if other Powers have them.

Omitting the *Leander*, *Neptune*, *Orion*, *Achilles*, and the three new cruisers of the 1931 programme, which are included in the new fourteen units totalling 90,720 tons, all our smaller cruisers now in existence except seven terminate their sixteen-year lives before 1936. Five are due to disappear this year, six each in 1932, 1933 and 1934, and five in 1935. Including the four ships of the *Hawkins* type, a total of thirty-two cruisers thus reach their age limits between now and 1936, both years inclusive.

The *Exeter*, similar to the *York*, will join the Fleet this year, and the *Leander*, one of the new type of light cruisers of under 7000 tons armed with 6-inch guns, in 1933. Her sister ships, *Neptune*, *Orion*, and *Achilles*, of the 1930 programme, may commission for service in 1934, but are not yet laid down. The three new cruisers to be built under this year's Naval Estimates may be ready for service by 1935.

If no further building programme were authorised, and if vessels were scrapped at the end of their lives, we should possess a total of fifty-six cruisers within the age limit built, building, and projected by the end of 1931, fifty by 1932, forty-four by 1933, thirty-seven by 1934, thirty-one by 1935, and twenty-nine by 1936. The total for this latter year is thus twenty-one ships short of the Government's minimum of fifty. How, then, is the deficiency to be made up?

The answer is that it will have to be balanced partly by new construction, and partly by retaining a proportion of the older 6-inch-gun cruisers over their sixteen-year age limit. As regards new construction, by Article 20, par. (*a*), of the London Treaty we have pledged ourselves that the total replacement tonnage of cruisers we actually *complete* before December 31, 1936, shall not exceed 91,000. It is understood that this tonnage is intended to be made up by fourteen vessels, most of which will probably be of the *Leander* type, ships of about 6840 tons armed with 6-inch guns, with a few 5000-ton ships.

If this is the case, our cruiser fleet by the end of 1936 would then consist of the following:

Fifteen 8-inch-gun ships	146,800 tons
Fourteen new 6-inch-gun ships . . .	90,720 tons (approx.)
Seven existing 6-inch-gun ships less than sixteen years old—namely, two 'E' class, three 'D' class, one *Carlisle*, and one *Adelaide*	38,980 tons
Fourteen existing 6-inch-gun ships over sixteen years old—namely, five 'D' class, four *Carlisles*, and five *Ceres* . . .	62,500 tons
Fifty units of	339,000 tons (approx.)

The retention of fourteen vessels over sixteen years old is precisely the same in effect as if we had pressed for, and obtained, a twenty-year age limit for cruisers, which was the original British intention.

It is unlikely that more than fourteen of the older cruisers can be retained much after 1936, for the next vessels on the list are those of the *Caledon*, *Centaur*, and *Cambrian* types, which will be nineteen, twenty, and twenty-one years old in that year. These ships were all built during the war, and, having seen much service, are already approaching decrepitude. That they will be even tolerably efficient five years hence is unbelievable.

Seven of the new quota of 6-inch-gun ships are already laid down or projected. Seven more, therefore, remain to be completed by the end of 1936. Cruisers take approximately three years to build, and to complete seven vessels before the Treaty expires means that they must all be laid down before the end of 1933. This entails a further building programme of three or four cruisers in each of the years 1932 and 1933 if a total of fifty efficient vessels is to be attained by 1936.

And is the total of fifty cruisers adequate? One doubts it.

It is as well to remember the early days of the war, when one single raider, the *Emden*, sank or captured in two months some sixteen merchant vessels which, with their cargoes, were valued at 3,500,000*l.* sterling. A dozen or more cruisers were employed in hunting for her, but running down a single well-handled raider in the wide ocean spaces was as difficult as finding a needle in the proverbial truss of hay.

I may be told that a regular convoy system will be in force in any future war. Very well. So late as in September 1917, during the unrestricted submarine campaign, forty-one cruisers over and above those already built were required to complete the convoy system in the Atlantic alone. So, however much the Labour Government may pin their faith to pacts and treaties and to the general benevolence of mankind, the fact remains that a total of fifty cruisers *does not* guarantee our security. It is the sailors who know the conditions of maritime warfare. If their considered opinion as to what is needed is neglected, then they cannot be held responsible if disaster subsequently occurs.

Flotilla Leaders and Destroyers

At the time the Naval Treaty was signed we possessed 175 flotilla leaders and destroyers built and building of an aggregate tonnage of 191,261. In Annex I. to the Five-Power portion of the London Naval Treaty the lives of destroyers laid down before January 1, 1921, was fixed at twelve years from the date of their completion, and for those laid down after December 31, 1920, at sixteen years. Under this ruling ninety-six of the vessels existing at the time of the Treaty became obsolete in 1930, forty-one more became so in 1931, three in 1932, two in 1934, one in 1935, and three in 1936—a total of 146 ships.

Of flotilla leaders and destroyers that will *not* be over age by the end of 1936 we now have built, building, and projected forty-two units of about 57,750 tons.

Subject to any possible increase under the terms of the Safeguarding Clause of the Five-Power portion of the Treaty (Part III., Article 21), we have limited ourselves to a total destroyer tonnage of 150,000 tons by the end of 1936, the number of vessels remaining unspecified (Part III., Article 16). Subtracting from this last figure the present destroyer tonnage which will not be obsolete by the same date, namely, 57,750, leaves a deficiency of about 92,250 tons. Taking the average size of destroyers as 1375 tons, this means some sixty-seven vessels.

Destroyers take about two years to complete, so a building programme of about twenty-two destroyers a year should be embarked upon in each of the years 1932, 1933, and 1934. Only one flotilla leader and eight destroyers have been allowed for each

of the years 1930 and 1931. This number is definitely inadequate if the Treaty tonnage figure is to be reached by the last day of 1936 and obsolete ships are not to be retained.

Destroyers, it need hardly be said, are fragile, lightly built vessels. They age more rapidly than any other surface vessels-of-war. Many of our existing craft were built during the war and have seen hard service, and the advisability of retaining them in commission beyond, say, fifteen years is open to serious question.

Is the 150,000 tons of destroyers allowed us by the Treaty—109 vessels, each of 1375 tons—sufficient to guarantee our security in the unhappy event of war?

If the Safeguarding Clause of the Treaty [a] (Part III., Article 21) had ever to be evoked because of the large submarine programmes of other countries, it is understood that the naval advisers to the Government would recommend a destroyer tonnage of about 200,000 tons, comprised of about 160 units.

As the figure for submarines put forward by France (81,989 tons) is considered far too high, an increase in British destroyer tonnage may therefore have to be considered under Article 21 of the Treaty. The matter, however, has been deferred until after the Geneva Conference next year.

In this connexion I would refer for a moment to the German unrestricted submarine campaign which started on February 1, 1917, and was calculated by Germany to cause the Allies to sue for peace within five months. It nearly succeeded. The losses in merchant shipping were appalling. In that black month of April 1917 alone, the blackest month of the whole war, 430 British, Allied, and neutral merchantmen were sent to the bottom by submarines—an average of fourteen a day exclusive of fishing craft.

Anti-submarine measures of a strictly retaliatory nature did little to ease the situation. It was the convoy system, which started in May 1917, that saved the Allies from defeat. By the autumn of 1917 the submarine menace was more or less countered; but it was not until June 1918 that it was definitely defeated.

It is unnecessary to go into too much detail, but in November 1917, with the convoy system in force, we had some 407 flotilla leaders, modern and older destroyers, and patrol boats (which were really small destroyers) in operation in British waters and the Mediterranean. At a modest estimate, half of these were employed with the ocean and coastal convoys. We had the assistance of thirty-five American destroyers at Queenstown, and French and Japanese destroyers in the Mediterranean.

It is only fair to point out, however, that we can, if necessary,

[a] See p. 427 of this paper.

build anti-submarine and ocean escort vessels under the category of 'exempt vessels.'[1] These vessels, however, will take some time to build if they are not laid down until the outbreak of any future war.

While dealing with the subject of destroyers, I may perhaps be permitted to refer to the flotilla leaders of Great Britain, France, and Italy. They may conveniently be summarised in the form of a table.

FLOTILLA LEADERS

(Built, building, and projected)

British Empire.	Ten not over age limit. Ten over age limit.	1310–1520 tons. Designed speeds, 34–36½ knots. Mostly armed with four or five 4·7-inch guns.
France . .	Thirty not over age limit One over age limit.	2126–2569 tons. Designed speeds, 34–37 knots. Armed with five 5·1-inch or five 5-inch guns.
	These vessels are virtually light cruisers.	
Italy . .	Sixteen not over age limit. Four over age limit.	1382–2165 tons. Designed speeds, 34–38 knots. Mostly armed with four to eight 4·7-inch guns.

SUBMARINES

At the time the Treaty was signed we possessed sixty-six submarines built and building with a total tonnage of 63,324. By Annex I., section 1 (*c*), of the Treaty the life of submarines is fixed at thirteen years from the date of completion, while by Part III., Article 16, of the Three-Power portion of the Treaty we limit ourselves to a total tonnage of 52,700. Under the age limit fourteen of the then existing vessels were due for scrapping in 1931, thirteen in 1932, seven in 1933, and two each in 1934 and 1936—a total of thirty-eight.

Six submarines have been authorised since the signing of the Treaty, which means that we have at present built, building, and projected thirty-four such vessels which will not be obsolete by the end of 1936.

It is understood that we require about forty submarines of a total tonnage approximating to that allowed by the Treaty. The deficiency will, therefore, require to be met by new construction, as submarines age even more rapidly than destroyers. The question of future submarine building programmes for this country, however, do not assume the same importance as the

[1] See p. 427.

construction of an adequate number of cruisers and destroyers, which we need for security.

'Humanisation' of Submarine Warfare

At all the Naval Conferences which have taken place since the Great War the British delegates have pressed for the total abolition of submarines. Their motive, I am informed, was not the natural instinct of self-preservation, or the fear of a recurrence of an intensive submarine campaign against our merchant shipping similar to that which started on February 1, 1917, but because the abolition of submarines, and the abolition of the necessary vessels and means to combat them, would have effected a large financial saving in the naval expenditure of all countries. One can agree.

But if it is considered that counter-measures now available would render submarines ineffective in any future war—and by 'counter-measures' I infer the institution of a convoy system for all merchant shipping coupled with active measures of retaliation —then I would say that we are unduly optimistic. For reasons already explained,[4] it is considered that an intensive submarine war against our merchant shipping in the western approaches to the British Isles is still one of the gravest dangers by which we can be threatened.

The abolition of submarines, however, will never be agreed to by certain other Powers, who regard them as valuable weapons of defence. But to restrict what one may call their 'frightfulness' the jurists and experts at the London Naval Conference, as they had previously done at Washington eight years before, were set to work to frame rules for the 'humanisation' of submarine warfare. As a result of their deliberations the following rules were laid down, which will be found in Part IV. of the Naval Treaty:

(1) In their action with regard to merchant ships, submarines must conform to the rules of international law to which surface vessels are subject.

(2) In particular, except in the case of persistent refusal to stop on being duly summoned, or of active resistance to visit or search, a warship, whether surface vessel or submarine, may not sink or render incapable of navigation a merchant vessel without having first placed passengers, crew and ships' papers in a place of safety. For this purpose the ships' boats are not regarded as a place of safety unless the safety of the passengers and crew is assured, in the existing sea and weather conditions, by the proximity of land, or the presence of another vessel which is in a position to take them on board.

These rules for the conduct of submarine warfare are capable of very wide interpretation, and may be compared to

[4] See p. 424.

the rules of international law already in existence forbidding, for instance, the use of lethal gas, and the dropping of incendiary or explosive bombs upon unfortified towns. They limit, very largely, the potency of the submarines as weapons. They render these already vulnerable vessels more vulnerable still. Whether or not these new ordinances for their conduct will be more honoured in the breach than in the observance by a nation fighting for its existence, time alone can show.

Exempt Vessels

Part II., Article 8, of the Treaty, which deals with vessels exempt from limitation, is worthy of close attention. Naval surface combatant vessels are exempt if of 600 tons standard displacement or under, while the same ruling applies to naval surface combatant vessels between 600 and 2000 tons provided they (*a*) do not mount any gun larger than a 6·1-inch; (*b*) do not mount more than four guns larger than a 3-inch; (*c*) are not designed to fire torpedoes; (*d*) are not designed for a speed greater than 20 knots.

It will be seen that small destroyers or torpedo-boats of 600 tons or less, and of any speed and armament, may be built without restriction. Vessels of this type would be too small to work with the fleet. On the other hand, they could most usefully be employed for anti-submarine duties in coastal waters.

Under the other ruling it is also possible to build any number of vessels of between 600 and 2000 tons with a speed of 20 knots and armed with four 4·7- or 6-inch guns. Such vessels must not carry torpedoes. They may, however, carry anti-submarine appliances, and, like the sloops during the war, could be turned out in large numbers in any emergency, and perform most useful service as escorts to convoys of merchantmen.

So far as is known, it is not the present intention of the naval advisers to the Government to recommend the construction of either class of vessel. The fact that they can be built without infringing the Treaty, however, is important, as it is thus possible to produce escort and anti-submarine forces in the future without utilising the Safeguarding Clause.

The Safeguarding Clause

This clause, Article 21, Part III., of the Three-Power portion of the Treaty, is worded as follows:

> If, during the term of the present Treaty, the requirements of the national security of any High Contracting Party in respect of vessels of war limited by Part III. of the present Treaty [that is, cruisers, destroyers and submarines] are in the opinion of that Party materially affected by

new construction of any Power other than those who have joined in Part III. of this Treaty, [that is, the British Empire, the United States, and Japan] that High Contracting Party will notify the other Parties to Part III. as to the increase to be made in its tonnages within one or more of the categories of such vessels-of-war, specifying particularly the proposed increases and the reasons therefor, and shall be entitled to make such increase. Thereupon the other Parties to Part III. of the Treaty shall be entitled to make a proportionate increase in the category or categories specified. . .

This, though it may never be used, is the most important clause of the whole of the agreements arrived at at the London Naval Conference. Had it not been included, it is understood that neither the representatives of certain of the Dominions, nor the professional advisers to the Government, would have subscribed to or agreed with an undertaking which, in their opinion, would have seriously imperilled the security of the British Empire.

SUMMARY

The strategic function for which the British Navy exists has not been touched upon ; but both the Washington and London Naval Treaties establish the principle of PARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES IN ALL CLASSES OF VESSELS-OF-WAR. This may be expedient at the present time from the point of view of international politics. The fact remains, however, that parity with a nation with whom war is ' unthinkable ' does not necessarily mean that the strength and composition of our present Fleet is really governed by our strategic needs.

The London Naval Treaty, moreover, so far from being a matter for congratulation, has, from the naval point of view :

(i.) Cut down our Fleet and our personnel, and has encouraged increased building programmes, and increased naval personnel, in other countries.

(ii.) Left unsolved the vital question of the replacement of our present capital ships, and the individual size and gun power of such vessels in the future, the 35,000-ton 16-inch-gun limits of the Washington Treaty producing vessels admittedly too large and too costly for our needs.

(iii.) Diminished the number of our cruisers to fifty, a number which is definitely insufficient for the security of the British Empire.

(iv.) Provided us with a number of destroyers insufficient for security at the outbreak of any war with a first-class maritime Power.

TAPRELL DORLING.
(' *Taffrail*.')

SPAIN: DICTATORSHIP OR PARLIAMENT

AFTER seven years of coaxings, whipcuts, and refusals, the Government of Spain has once again jibbed before the hurdle of an election. Is there, or is there not, any chance of returning to regular constitutional government ? That is a question which cannot be discussed till one considers the record of the dictatorship. When in 1923 Primo de Rivera became dictator, he had to deal with four crucial questions—the growth of communistic societies who terrorised employers, a separatist movement in Catalonia, a war in Morocco, and a failure to balance the budget.

His first task was to deal with murder. For in 1922 and 1923 500 employers had been shot, poisoned or kidnapped, 160 of them in the single city of Barcelona. The murderers had in the course of two successive nights secured the lives of twenty-two capitalists. It was bringing business to a standstill in Spain, and especially in the busiest province of Spain—Catalonia. But on the dictator assuming power the lawlessness and violence of years settled almost at once into order. The murderers who had terrorised police and juries could not stand against an army. General strikes ceased. The police became a power again. Banks were no longer held up. If a murderer were arrested he could be sure that in a day or two, instead of being freed, he would be shot or garrotted. Even juries, when they acted, began to give verdicts according to the evidence. The streets of Barcelona and Bilbao no longer seethed in tumult ; their stones no longer bore the stains of blood. Smugglers gave up their traffic in tobacco and spirits. Cocaine, which had been the most lucrative of contraband, now became very hard to get. Grafters stopped their graft, and four corrupt mayors, fearing inquiry, shot themselves. Not least remarkable, many of the idle men who appeared from time to time in Government offices and secured a salary faded away from their sinecures. Such was the effect of government by an army man who tried a few murderers by martial law and handed them over to summary execution.

These energetic measures were carried out especially by General Martiñez Anido, who was appointed Captain-General of Barcelona, one of those men who never hesitates to lay his axe to

the root of the tree. But ruthlessness is tiring, and this general is not loved. He is a man for a crisis, not for a length of time, and after a little more than a year he retired and his colleague General Lossada, the civil governor, was replaced by a courtier, General Milans del Bosch.

By that time Primo had thoroughly restored order to Spain, and justice defended the individual. That does not mean, of course, that, in a country where the law courts have always been slow, legal officers will not accept a sum of money to make efforts—in their private hours, of course—to get a case tried more quickly, nor that an advocate going into court with a strong case feels that its strength will always enable him to win it. It does mean that Primo had dealt with his first task as thoroughly as a reasonable man could ask.

As for the movement in Catalonia, that presented many analogies with the movement in Ireland. The extremists wanted a separate republic, and Señor Rovira y Virgili, a brilliant journalist with a temperament of radiant enthusiasm, had made Arthur Griffiths his model. The more moderate people only wanted more home rule. They saw it was essential to the prosperity of their region, which combines the four departments of Barcelona, Garona, Tarragona and Lerida, to have a federal union with the rest of Spain for foreign affairs, defence, coinage, weights and measures, trade, customs and communications ; at the same time they wanted Catalonia to be supreme in its own government, administration, and law courts, with their own language as the official one.

The four divisions of Catalonia had had a sort of State assembly of their own, the *Mancomunidad*, which was established on March 26, 1914, under the presidency of Señor Dato. Although it did much good work, it could not cope with the disorders, the murders, the secret societies. Primo determined to dissolve it. The Catalans could have as much municipal self-government as they could pay for ; they could have the use of their language, provided they taught Spanish in their schools, but they must recognise their integral unity with Spain. Affairs again grew calm, and Primo claimed that the Catalan difficulty was settled.

Politically it was settled. Politically it is settled quietly, and far more happily than the Irish question was settled. There has been no terrorism, no violence. And the Catalans, though they keep their provincial patriotism, make no menace of it. Señor Macia, the most dangerous, no longer counts among them ; Señor Rovira y Virgili, who is editor of *La Nau*, which he founded, is a republican, but no longer desires separatism ; Señor Cambo, the most shrewd and able of the capitalists, the man who as a private individual commands most influence in Spain, has written a book,

Por la Concordia, in favour of harmony. Let the Catalans have freedom for the growth of their institutions, he said, whether Spain is one executive organism or a federation of provinces, but if the Madrid Government will give up its fear of Catalonia he is convinced that the leaders could easily come to an agreement.

Señor Cambo in his book, which, though short, is remarkable, discusses the question of a Spanish unity across the Atlantic. He has many interests in Chili and Argentina, but he is convinced that, strong as is the link of language, race and tradition, it can mean no more in the Spanish republics of America than between England and the United States. He argues rather for a complete unity in the Iberian peninsula; he suggests that the settlement of the Catalan question would settle one for Portugal also. The question, he is convinced, is simply one of coming in a generous spirit to a mutual understanding. And thus he disposes at least of the Catalan question.

As for Primo's third task, that, too, was dealt with thoroughly. At the Conference of Algeciras in 1912, Spain accepted on the borders of Morocco a strip of country the size of Massachusetts, with a hill chain called the Rif inhabited by Berber tribesmen, of whom the head was Abdel-Karim. These Berbers constantly descended to harass the 500,000 inhabitants of Spanish Morocco, who lived on friendly terms with Spain. In July 1925 there was an important conference between Spain and France in Madrid, in which the two countries came to a complete agreement as to a common attack on the Chief of the Rif. On July 27 Primo met Pétain at Tetuan. Early in September the Spaniards made a strong offensive, and the French a week or two later made another, which, under Lyautey, was strikingly successful. In October Abdel's capital, Adjir, was bombarded and captured. The war was virtually over, though the Chief himself was not taken till the succeeding May. Spain was then saved from a ruinous campaign which had lasted fourteen years, and she had at last secured her African Massachusetts. Such was Primo's third triumph.

As long as the war had dragged on it had been a heavy strain on finance. When the dictator assumed power the deficit was roughly £29,000,000 for a population of 20,000,000—that is to say, nearly 30s. per head. We can gauge what this means if we think of the federal budget of the United States having an annual deficit of 1,000,000,000 dollars. The dictator, after some twenty months, claimed to have reduced it by 40 per cent. When the war in Morocco was finally settled everyone expected the budget to be thoroughly favourable, and the peseta came almost back to its pre-war value. During the war sixteen pesetas would purchase a pound sterling, but the normal exchange was 25 to the pound, though during the Spanish-American war it had been

over 50. After the peace in Morocco it was 27. It was 38 when Primo fell, and this was his failure.

His budget in the last year of the dictatorship did balance, but the figures were not all taken on trust. No one really knew how the money came or where it went. It would be superfluous to quote figures which are doubted. All we can do is to trace the question of the peseta. The Directory, advised by a young man of exceptional brilliance but no responsibility in practical finance, Señor Calvo Sotelo, had engaged on the risky and spectacular venture of bringing the peseta back to par. It went steadily up to the figure mentioned, and was expected to go further still. The Government expended something like a million dollars in supporting it, but it would not hold. The balance of Spain's trade was against it. There was a deficit of 668,000,000 pesetas in 1927 ; it rose to 885,000,000 pesetas in 1928.

But that was not all : it was found that there was something very shaky in the budget as well. The Directory, in its desire to assist the progress of Spain, had not only spent large sums on improving roads ; it had also given large subsidies to the railways and other private enterprises. It had what it called an extraordinary as well as an ordinary budget. Loans had to be raised to pay for what had already been spent. Then when the peseta, having risen, began to fall again, when those foreign investors gambling for a rise began to sell, things moved quickly ; there was a general lack of confidence, which is the worst of all for a currency.

Then the Government made another mistake : to support the peseta, they raised an interior loan on a gold basis, which meant finally buying more foreign securities, and so instead of raising the peseta they lowered it. Besides that, when no one knew quite what was happening with regard to the Directory, business men were nervous of engaging in fresh enterprises. So the peseta steadily fell, and no one knew what was going to happen. Such were the circumstances of the one big failure of Primo, the failure which, as we shall see, prepared his fall. It was not that he had really failed even in this fourth task, but that other factors provoked subtle influences which were too strong for him. He and his supporters put the matter down to people who resented Calvo Sotelo's petroleum monopoly. They talk of an attack on Spain's currency by the great trusts of Standard Oil and Shell.

The dictator had not been content to save his nation from her wreck. In edict after edict he attempted to reform the customs of Spain. In a country, for example, where infectious diseases are not uncommon, barbers were ordered to wash their hands after attending to each customer, and the iron spike with which peasants used to goad their oxen was declared illegal.

Administration was looked into; and it needed looking into. In Valencia, which is 3000 feet above the sea, the maternity hospital had no heating, and the accouchements and operations took place in rooms filled with other patients. In cold Orense the broken glass in the hospital was left for years unreplaced. Of the 102 municipalities in the province of Seville seventy-five had no telegraph and six were beyond the reach of roads; in Toledo, though there were 121 employees of the municipality taking up more than a quarter of its income, the principal medical officer, after thirty-three years' service, received a salary of less than £12 a year. This could be due only to administrative inefficiency, and in two lengthy edicts, prepared by Señor Calvo Sotelo, the Directory promulgated a sweeping political reform. It was to teach self-government by giving local responsibility. It centred upon the *ayuntamiento* or municipality, with its *alcalde* or mayor. No one could deny the right of a municipality to govern itself; and until it could, the men in it were hardly fit for further responsibilities. To give them freedom in this, and in the development of laws, the municipalities were to be allowed to borrow money for any large constructive schemes, but not to balance their annual budget or to try to disguise the weaknesses of a short-sighted policy. And it suggested that, through the *ayuntamientos*, representatives for the large departments might be elected.

Such was the scheme, and it was excellent. Besides this, the Directory founded 5000 new schools. It insisted on the trains running punctually; it speeded up the construction of roads and railways; it made all the great roads good for motoring at a cost of some £4,000,000; it saw new lines of railway open, one connecting Avila with Salamanca, two cutting the Pyrenees. It planned also direct lines from Madrid to Valencia, Madrid to Vigo, Madrid to Burgos; and some hundreds of kilometres of small connecting lines to open up new country. It improved water supplies for the towns, and arranged great schemes of irrigation, especially in the valley of the Ebro. It also subsidised a great national tourist agency, and organised two splendid exhibitions, one at Barcelona, one at Seville, which concentrated in two collections of extraordinary beauty, evidence of the triumphs of Spain through the ages, and of her capacities at the present time.

Coming back to Spain at the end of Primo's term, one noticed an extraordinary change: the bug had disappeared, the bath had taken its place, the hotels were clean and well organised, the trains ran punctually, motoring was easy. The great towns have made great strides; there are new and admirable services through the country by air and road. And through the whole country where banks broke and violence was rife there was an air of solid

prosperity. Such is the record of Primo de Rivera. One meets many who attack and vilify him, but, faced with the facts, they cannot attempt to deny them. Wherever one meets foreign business men in Spain they say there never was a Spaniard like him. Submitting the Directory to a *plébiscite* after three years, nearly 6,000,000, or more than half of the electorate, came to the polls and voted in his favour.

Why, then, did he fall? In spite of his administrative triumphs, he never succeeded in carrying the country with him. There were two important forces strong behind him—the Church and business, for with him both were prospering. But workmen, robbed of some religious holidays and of the right to strike, felt that he kept their noses to the grindstone: the newspapers were disgruntled by the censorship; the intellectuals saw in him a force which was reactionary; liberal thinkers thought him unscrupulous; and all the old politicians felt a resentment which grew the more furious the better the Directory did its work. He formed a *Union Patriotica* to support him: this, modelled on the Somaten of Catalonia, which was the model also of Fascism, was a body of men who pledged themselves to maintain order; but it never took the imagination of the Spanish people as Fascism had done that of the excitable Italians. Then two other weaknesses were seen. After the capture of Adjir in 1925 Primo sprung on the country a cabinet, and the dictatorship changed from military to civil. But as soon as it did so, Delilah had shorn Samson. The advisers were not all unbiassed, and not all were shrewd. The dictatorship survived four years in this diluted form. At first Primo had governed through the army; but when he tried to take away the vested privileges of the artillery he set against him the strongest interests in the service on which alone he could rely. For six years he had worked indefatigably—sometimes in great crises, sometimes for sixteen hours in the day. The swift, dauntless decision of efficiency was giving way to the irresolution of fatigue. On January 26, 1930, after a conference with his party, he resigned. Retiring to Paris, he wrote a series of articles, confused but not undignified, in which he looked facts honestly in the face. But his heart was broken. In two months he was dead.

When Primo fell, and General Berenguer was appointed in his place, control was relaxed. Amnesties were granted, exiles returned, and workmen were allowed to indulge in a few strikes. But the censorship was firm, and the situation was not allowed to get out of hand. The country continues prosperous, in spite of sensational accounts of imminent revolution. But the minute the question of the ballot-box is brought up there rises behind it the great enigma of the throne; because if you say in Spain,

'How well it all looks here!' they answer, 'Yes, but no one knows what is going to happen.' They are thinking of the King.

The King of Spain was born in 1886, after his father's death; he has reigned from his first breath. At the age of sixteen he was declared of age, and at once exercised his prerogatives. Daring, resourceful, able, he has made himself for over twenty years a man of such mark as few monarchs are. Combining his love of historic prestige with a keen appreciation of business, he has the manners and temper of a modern sportsman. Perhaps he has more initiative than prudence. Like an English prince, he can open a barage or drink a mug of liquor with a workman. But he does not stop there. He is not one of those kings who secure popularity by merging into a symbol. He is a man of action, and, though an extremely able one, like all men of action he sometimes makes a mistake. In an article in the *Veu de Catalunya* Señor Cambo once made a eulogy of the King of Italy an indictment of his own King. Victor Emmanuel never of his own act, said Cambo, initiated a military adventure; never sent clandestine instructions to the generals conducting the war; never intervened in the appointment of diplomatic representatives, or unknown to his Ministers gave them directions confirming the interests or prestige of the country; he never meddled in the appointment of officers or officials; he never conspired against his Governments, plotting to oust them from power; and he never brought ridicule upon himself or his country by indiscreet language or improper conduct.

Since the days of Aristotle ostracism has been the penalty of political mistakes. A politician—or a set of politicians—believed in the wrong, forfeits power. Party government makes the change easy; monarchical government does not. People accept their own mistakes; if, however, a power different from their own makes them, they try to get rid of that power.

But the King of Spain, resourceful and original as he is, has never been anything like absolute. The idea that he is a personal tyrant, such as Italy knows, would be absurd. The idea that he himself engineered the dictatorship was suggested by Cambo, and it has been declaimed in the lines of melodrama by Don Salvador de Madariaga, the Spanish professor at Oxford.[1] But the idea will not bear scrutiny. Primo himself in his own story has published a detached and conclusive denial, and there is nothing to say against it. Those who know the dictator saw, both in his native wit and in the history of his predecessors, how it came about. The King made no serious stand against him, and could not have done so without awakening civil war, or, rather, the disorder of raising unarmed electors against the army. He was not such a fool.

[1] *Spain*, by S. de Madariaga (Benn, 21s.).

Besides, he knew as well as other people that parliaments in Spain had always been a farce. He said so at Seville in 1921. Not only he, but the actual head of the Government, Count Romanones, also admitted it—Count Romanones who, in the Aznar dictatorship, becomes Foreign Minister. He went much further than the King; he said that Ministers had an excuse for being corrupt because there was no public opinion to restrain them. This is frankness of a too startling kind for Don Salvador to be safe in ignoring it. So serious and liberal a historian as Butler Clark insists that Spaniards never understood elections or parliaments. The country's political history for a hundred years had been a tapestry of factions and intrigues, with here and there bold splashes of dictatorship.

After Primo had gone, with Calvo Sotelo directing a bank and Martinez Anido taking a holiday out of Spain, the King became the target of the old politicians. It was only natural. Some attempted to hold him responsible for the false moves of Primo de Rivera; the stronger charge was that he accepted the dictatorship. He is bound by solemn oath, as they remind everyone, to summon the Cortes again not more than three months after the last had been dissolved. The other side point out that an oath which has become impossible to perform is no longer binding; and to call a parliament can hardly be claimed as a stronger obligation than to prevent civil war. Behind this argument there is evidence of Spain's real weakness: it is that the Court is not closely enough in touch with the intellectuals. It is too exclusively the haunt of the nobility and the prelates. And, though the Church is exceedingly powerful and the aristocracy has maintained its exclusiveness, it obviously is a great weakness that the lawyers, journalists, and university men are a class by themselves. They do not represent the masses of the people; they are separate from the Church; they lack also the practical sense of business men, yet they are moulders of opinion, and, indeed, the voices of opinion. It is this class which is thoroughly dissatisfied. They claim that they are disciplined as functionaries, that a professor loses his position if his views on the Flood offend a bishop. This class which bitterly criticised the dictatorship vehemently attacked the King. He has met the attack himself; but the Church and the Army have produced very little to meet it on its own ground. And because there is no fusion between ancient tradition and university men, there is a strain which cannot be ignored, even if it does not affect the country as a whole.

Apart from this question of succession, however (and the King is still only forty-five), the idea that a revolution can be successful is killed by the questions Who? and How? A revolution can

come only from a deep revolt against wrong, and by the agency of powerful leadership. One must face clearly the dominant fact that there is in Spain no sign of either. The republican majorities are in the big industrial towns on the coasts—towns like Barcelona, Valencia, and Bilbao. But satisfied people do not make revolutions, and all these towns are doing well. Barcelona, which was suffering from depression, is again prosperous. Its cotton export, which had fallen from 5,047,567 kilos. (which was the average from 1910 to 1914) to 2,925,000 kilos. in 1928, rose in 1929 to 5,846,280 kilos. ; owing partly to the vigorous action of the Committee of the Cotton Industry and partly to the fall of the peseta, the city is now particularly prosperous. The decline in the peseta has meant rising prices, and that means some unsettlement ; but as long as it does not make the standard of living intolerably low, or disorganise finance and commerce, a devaluation of the currency appears, on the whole, to do less harm than good—at least, in any Latin country.

Besides, a revolution must have a leader. And where is the revolutionary leader ? Not in the workmen's apostle, Angel Pestaña, who simply argues, like Stegerwald and his Catholic unionists in Germany, that the workman should have a power according to the value of his function ; not in Cambo, who is a capitalist and now a thorough constitutionalist (his right-hand man, Ventosa, is one of the new Ministers) ; not in Unamuno, whose influence is confined to intellectuals ; not in Rovira y Virgili, who is hardly known outside Catalonia, and whose paper has a small circulation even there ; not in Santiago Alba nor Sanchez Guerra, as recent events have shown. On the other hand, there are at least two generals, besides Martiñez Anido, who in any crisis of disorder would emulate the example of Primo, which itself had many precedents in the nineteenth century.

What the Berenguer Government did was gently to feel its way. It tried to avoid the brutalities of dictatorship, and, indeed, all methods of repression. On the other hand, it kept a sharp eye on disorder, and in its year of function it more than once closed a university, tightened the censorship, and dealt summarily with strikes before it had to deal with the movement at Jaca. It made good its claim to summon the Cortes—whatever that might mean. But the idea of abandoning the Executive to Parliament produced so much disorder that once again it has been temporarily abandoned. The prestige of Parliament had gone, but never was it so low as when the King prepared for it to meet.

It became too clear, as even Liberals had anticipated months before, that parliamentary appointments would mean a return of unsettlement ; and so obvious was this at last that even the strongest opponents of the monarchy have acquiesced in what is

in fact a second dictatorship. The point is that the method and principles of government have become secondary in Spain. Government must still be largely confined to the maintenance of order. The one great need is the stabilisation of the peseta ; and that is very difficult, because Spain's great exports are fruits and oil, which make a fluctuating market. In Señor Ventosa it is indeed guided by a sane man with a long experience of business, and one who saw clearly the mistakes of Calvo Sotelo. But Spain will struggle with her political question for a long time, because the adjustment of mass votes to intelligent leadership, which is still a very nice question for Europe as a whole, has in Spain no sort of solid party tradition or organisation to obscure the point at issue, which is whether the masses of the people know what is for their good. Democracy is hardly safer in Spain than Wilson's Europe has been for democracy. Shrewd Spaniards point to the present state of England, and the influence of certain newspapers on uneducated people ; and wonder if parliament would be a more prudent expedient for a country where there is still a majority unable to read or write.

One of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* still states the case as well as it can be stated. ' To make a government requires no great prudence,' he wrote. ' Settle the seat of power, teach obedience, and the work is done. To give freedom is still more easy. It is not necessary to guide ; it only requires to let go the rein. But to temper together these opposite elements of liberty and restraint in one consistent work requres much thought—deep reflection : a sagacious, powerful and combining mind. This,' he added, ' I do not find in those who take the lead in the National Assembly.'

Spain's question, whether in her National Assembly or out of it, is to find them. In some of her men the potentiality is there, if they will rise to the occasion. If they can show how to apply the doctrines they have formulated ; if the clergy, with the help of laymen, will face the need of defined principles to assist the spiritual fervour which everywhere in Spain is so touching and so remarkable ; if the university men will accept the country's best traditions in return for being themselves considered in their legitimate claims, it may give the modern world a combination which would be both suggestive and salutary. The genius of men like Gabriel Miro, of Unamuno, of Anibal Gonzalez point to the central point Spain occupies between the ancient East and those republics of promise and opportunity which make the New World. There is perhaps at the present moment no country better for a man of thought to explore, and in Europe there is none which offers him quite so much for his money. The exhibitions of Seville and Barcelona showed that creative genius had

not deserted the country. Spain, far from disintegrating, is a country where there is a solid agricultural community, a great tradition, a people living in healthy familiarity to Nature, and a rapidly developing field for invention and enterprise. And there is much reason to think that, as Barcelona and Seville argued so persuasively last year, the Iberian peninsula is about to evolve a new ideal of civilisation, where invention and enterprise will be made subsidiary to pleasures and to wealth of a more satisfying and more enduring order ; and where men will honestly face the fact that—in the modern times of extended franchise—Parliament, no matter how useful as a place of national debate, is no longer able wisely to control the Executive. The King, faced with a crisis, was invited to choose his own Executive. For in Spain the constitutional question, which is so urgent for Europe as a whole—and so necessary for India—to scrutinise, is at once complicated and settled by the dramatic fact that a hereditary sovereign at the age of forty-five is the most able, the most daring, the most experienced and the most resourceful man of affairs, not only among his contemporaries, but also in the history of Spain for the last 300 years. No country, however, can depend upon one man alone ; and the King needs to remember how necessary it is both that he should not be indispensable, and yet that he is by far the best man that the country can contemplate as head of the State in a period when it is more alive than it has been since his dynasty first came to Madrid.

R. E. Gordon George,
(*Robert Sencourt.*)

THE MOSCOW TRIALS AND THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

THERE are few things that have been and are continuing to be more widely discussed than the Five-Year Plan. Is it a success or a failure, *can* it succeed, *must* it fail, and what will happen to Russia and the rest of the world in either of these eventualities? The friends of the Soviet Government are praising it to the skies and never stop quoting most striking statistics to prove that the Bolsheviks have achieved a marvel, and, in their zeal, they even ignore the not infrequent admissions of failure and insurmountable difficulties. On the other hand, the detractors of the Bolshevist *régime* deny the very possibility of any achievements under the present system, and quote equally convincing figures to prove that the Five-Year Plan is a ghastly failure.

Paradoxically enough, both are right and both are wrong if recent developments in Russia are approached from a purely economic or from what might be called the arithmetical angle. It is all a question of the interpretation of the figures supplied by the Soviet Government, and the conclusions to be derived from these figures depend very largely on the quality factor being introduced in addition to the quantity factor. Since pre-war days it has been a constant grievance of all students of Russian economics that statistics are often incomplete or incorrect, and the fact hardly needs emphasising that in this respect the situation to-day is worse than ever. The interpretation of Soviet statistics depends on the political bias of those who use them and on the question of their general attitude towards Soviet Russia. Is this attitude friendly or hostile, do they want to make out the case for or against the Bolsheviks, and, finally, do they take a long or a short view?

In a recent very interesting article on 'Public Opinion,' which appeared in the *Political Quarterly*, Mr. Kingsley Martin said that

> . . . the disinterested liking for tolerance and constitutional methods and the instinctive revulsion against repression, arbitrary government and deliberate cruelty have been displaced by cynicism, party manœuvring and indifference. It is part of the general *débâcle* of that Liberalism which belongs to no party but which is synonymous with civilisation. It was the most serious of the casualties of the war.

The attitude of foreign Governments, groups, and individuals to Russia is a most striking illustration of this post-war feature noted by the observant Mr. Martin.

It is indeed a tragedy that Russia has so often been used as a weapon or an instrument in the domestic politics of the different countries, and that foreign politicians and business-men have hardly ever taken the trouble to approach the Russian problem from a dispassionate and really broad point of view. The local or national point of view of those who concern themselves with the questions of immediate trade possibilities or immediate dangers of Communist propaganda has constantly prevailed over that of internationally thinking people who take a long view and who realise that there can be no solution of the world's problems without Russia. To the former, a suitable interpretation of Soviet facts and figures, enabling them to prove their particular case for or against the Bolsheviks, is of primary importance, and they can go on discussing the economic aspect of the Five-Year Plan to their heart's content. But to those who take a different view of Russian affairs the political side of the question is of the greatest significance. Recent events in the U.S.S.R. have given the student of Russian politics a unique picture of the political situation there.

A trial has just taken place in Moscow of fourteen former members of the Russian Social Democratic (Menshevik) Party which has aroused a storm of horror and indignation throughout organised Socialism of the leading countries, with the rather curious exception, incidentally, of Great Britain. This trial, which is one of a series of sensational political mock-trials and which follows closely on the trial of Professor Ramsin and others in December 1930, would be but a sinister farce, and should be dismissed as sheer madness, were it not for the fact that it has a very direct and most symptomatic bearing on the political situation in Russia. In brief, those who have been tried in December or now, as enemies of the Soviet *régime* and 'harm-doers,' are the principal authors and the principal officials in charge of the realisation of the Five-Year Plan. This sounds quite incredible, but this is so. Only quite recently, during the trial in December 1930 of Professor Ramsin and the other alleged members of the supposed 'Industrial Party,' it was stated by the prosecution that the leading engineers, specialists, and technicians who played a decisive *rôle* first in the preparation and then in the operation of the Five-Year Plan were 'vrediteli' or 'harmdoers.' The vice-president of the State Planning Department, Ossadchy, was declared a 'harmdoer.' So was Professor Ramsin, the head of the all-important 'energetics' department. The whole of that part of the Five-Year Plan which concerns the metal and machine

industries was prepared by the 'harmdoers' Kalinnikov and Tcharnovsky; the 'harmdoers' Fedotov and Lopatin were in charge of the textile industry; fuel was in the hands of the 'harmdoer' Laritchev; the 'harmdoer' Gorev was responsible for electrification; transport was in charge of the 'harmdoer' Kogan-Bernstein; finance in the hands of the 'harmdoer' Yourovsky; agriculture in the hands of the 'harmdoers' Tchayanov and Oganovsky, and so forth.

It was not only stated by the prosecution that these men had carried out all the preparatory work in creating, drafting, and editing the Five-Year Plan and finally putting it into operation, but it was definitely asserted that the innumerable scientific institutes, committees, commissions, commissariats, and actual Soviet trusts and other industrial and commercial undertakings were directed and dominated by these men and other 'harmdoers.' Now, if this assertion of the chief prosecutor, Krilenko, who is but the mouthpiece of Stalin, be true, and if the whole idea, preparation, and execution of the Five-Year Plan belongs to non-Communist technicians who, after serving the Soviet Government for so long, have suddenly been proclaimed enemies and 'harmdoers,' then the proud and repeated declarations of Grinko, Krczizanovsky, and other leading Communists, that the Five-Year Plan is the result of the collective creative genius of the masses, falls to the ground. Instead of being the 'achievement of liberated labour and free science' and a 'plan of communistic reorganisation of national economy,' the Five-Year Plan must appear to be the result of malicious scheming, disloyalty, betrayal, and hatred on the part of the accused 'harmdoers.'

Only quite recently the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the State Planning Department took place, and to celebrate the occasion the Soviet newspaper *Economic Life* of February 22 told an unsuspecting world that a 'State Planning Department is one of the most ancient dreams of humanity,' that 'it is the realisation of the ideal of the greatest brains of civilisation. It inquires into and knows the economic developments of the country And, since it knows them, it can foresee. And this foresight, combined with the will to power, is called the Five-Year Plan, and the Five-Year Plan is the victory of the socialistic system over the capitalistic.' The insincerity and the fatuity of these words can find no more striking proof than the Moscow trials, where practically all the leading lights of 'the ideal of humanity' have been condemned to imprisonment, penal servitude, etc. At the same time, an all-permeating communistic inquiry into the activities of the State Planning Department is to take place with the object of removing all the actual or potential 'harm-

doers' occupying less prominent positions than those who have just been tried.

The latest trial was particularly revolting, and the carelessness of the G.P.U. in so blatantly stage-managing the whole thing showed a cynicism hitherto unreached even by the Soviets themselves. On February 21 an official statement was issued announcing that ' the case of the counter-revolutionary organisation of the Allied Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party (Mensheviks)—Groman, Soukhanov, Sher and others—is closed and will soon be transferred for examination to the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.' Yet the report of the cross-examination of the fourteen accused is dated February 22—*i.e.*, the day after the close of the case, as announced in the official statement! Further, it is alleged that the old Social Democratic leader Abramovitch visited Moscow *incognito* in 1928 and gave personal instructions to the accused 'harmdoers,' and the suggested date of his visit is one when he happened to be at an international socialistic Congress in Brussels, the *Pravda* itself having made some comments on the active part he played there at the time. Leading foreign Socialists, such as the veteran Karl Kautsky, Leon Blum, Breitscheid, Hilferding and others, are alleged to have been mixed up in the plot and to have given the ' harmdoers ' every moral and financial support. The German Social Democratic Party alone was accused of having subsidised the Mensheviks and ' harmdoers ' to the extent of several hundred thousand marks.

It had been painful enough to read the admissions of Professor Ramsin and the other accused ' harmdoers ' in December 1930, when they were forced to own up to all kinds of crimes they had never committed and which had been invented by the prosecution, as, for instance, the statement that they had received money from and communicated with two former Russian financial magnates living abroad, both of whom, as it happens, had died a long time before.

But the fourteen most recent victims were forced to make even more humiliating and absurd self-accusing admissions, and words were put into their mouths that would be farcical were they not so tragic. And it must be remembered that all the accused were old Social Democrats, some of them revolutionaries with honourable names and distinguished careers, and that they had occupied leading posts under the Soviet Government, Groman having been the *de facto* head of the State Planning Department, Ginsburg that of the Supreme Economic Council, and Sher that of the State Bank. Only recently these people had been praised as the most loyal, trustworthy, and useful non-party technicians, and their services recognised by the conferment of various Soviet

distinctions. They all belonged to that group of particularly 'loyal' non-Communist technicians who had resigned from their own party a long time ago, who had given the new *régime* their whole-hearted support, and whose zeal and sincere devotion to the tasks they were set often somewhat surprised and irritated both the other non-Communist servants of the Government and occasionally the Government itself. And now these people who had dreamt of peaceful evolution and construction, who had given up their own political ideals in order to give some honest scientific assistance to the Bolsheviks (some did that because they were afraid that an end of Bolshevism would mean reaction and preferred what seemed to them the lesser evil), were proclaimed the worst enemies of the proletariat, agents of the foreign bourgeoisie and of the foreign Socialists all at once—interventionists, counter-revolutionaries, 'harmdoers,' etc. They were tried and found guilty of things they never did or were not responsible for, and the whole trial, although it was called the trial of Menshevist conspirators, had nothing whatever to do with the real Russian Social Democratic Menshevik Party.

Why has Stalin so suddenly thrown them over? Is there even a vestige of truth in the 'harmdoing' allegations? The whole case appears incomprehensible and futile if taken by itself: not even the Stalinites themselves can demand that the insinuation of actual 'harmdoing' acts should be taken seriously. The real meaning of the Moscow trials is to be sought elsewhere. For a very long time a struggle has been going on within the Communist Party. 'Trotzkyism,' 'Right Opposition,' 'Left Opposition' have been but some of the names given to the different factions of that most heterogeneous and abnormal collection of mutually hostile groups and individuals called the Russian Communist Party. The struggle has very largely concentrated on the question of the *tempo* of the Five-Year Plan. In this struggle the non-Communist technicians could not but provide the Right Opposition with most formidable arguments on which to base their case for slowing down the collectivisation of the peasantry, the creation of expensive, useless and gigantic industrial plant, the irrational exploitation of existing undertakings, and so on. In the cleavage between the party machine controlled by Stalin and the administrative machine controlled by the more moderate Rykov the non-Communist technicians naturally found themselves in the camp of the latter. They could not help seeing the madness of Stalin's attempt at forcing integral Communism on Russia, just as they could not help seeing that the Plan was a dead letter the actual execution of which was impossible.

If, say, the production of coal was below that foreseen in the Plan, was it their fault, and would it have been any better if they

had put in even more optimistic estimates than they did? The officials of the State Planning Department were expected to solve the most difficult questions, yet the only thing that mattered to their masters was the general trend of Communist policy. They were expected to provide answers to questions not yet discovered by science. How could they be clear and precise when they were constantly operating with unknown quantities and only pure guess-work was possible? How could Professor Ramsin, for instance, answer the question of advisability of building high-tension plant when there are only seven of the kind projected in the whole world and the problem is as yet by no means elucidated in scientific literature?—and this is a typical case. Thus the Plan was drafted in a way that had no proper relation to facts and realities. The Soviet statistician Stroumilin was right when he made the cynical remark that non-party technicians had always preferred 'to stand for high *tempos* rather than to sit for low ones' ('to sit' is the Russian colloquial expression for being in prison); but surely the fact that 'high *tempos*' are quite unrealisable was not their fault, for they never genuinely believed in them and merely did what they were ordered.

Now that, despite loud assurances to the contrary, the Five-Year Plan is resulting in a daily growing state of chaos, an attempt is being made to fasten all the blame on the non-Communist technicians. All their calculations are alleged to be wrong; their ways of administration are wrong; they have sabotaged the proper functioning of the Plan, etc., and this is asserted by those whose very instructions for carrying out the Five-Year Plan in four years, then in three years, then, again, for creating financial counter-plans, etc., have brought utter disorganisation and chaos into the economic life of the country and have deprived it of any plan.

The Bolsheviks had decreed the drafting and the putting into operation of a Five-Year Plan without any regard to the fact that Russia was the last country where such a thing was possible, for she offered neither the economic, nor the social, nor even yet the cultural, basis for such a vast experiment. But the Communists ignored all that; they ignored the fact that precise data on the economic resources and possibilities of the country were lacking, that both technically and culturally their scheme was impossible, that on the question of personnel alone they were bound to meet with the greatest difficulty, and that you cannot run one-sixth of the globe on Utopia, however great the enthusiasm you manage to create around it. The result was the preparation of a plan that was more fantastic than real, where precise knowledge was replaced by revolutionary enthusiasm or guess-work—a plan the application of which could not but bring about

political as well as economic difficulties of the highest order. Both the Left and the Right Oppositions in the Communist Party seized on the economic difficulties brought about by the Five-Year Plan to start a life-and-death struggle against the dictator Stalin. The Communist Party, being the only recognised party in Soviet Russia, consists of many groups with mutually opposed interests and sympathies who are all fighting each other within their own organisation, since they cannot engage in an open political struggle.

The meaning of the Moscow trials can only be appreciated in this light, for it is a definite phase in the process of the decomposition of the Communist Party. So far Stalin has been victorious. He has crushed his enemies and driven them out of office one by one. He has attacked and destroyed in a series of most revolting mock trials the best brains that were working for the Soviets in Russia, but whose sympathies were obviously with the more moderate wing of the Communist Party. First there was the pathetic trial of Palchinsky, Meck, and other leading engineers ; then the trial of Professor Ramsin and others. Now Groman and Soukhanov have been tried. All these people were made scapegoats for the failure of Stalin's Government to solve the fundamental problems with which he and his satellites are faced. But these trials have also shown that any attempt to co-ordinate Stalin's economic policy with the interests of the population, which the non-Communist technicians understand better than he does, are labelled as ' harmdoing ' and counter-revolutionary, and that the heaviest penalty has to be paid for this.

Addressing a meeting of 20,000 German Socialists who came together to protest against the latest Moscow trial, the old Russian Social Democratic leader Abramovitch said, ' I am ashamed to confess it to you, but the new communistic Tsarism is much worse than the old Tsarism.' The truth of the matter is that we have a new reaction in Russia, a reaction accompanied by all the horrors of tyranny, provocation and terrorism, and that this state of affairs is very closely connected with the ever-growing realisation that the Five-Year Plan is breaking down. There is no way back for Stalin, and all he can do is to go on, mercilessly crushing those who dare to criticise or oppose him. The expulsion from the ranks of the Communist Party of Ryasanov, who only last year was proclaimed the greatest living Marxist and had every kind of honour showered on him, is another indication of this course. And perhaps the day is not very distant when yet another sensational trial will take place in Moscow, but this time actually of the members of the Right Opposition—Rykov, Tomsky, Boukharin, and the many others whom Stalin is openly threatening even now. For he must always be finding new scape-

goats who can be made responsible for the failure of the Five-Year Plan and all the hopes that were based on it.

It may be argued that while the various facts outlined above certainly indicate the difficulties encountered by Stalin, they do not necessarily prove the inevitable failure of the Plan. A scrutiny of the Soviet Press would reveal quite convincingly that the Bolshevist rulers feel it themselves, whatever their statistics may endeavour to prove to the contrary. It is not enough to publish industrialisation plans that read like a fairy tale, to build gigantic but odd and dislocated factories, most of which, incidentally, cannot be put to proper use, not merely owing to the lack of skilled management, but also because frequently they can neither be supplied with materials they are supposed to use, nor are they connected with the centres of population that will require their goods.

Assuming that the Plan does fail, what would be the results for Russia and the rest of the world ? That Stalin's Government could hardly survive the collapse of the Plan appears to be certain. Is a new revolution possible in Russia ? Who could or would replace her present rulers, and would not the collapse of the Five-Year Plan be accompanied by state bankruptcy ? Who would pay for all the expensive and useless machinery that is being purchased abroad in order to equip that gigantic industrial plant the starving Russian population neither requires nor is capable of using ? And what of Russia's other debts ? Another question is, could and would a new Government recognise the present frontiers to which the Bolshevist Government agreed for motives of its own, but which would not necessarily be accepted by any other rulers ? How would a new explosion, and perhaps a new civil war, in Russia affect the other countries, and how much longer could the absence of Russia from the world's markets and from normal political and economic intercourse be endured by the other nations ? While it is futile to anticipate any immediate changes in Russia, the possibility of Stalin's failure raises a host of questions of the utmost importance.

But perhaps Stalin can succeed ? Perhaps he can conquer his difficulties and emerge victorious from all his trials. What would be the effect of a successful realisation of the Five-Year Plan ? It is openly admitted by the Bolsheviks that the Plan is an instrument of the world revolution. Its object is political, not economic. With the aid of foreign capital and foreign technicians, Russia is to be sufficiently industrialised to be able to compete with her financiers and masters, with a view to conquering them eventually, but in the meanwhile she is to disorganise their markets by dumping and other measures that may provoke economic difficulties and social unrest. While the

actual volume of Russian dumping may not be very great, its effects can be very far-reaching, for the natural resources of Russia and the centralised organisation of the Government enable the Bolsheviks to export a variety of goods of which, of course, they rob their own population. It is just as easy for them to dump wheat as it is to dump timber or oil or any other product.

But even more dangerous and much better organised than the dumping of goods is the dumping of Communist propaganda, and the pompous futility of foreign Governments in counteracting this is truly amazing. The Bolsheviks make a point of preserving an outwardly impeccable form of foreign relations with other countries while at the same time carrying on their wild revolutionary agitation through the Third International or direct agents. They do not even take the trouble of concealing this, and it is significant that for the first time in their history the same person is president both of their own Government and the Third International. Stalin has not hesitated to put his friend Molotov in a position which even to Lenin appeared too ambiguous and too provocative. The Bolsheviks have never made a secret of their intention of destroying the capitalist system and ruining the rest of the world, but, not feeling strong enough as yet to achieve this object, they have been anxious to use the financial resources, help, and co-operation of other countries until the moment to strike has arrived. Did not Lenin say, 'Our enemies, international capital, must help us to build up our State and create our weapons against them'?

Thus it must be realised by foreign countries that every penny lent directly or indirectly to the Soviets, that every foreign engineer, foreman or skilled worker who gives them the benefit of his knowledge and experience, that any other help or encouragement given them—whether material or spiritual—stands to strengthen them and enables them to draw nearer to their final goal. That in the meantime these transactions can be most advantageous to private firms and individuals there can be no doubt. A great deal of money has been made abroad out of discounting Soviet bills at 30 per cent. and more, or out of selling them all kinds of rubbish at prohibitive prices, or, again, out of buying from them cheap dumped goods. They are an easy-going lot, much to be appreciated in these times when trade is bad.

Let us look back for a while, however. Under the New Economic Policy in 1921 a certain minimum of economic and political freedom was re-established by Lenin, to enable the country to recover from the effects of Communism and expropriation. Great emphasis was laid on the necessity of restoring industry and agriculture and of ensuring their friendly collaboration.

Private trade was re-established, so was banking, and every attempt was to be made to attract foreign capital into the country either by means of granting concessions or obtaining credits. The immediate recovery of Russia was most striking. Both foreigners and non-Bolshevist Russians began to believe that the nightmare of terrorism and Communism was over, that the new rulers of Russia had learned their lesson, and that gradually Russia would resume her normal place in the concert of Europe. This delusion has not lasted long, and since 1927 the Soviet Government has gone back to a form of terrorism and violence unprecedented in the pre-N.E.P. period.

It was Mr. Lloyd George who was largely instrumental in initiating in 1921 a policy of 'laying less stress on points of difference' and of 'taking account of economic facts and being determined by considerations of common sense.' It was a nasty surprise to Mr. Lloyd George when the Germans so much took to heart his friendly advice that they made a separate treaty with the Bolsheviks at Rapallo and thus initiated the policy which most foreign countries and big international business concerns have since observed towards the Soviet Union—'*chacun pour soi,*' or 'get in first, before the other fellow does'! This fundamental characteristic of the attitude of the capitalist world towards them, the Bolsheviks have exploited admirably and with great benefit to themselves; in fact, it may be said that were it not for the financial and moral support they have received from foreign capitalists, it is doubtful whether they would still be in power. But have foreign countries—not separate groups or individuals—benefited from this abnormal association with a State that preaches freedom, brotherly collaboration, and Communism abroad, while creating the worst kind of reaction and super-capitalism at home, and which is, further, openly preparing for war?

The question is often asked whether the Soviet war danger is exaggerated. This is what Herr Paul Schaeffer, who was correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* in Moscow, for over seven years, and who is an acknowledged authority on Russian affairs, thinks of it:

> This situation [*i.e.*, the Red Army having been proclaimed an instrument of international revolutionary propaganda] must be taken into serious account in judging the prospects of a Communist revolution in Europe. It makes the question of propaganda from Moscow a matter of first-rate importance, even though, in the eyes of a diplomacy which either ignores it or faces it gingerly and reluctantly, it seems little more than an inconvenience to the daily routine. The strivings of the members of the League of Nations for security and peace are brought to a downright absurdity by the presence in their midst of preparations for this new and extraordinary kind of war—a war fostered by unofficial forces and to be waged by official forces when the time is ripe.

Lenin, whom the Bolsheviks never stop quoting, said to his followers shortly before he died, 'You will not be able to avoid a clash with the West.' He was right, for, if the Five-Year Plan proves a success, the New Russia that will emerge as its result will be quite incompatible with the continued existence of the rest of the capitalistic world.

The Five-Year Plan cannot half-succeed; Stalin has staked too much on it. Either it must fail and bring about the collapse of the present *régime*, with all the consequences that this involves —and the Moscow trials seem to be a warning—or if it succeeds, it will shake the Old World to its foundations. But it can only succeed with foreign financial and technical help, for the Bolsheviks have had to admit their incapacity to carry it through by themselves. The principal sources of such financial and technical assistance are England and Germany, particularly the latter. Even in these countries, however, private individuals do not seem over-anxious to risk their own money, and the financing of the much-coveted Soviet orders is in a large measure guaranteed by the State. At the time of writing important negotiations are taking place between Moscow and Berlin with a view to arranging a further credit of 300,000,000 marks, of which the German State is to guarantee 70 per cent. Whether this transaction finally materialises or not, it is a typical case in point.

If Germany and England made up their minds to stop the granting of these extraordinary facilities to the Soviet Government, even without going as far as a proper economic boycott, the situation would soon become untenable for Stalin and his satellites. The key to the Russian problem is not in Moscow; it is in London and Berlin.

GEORGE SOLOVEYTCHIK.

AUTHORS, PUBLISHERS AND CRITICS

EVER since the days of Sainte-Beuve we have heard complaints of the industrialisation of literature and of its growing subjection to commercial impulses. But the honourable profession of literature is justified in every effort to place its enterprise on a proper basis of remuneration. Few deserve their reward better than the author, while the publisher is obliged to incur many risks in assessing the buying habits of a capricious public. And yet during the last few years the situation has been changing rapidly. The relations of author, publisher and critic are being revolutionised. Anthony Trollope used to think it bad taste for authors to have dealings with reviewers; nowadays authors review one another in turn. The publisher maintains his own staff of critics, and the newspapers print panegyrics so extravagant in tone that the public, the great body of buyers and readers of ordinary books, grow bewildered. Book-puffs rank among the most wordy and tendencious of advertisements. Their prose is so over-dressed, and the amiability of reviewers so unshakable, that the public which was bamboozled two or three years ago is now losing confidence, and frankly distrusts passages extracted from a series of reviews which announce that a new genius emerges every week. At first these puffs were looked upon as hyperbole; now they are fast becoming a nuisance. Unless we are cautious they will menace the integrity of our literature, and react against the author and publisher alike.

A new situation has therefore arisen, and the public in self-defence invokes the help of book clubs and societies which offer some assurance of collective responsibility, for well-known people consent to serve upon these boards. Their recommendations provide a short cut for the reader, who also knows that in some cases the intermediaries upon whom he relies are skilled craftsmen. They become super-critics, for the ordinary Press critic is no longer the first to review the new book; thus reviewers as well as readers are influenced in advance, and the book club verdict is emphatic. It is worth while examining some of the results, not so much upon books reviewed in literary, scientific or learned papers, but chiefly upon those normally recommended by the book

societies, normally read by the public, and subject to the normal advertisement and review—in other words, a group representing from 60 to 70 per cent. of our current literature.

Several such societies exist here, and have long prospered in the United States. One of these prints ten pages of rules and regulations for its members, and makes things easy by working on the instalment system. These American clubs are organised on a large scale, and would be more effective were their alliance with the publishers less intimate; but their activities are notable, and one of them undertakes to list the hundred best books every month. On the other hand, the English societies are more discriminating, and *pro tanto* more ambitious. Publishers generally not only send their most important works in advance of publication, but we are also told that the pick of the selected publishers' own lists is submitted to the club in manuscript form—a very crucial fact which has a direct bearing on the time and care available for their perusal by the committee. The function of these clubs is to recommend, to praise; never to issue a word of warning, but simply to shoulder the burden of choice. In doing so a vigorous advertising campaign is conducted, and the commercial side of the verdict is thoroughly exploited. The society in effect becomes a circulating library agency, for the book deemed unsatisfactory can be exchanged; and, as it is said that no less than 80 per cent. of new novels are absorbed by the libraries, it may be assumed that the bookshop will be more and more superseded. This view is contested, and on good authority, though others appear to think that the tendency is openly to discourage purchase. Most readers turn to the circulating libraries *viâ* the book clubs, because they do not care to risk their money on the strength of the ordinary puffs and panegyrics which so often prove misleading; yet it is far from certain that book clubs increase the total number of volumes sold. The fortune of a selected book may undoubtedly be made, but not infrequently at the expense of an equivalent tale of second bests.

The analogous French instrument is the literary prize, an old-established procedure which is still regarded as a certificate of merit. The Académie Française distributes seventy-nine of these every year, and is doing its best to curtail this excessive number. The Prix Goncourt was founded thirty years ago, and there are scores, indeed hundreds, of other endowed prizes. Measured in cash, the depreciation of the franc has discounted these consolations, which descend to the equivalent of three or four sovereigns; the Prix Dodo plumbs the vertiginous depth of 30*s*. Awards are made by a committee, called 'the jury,' which, according to established ritual, must lunch together, and the decisions are reached by ballots which sometimes occupy all the afternoon.

The jury acts by majority. It is susceptible to canvassing, and the author is expected to send copies of his book to the jury—an onerous tax, perhaps not always paid; anyhow, the *Vagabonde*, by Madame Colette, only scored two votes for the Goncourt prize, since most of the jury had never heard of that incomparable work. Juries are seldom unanimous, though one of our book clubs at home recently announced that it was 'unanimously enthusiastic.' The prizes in France are a tangible encouragement, and it must be remembered that, in contradistinction to our book clubs, the awards are distributed among all classes of literature. In fact, what we might call the ordinary book club or library type of literature only receives a modest percentage of the awards. None the less, results are partial and uncertain. The French author gains prestige and his circulation is improved; but somehow the advertisement is meagrely appreciated, and the influence of these prize-givings upon the reputation of the literary profession as a whole is equivocal. Meanwhile the principal French group corresponding to our book clubs—namely, l'Association des critiques littéraires—has just determined to stop issuing its periodical selection of desirable books. Rivals sprang into being, some of them issuing fortnightly lists, while the tendency to boycott each other and to impose fresh burdens on postulants for recognition has brought this enterprise to an end; and Paris, as a whole, applauds.

As the influence of our own book clubs is likely to extend, their status and constitution deserve attention. It is not always clear who pays or appoints their personnel, and as some clubs demand no subscription in return for membership their finance must be modest. They have their own offices, from which they date and issue costly advertisements. They publish hand lists and bulletins, reports and prospectuses, like limited liability companies. In actual practice they are academies of literature, or perhaps they more closely resemble the groups of artists who organise themselves into societies in order to display their particular style of work; but, while these painters or sculptors can exhibit their own productions and maintain their own individuality while subscribing to the guiding principles of their movement, the book clubs must recommend a selected work. They should be unanimous, and this will often involve compromise, or else following a path both easy and popular. Novels should not really require this buttress of book clubs and the tremendous boosting they afford. A modern novel can be at once efficient and the reverse, and those which get the biggest puff too often fatigue by their dull exploitation of dull indelicacy; yet, on the other hand, these very books are often adroitly composed, and show great ingenuity and resource in refurbishing old and faded themes. In literature the novelist

alone claims the right to repeat the squalid and mechanical gesture. Success is short-lived and contrasts sadly with the ecstatic prediction of their reviewers, for these are the books which furnish the great ashpit of literature from which no revival need be hoped. Critics and clubs are standardising a technique and vocabulary of praise; but if, for a change, they would tell us what is bad, if they would occasionally recommend a book which was not produced the day before yesterday, better still if they would enjoin a close time—one month, two months, three months!—how justly would they earn our praise, and how well they would serve the true interests of authors who are being spoilt and surfeited with praise, and who badly require such a tonic to brace them against the moment when they learn from their publisher that Press enthusiasm is not reflected in the sale sheet.

At home it is acknowledged that the outlook and attitude of popular literary criticism are changing; and some of the traditional attributes of fearlessness and independence are less prominent than formerly. The importance of the critic is as great as ever, his constructive duties more than ever required, and yet, in spite of reluctances which occasionally peep through his reviews, one is impressed by an amiability which is becoming almost universal. It is a bad habit—sometimes just an indulgent pose, more often the result of the good nature of an author-critic towards a critic-author, who in turn will one day review the reviewer; for the Press critic of to-day is the publisher's hero of to-morrow. This log-rolling attitude (not checked by the book clubs or by the newspapers themselves, which must never discourage advertisers) is invading a domain which until recent times was free from such involutions. And fundamentally, essentially, literary criticism is still free to-day from all tinge or trace of corruption; but the convention of praising everything is a subtle and penetrating weakness. Even when a book is sharply handled, the last few sentences will hedge and provide a few snippets of benediction for the anthologies of praise—those serried authenticated quotations which are marshalled by a new-fangled personage, namely, the 'Editor of Criticism.' The critic is impelled to swim with the stream, to contribute to the ceaseless pressure to promote sales. It is not his province to hinder business.

In some respects, however, the critic lacks candour—or courage. He is terrified at being thought reactionary or strait-laced by his colleagues, especially when reviewing unsavoury novels and memoirs. He will go any length to evade such an imputation, and a good example of this timidity can be found in reviews of books by an author recently deceased who has been

ruthlessly commercialised. In this as in other cases a conventional jargon has been devised, and it may be argued that we should be able to detect the nature of the book by the type of phraseology employed by critics. Thus we gather that this class of novel is for a special public—is issued partly from a sense of duty by the publisher. Then we are told the book is arresting, fearless, direct, provocative, stimulating, audacious. It is not for children ; it is challenging, outspoken, courageous, disturbing. It is stark. Of all the fatuous words used in this ridiculous catalogue of synonyms for 'indecent,' assuredly 'stark' must take the palm, though by now we should know exactly what it is meant to convey or conceal. And if the books in question have had a collision with a metropolitan police magistrate, even if the Paris traders promptly reprint at flattering prices whatever is banned in London—well, somebody is turning an honest penny, and the English critic has at least shown himself to be free from restraint and to be no friend of Victorian prudery. But this can be carried too far. In such a connexion it is really pedantic to drag in Blake and Milton, or to tell us about the pure motives of the scribe who is a true puritan at heart. The other day I noticed on the 'outer flap' of a novel a statement that the author has genius, that the book restores poetry to the American scene—richness, fecundity, colour, vitality, etc. The puff continues on the 'rear flap,' and in between—that is, on the back of the dust-cover—the author reprints a turgid and egoistical preface. The book itself describes the life of an erotomaniac whose achievement begins at the age of eight with obscenities scribbled in his geography books. The story is curiously mean and inartistic ; and why not, why expect anything else ? But has the reviewer, the very distinguished reviewer, no obligations towards his public ? And the publicity agents of new books are much too prone to push their sales by playing upon certain impulses : if, for instance, the book has the luck to encounter some censorship or other, the fact is treated as a bull point. Very often the indecency may be only an implication, but it is thought worth while to indicate all possibilities. So among the advertisements one learns that this book has been banned by Glasgow, that by Perth, or by some bookshop. One volume has been withdrawn by the Soviet censorship : of another it is asked, 'Will the Censor pass it ? ' or we are simply told of a 'banned play.' The antics of the United States censorship are fair game—it is alleged that recently a custom-house official at Baltimore confessed that he thought Chaucer, Fielding, Beaumont and Fletcher were active authors living in England ; but it is risky for publishers to push their sales by quoting the vagaries of censorship. Such advertisement may be too dearly bought, and the experiences of Ireland, complacent under a censorship owing

to a full dose of illiteracy, are not such as to justify anything but watchful caution on our part.

What we most require is a revival of vigour in our literary criticism—a robustness, even a severity, not merely confined to style and technique, but embracing the whole book, of which it is the duty of the critic to present a just and exact interpretation. He must therefore be free and ready to criticise everything in the book, and to tell us the facts, for too often one reads through half a column without gathering a notion of the subject-matter of the book under review. And if a book is indecent, let the critics tell us so at once, and not talk round and round it in queer evasive language. It is this high-brow flabbiness, this refusal to be direct, which makes the public so sceptical of these laudatory excursions, and which encourages them to turn to book clubs. At the same time compliments so readily earned make people fancy they can win recognition with equal ease, and the new author is thereby tempted into the fleeting limelight and adds his quota to the output of unsuccessful romance. Far better to withstand these facile compromises; but the reviewer must then be prepared to face unpopularity. Paul Souday, so long the literary critic of *Le Temps*, did so unflinchingly. Though perhaps bellicose, he was so fearless a guardian of good manners, so warm a friend of the young and promising author, so learned a student of old world literature, that he justly won a commanding position. 'Un vrai critique,' he said, 'doit avoir le courage de ne se faire le complice d'aucun Snobisme, d'aucun bluff, et il doit se résigner à mécontenter beaucoup de gens'; and it was of him that R. de la Tailhède wrote:

> . . . seriez vous le maître de votre art,
> si vous n'étiez haï plus que l'on vous aime?

Happily, we need not assume that in the particular branches of literature to which I refer we have no sound and substantial critics; but their authority is weighted by their entourage. Mr. Arnold Bennett was not the first to praise *The Bridge* of San Luis Rey, nor was Mr. Baldwin the first to discover *Mary Webb;* but the notice of previous writers had fallen flat—was of the class which is simply ignored; and it was Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Bennett who earned our thanks and effectively put the books at our disposal. In this connexion the initial 'B' is fruitful, so, I may add, is the letter 'M.'

It is not only in reviews of literature that new gambits of language are being evolved, for the windiness of art jargon is also insistent. It is an instructive parallel study: here, likewise, the clique lives in terror of being called reactionary or academic. To suggest that a portrait resembles the sitter is to condemn painter,

critic and victim alike, and the cultivation of each new school as it overspreads the firmament enriches us with a fresh crop of æsthetic principles, expounded in unintelligible prose. To re-read the pæans written in the last decade about some exploded theory is capital discipline; but all the time the new-art critic unconsciously promotes much bigger ventures in the speculative realms of modern sculpture and painting. The dunnage of studios is being routed out, the forger is active and surprisingly successful; big money is at stake, and the innocent dreamers who bemuse us provide a setting for a very different kind of enterprise. On the other hand, criticism of the theatre and the concert appears to me much more vital, and gives the impression of being a thoughtful and thoroughly professional affair. When a play or opera is bad, the critics say so decisively and with considered argument. Ill-judged praise which would send people to see a poor show reacts on the critic, who would be held to blame. He cannot escape responsibility, for at the end of a boring performance one cannot 'swop' a theatre seat as one changes a bad novel. Dramatic and musical critics, in fact, set an excellent example. Their praise, which is discerning and less frequent than their chiding, is not couched in language likely to tempt theatrical producers to copy the publicity methods of literary producers; nor does dramatic criticism suggest the need for a theatre-club or society to guide bewildered playgoers. It is said that our stage is in a parlous state, and one must sympathise with any art subjected to competition of the cinema—formidable, notwithstanding its deplorable close-ups, its new note in posters, its accents, featurings, registerings and captions, all displayed against the sinister background of Hollywood. Let us hope that the theatre may dispel its troubles; at any rate, it cannot fail to benefit by the frankness and accuracy of its critics. In one other sphere criticism is realist and discards sophistication—namely, in the huge industry of female costume. A few attractive journals permit themselves a literary and even an artistic flavour; but the advertisement of dress as a whole—how matter-of-fact, how terse. Those plain, stiff models reproduced by the hundred million in the Press are precisely what is required by the sex: they are dry workaday transcripts of fact, which the prospective wearer may interpret as she pleases for herself, in terms of beauty, emulation, psychology, affection or cash; but except during 'sales' the advertisement itself is sparing of epithets. In such matters, and for so keen a *clientèle*, it is unwise to play tricks and dangerous to practise deception. The only place where the fair sex is invariably hard-set in countenance and earnest in expression is the frontage of a milliner's shop. Critics in the literary sphere should draw the moral.

The publisher cannot remain indifferent to the movements of Press, of critics and markets. He is swept into the maelstrom, and, though not responsible for the new outlook of Press reviews, he is not an unwilling partner. He no longer deserves the censure of 1909, when W. W. Jacobs accused him of indolence in advertising. He wisely acknowledges himself to be a trader, and if he can manage it he will become a mass producer. Those who daintily hint that they do not aspire to high circulations will be content to cater for 'specialist' buyers. There is no hesitation to blow the personal trumpet. They will stake their reputation on this or that, pronounce that a book of their own is a great achievement of our century. Their own discrimination is noted for our benefit. Sometimes for picturesque effect the publisher will appear under a stage name like a famous tenor; and why not? In any case, well over 10,000 new books are produced every year, and Mr. Arthur Waugh's valuable analysis of a famous publishing firm has recently shown that before the war Messrs. Chapman & Hall used to reckon that a novel would cover expenses on a sale of just under 1000 copies, whereas now at least double that number should be sold. Who can test the circulation of modern literature? Competition has not yet forced publishers to issue certified lists of net sales. The publishers themselves tell us much and little, for their announcements on this subject may sound well but convey no real information. It is not much use being told about such undefined things as impressions, editions, reprints, second large impression now ready, second large printing, first large impression exhausted, second and third at press, for all this is quite meaningless. Even the French system of publishing the number of thousand copies printed (*primâ facie* an ideal method) is now discredited by the Société des Gens de Lettres as unreliable. The publishing trade must wage a hard struggle. Foreign competition grows acute. An American catalogue is circulating marked in dollars and their equivalent in sterling, while the fine books issued by Hoepli, of Milan, or Vanoest, of Brussels, have a quality and scale with which we cannot compete on economic terms. As brilliant scholars of ours are now looking to the Continent for publication, it is worth asking if the home publishers' methods are the best. It would seem doubtful if in the long run it will pay the publisher to have his own reviewers and critics to prepare blurbs and chatty dust-covers, to edit their circulars, magazines and Press notices, and generally to coax and cajole the book-buyer. Advertisement is not overdone, but it is misdirected. For instance, the puff on the dust-cover of the popular biography or current work of fiction seems specially inept. It is couched in precious language now associated with the booksellers' prose, and one publisher has told us how these eulogies

are prepared. He wrote one for a forthcoming novel, but the authoress thought it inadequate—wrote one herself which will presumably be issued with the book; but both blurbs are reprinted in the publisher's magazine. Readers of the novel are invited to vote on merits (prizes—a lot of 7*s.* 6*d.* novels not more than two years old). Really big issues are overlooked during this kind of by-play.

Again, the trade in first editions of new books seems unwholesome—at any rate, as an ancillary to publishing. Book-sellers, book clubs, and publishers are allied in this campaign. The clubs undertake to deliver to their members the first edition of the chosen book on the day of publication. The bibliophile deserves all praise, and an *editio princeps* may be a very solemn and noble thing, if the original version of some famous text coincides with scarcity, with age, and with typographical distinction. But the craze for modern first editions ('combining material and spiritual profit') is an affectation or a gamble, for this type of book-collecting is openly advertised as an investment. The book is manufactured and manipulated for the market. A naïve writer says 'Black-letter Chaucers and black-letter Plutarchs are an excellent investment,' but that not many people can afford a first edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*. Probably not, and so one is urged to buy modern fiction. These first editions have the habit of appearing with points, blemishes, blunders and misprints, all carefully treasured and collated very much like the descriptions dear to the stamp collector; in fact, there is a close resemblance between the philatelist and the fancier of these first editions. Here are examples from advertisements showing the differentiation on which the money value of new books pivots—a book is issued with a colophon, then without one, but is still the first ordinary edition. A publisher guarantees that none of his books shall be allowed into a second edition. A book-seller offers the remainder of an unsuccessful novel with the assurance that the price will go up when the stock is exhausted. It is predicted that another volume (with a hint that it may achieve a *succès de scandale*) will soon sell at a premium. Autograph copyright presentation and association copies, advertisements, cancels, misprints—all are exploited as a gamble, and the contents of the volume are of small interest compared with its speculative value. The first edition of *La Seconde*, by Madame Colette, consisted of the following groups of copies, each having its special style and paper, each copy within each group being numbered. Various sets are *hors commerce*, and one set of twenty-five copies is printed off for a special society. The total issue amounted to some 4100 copies, divided into fourteen categories containing the following quantities:—35, 15, 100,

10, 265, 25, 400, 30, 500, 35, 2200, 300, 200, 25. All these together 'constituent proprement et authentiquement l'Édition originale.'

For most of the advertisement and manœuvring the newspapers provide an arena, though it does not seem that they are in the least answerable for the plan of campaign. Each paper has its staff of reviewers, as charitable and obliging as the rest; but the real contribution of the Press to literature is its promptitude in dealing with new books. Reviews are as punctual to-day as they were tardy twenty-five years ago; and the assumption is general that all books received deserve notice, which at times results in compression. The other day no less than 130 volumes were reviewed in five short columns of print. Newspapers deserve the gratitude of authors who are not yet ripe for advertisement by poster. But the appearance of the newspaper pages allocated to literature is often ungainly. Many of the books themselves are fussy and importunate, and it is possible that the publisher is responsible for his portion of the advertisement column, as one sees the same typographical devices repeated in rival newspapers. Sometimes the proportion of text to advertisement is quite out of scale. When an article is surrounded by thrice its bulk of relevant and carefully chosen advertisement, oppression supervenes and I turn to another page. No original article, however tendencious, should be drowned by adjacent puffs. Again, the eye should not be wearied by too many tricks, such as facsimiles of typewriting or manuscript, by footnotes, crosses, pointers, stars or frames. Some of these papers present an astonishing *pot-pourri;* I counted no less than sixty varieties of type in one column and sixty-three in another. The eye is bothered by this, and the mind likewise by catch phrases such as 'for women only' (how trite !), or the book of the moment, the best book of the week, the unique book of the year (announced on January 29), the book of the century. One club promises to tip the fifty best books of the year, another, more generous, will name a hundred every month. Genius is ubiquitous. Can one be surprised at predictions of immortality, or by the reviewer's belief that a book (then in its 'second impression') will be read by millions ? It is all very sloppy, and, I suspect, wasteful as well.

In this connexion it may be noted that the daily Press of France publishes very few book advertisements, and, compared with ourselves, France is poor in weekly journals: books, in fact, are little advertised except by circular and the book-seller's window. More books are being sold than pre-war, and to us prices seem very low. This must help the immense export trade, no less than 16,000,000 volumes (no doubt counting tracts and brochures) having been sold abroad during 1929. This high claim

is equivalent to 10,000 books at an average issue of 1600 copies apiece. At the same time the French author is said to be poorly recompensed. France has plenty of bookshops. Circulating libraries are rare, book clubs moribund. The public library as we know it is neglected: M. Boulenger has been lamenting that Marseilles and Reims only spend one sou per head of the population on this service. Bordeaux spends two and Lyons four—derisory figures compared with the outlay of our big towns. But literature circulates in France. It is appreciated. It makes its impact without effort, and occupies a secure place in public esteem.

It is incontestable that the unending chorus of praise is distracting to most authors, to some positively demoralising. There is actually a tendency to win recognition by writing up to the critic—a bit of *starkness*, for instance, earns an immediate response. The nasty confessions and self-analysis which are growing all too common can be largely ascribed to encouragement by a group of reviewers who wax lyrical about these self-conscious and morbid revelations. They are poor sustenance to those who wish to devote a lifetime to literature. It is always regrettable when literature is infected by these neurotic sidelines, but it is a hindrance to progress when these tendencies receive excessive encouragement. Moreover, it would be unfortunate if authors came to feel that they were writing for the book clubs and thus tend to cut out the book-seller, who should be the author's best friend. Already few in number, it would be disastrous were we to lose the bookshop, which in the country town is often the only focus of intellectual movement; and it is the bookstalls, however thin, which make a railway station bearable. Let us hope that the apprehensions about the future of the book retailing business may be ill-grounded. Bookshops have been less injured by free libraries than was feared, and the book club is so valiant a buyer of a handful of selected volumes that one trusts readers may be induced to embark on other purchases in the shop. But membership of one or two book clubs provides more material than the average reader can encompass, and there is no inducement for him to visit book-sellers except for Christmas and birthdays. The circulating library, which has been active since the 'forties, has done a good deal to discount the taste for a private library. With a book club in the foreground to protect readers against the worst of the prevailing trash the public seems entrenched against the formation of private libraries—perhaps the greatest misfortune of all. Tested by output only, literature has never been more active and prosperous; but nervousness, even apprehension, underlies this concrete evidence of success.

The status of literature must be largely controlled by the

general public, who are now puzzled and beginning to be bored with the extravagance of praise lavished on books which seem quite commonplace to the average reader. Hence his hesitation to buy and the reliance on lending clubs and libraries. Although he is getting his reading more cheaply than ever before, he is suspicious of methods chosen to capture his custom. If the alliance of publisher, author and critic becomes so intimate as to suggest a combine against the consumer, and if the ordinary book advertisements are comparable for optimism with those of patent medicines, then the reader will be incensed. He will sulk and for a time will content himself with the newspaper *feuilleton.*

While in one direction the public has a well-justified grievance, there exists side by side a mass of current literature to which the foregoing criticism cannot apply. This consists of technical, scientific and historical books which are reviewed in the weekly and specialist journals, and often in the daily Press as well—discussed by a different world of reviewers who resort to no tricks or stratagems. The reviews are solid, constructive stuff, discarding all effort at smartness or paradox ; they are fearless and often criticise with severity, since they appeal to studious and professional readers who do not care to be hoodwinked. None the less, there are signs that the easy-going and rapturous style of criticism is infectious. It is beginning to exercise its influence. In many ways this class of literature, which is essential to the economic and scientific efficiency of the country, stands in less need of direct and uncompromising criticism than the non-technical books—namely, the lighter material of poetry, *belles lettres*, biographical studies, memoirs and romance, which are now so much disfigured by their accessories, and which constitute the majority of literary output.

Literature, especially these branches of it, has many grave difficulties to face, and it is in seeking escape from impending dangers that some of these very errors of judgment have been committed. The assistance of the State is now being invoked. Napoleon once heard that the literary world of France was disquieted, and observed, ' Si la littérature fait défaut, c'est la faute du Ministre de l'Intérieur.' It all sounds so simple ; but somehow I feel that the intervention of the Home Office to help the profession rationalise itself might be worse than all the prize committees in the world. Rather does one sympathise with the new group in Paris which is braving the log-rollers and proposes to publish its books anonymously, so as to avoid wasting the energy now squandered on advertising, especially in its personal aspects. The Carrefour Press is perhaps over-sensitive and will encounter many obstacles in its fight against the parasite ; but it may give us

a lesson in concentration, teaching our readers to think for themselves and our critics again to become freelances. For everything points to a keen but unsatisfied desire on the part of our countrymen for a fuller measure of literary activity and enjoyment. Are we not on the eve of a renaissance in literature and the arts, and will not success largely depend on the degree to which our independence can be kept intact ?

CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES.

THE CHURCH AND EMPIRE SETTLEMENT

My Lord, if the Legislature has decided that no man of learning is to take orders in the Church of England let it say so plainly . . . but consider, my Lord, the stupendous folly and cowardice of such legislation! . . . You can shut the mouths of her clergy, you can silence them. But can you silence history? Can you silence literature or science? No! you cannot; but let me tell you what you can do: You can turn the Church of England into a sort of large and bad ladies' school, where nothing is taught that could surprise an ignorant woman, or interest an instructed man!

THIS was the danger pointed out by Sir James Fitz-James Stephen at the Court of Arches in 1862; and the warning has not been neglected. Excessive caution or exaggerated reserve rarely mark now the speculations of our theologians. It is even hinted that, with intrepidity at a premium in certain quarters, insufficient hesitation is felt in shocking the outworn prudery of ladies' schools. The enduring effect of *Essays and Reviews* has been also felt in other fields.

Readiness to extend the Church's area of social influence in another direction has been more hesitating: we know now that a Conservative Prime Minister hesitated to recommend such a social reformer as Westcott, to the Bishopric of Durham, on the ground of supposed 'socialistic' teaching. The whole principle, that is, of the Christian Social Union, and the application of the Faith to immediate problems of life, was in 1890 suspect with a great number of Churchmen and politicians. Slum clearance, Migration, and kindred matters might be left to the Salvation Army and Dr. Barnardo, the Charity Organisation Society, and County Councils. Let the Church concern herself with preaching the Word and administration of the sacraments, with baptising, marrying, and registration of burials, without any misplaced enthusiasm for bringing heaven to actual earth. The rising tide of Christian anxiety for the bodies and houses, as well as for the souls, of the people could not, however, be stemmed. Critics now point to an opposite danger, of clergy posing as Court chaplains of democracy, more concerned with clubs, playing-fields, and legislation, than with sacraments and spiritual things. It is evidence, at least, of a new and more humanistic outlook.

A decision which is full of possibilities for effective betterment of our population was taken six years ago. In 1925 the Church Assembly appointed a Council of Empire Settlement, an outward and visible sign of the larger Imperial spirit animating the conscience of Churchmen. The Council's creation testifies to the belief that an organisation which numbers 16,300 parishes in England alone, with possibly another 10,000 Overseas, can, when mobilised for this objective, work with singular force for the scientific spread of our people. As to the pressing need for encouraging such a spread, it is enough to say that the normal outflow from these islands to the Dominions was necessarily closed down during the war. It was hindered, in succeeding years, by cost of transport and the repatriation of troops, a first call upon Australia and New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. It is, at the moment, still further impeded by that deep depression in trade which has produced a world-wide incubus of unemployment. There is therefore little hope, until conditions change, of finding niches of labour Overseas, for the million or more of workers who, by reason of the disappearance of foreign markets, will never find full employment in England again. The facts must be honestly faced. And, facts being what they are, there is added rightness in the main aims of the Empire Settlement Council, whose terms of reference in effect are :

(*a*) To devise means for the spread of information and increase of interest in our Dominions.

(*b*) To select and despatch suitable migrants to chosen openings.

(*c*) To undertake their friendly oversight and guidance during the early and most difficult years of novel conditions.

For emphasis is properly laid upon the paramount duty of spreading knowledge and creating interest—presenting, that is, the Gospel of the Larger Hope. Many agencies have proved capacity for arranging the despatch of migrants ; but no world-wide agency in existence has equal facilities with the Church for making openings known, for welcoming and giving sympathetic care to new arrivals. This is the particular charter of a universal fellowship, which exists in virtue of using brotherly kindness ' to its own.'

The stated aims, it will be seen, of the Council are independent of any transient phases of trade depression. They are part of a Church policy, which is to be continuous in action and spiritual in motive. Though partially subvented by the State, on grounds of public polity, the character of the Council is its own, being missionary in the best sense. It is to be interested, first of all, in Churchpeople, and in strengthening the outpost dioceses of the

Church. This means, incidentally, that it will occupy itself more with the quality than with the quantity of folk it induces to move. It means, further, that Empire settlement can only be regarded as a very partial and gradual cure for unemployment. For we are to be sure that our self-governing Dominions will refuse to lower their standards of physical and mental virility by becoming asylums for those who, for whatever reason, have sunk to the status of 'unemployables.' And they will be right. They have a wholesome and hideous fear of our overcrowded slum conditions. They are determined, so far as in them lies, to fight against their recurrence in the New World. They want men and women, and especially children, who may be expected to fit in with the higher standard of intellectual and social development which they will find on arrival, not those who are unlikely to pull their own weight in the community.

No one who has studied the subject is ignorant of certain vital basic facts: as, that willingness to migrate depends upon economic laws and conditions which are entirely beyond the control of statesmen. In principle, matters are the same as in the days when Saxon invaders first visited these shores. They came, and they sent for their dependants after them, for exactly the same reasons as Irishmen for a century were migrating to the United States—because they were assured of higher wages and better conditions. A new discovery of gold in Australia, with its consequent chances of high prizes, would reproduce the experience of the 'fifties. And, it is when times are good that the ordinary man has the courage to venture afield: hope, that is, not despair, is the determining motive. The worse the prospect at home and abroad, the more doggedly does your British 'out-of-work' snuggle down behind the shelter of 'social services,' which help him to tide over the evil days. There could scarcely be stronger evidence of the value of psychological encouragement, or of the opportunity given to those whose business it is to magnify courage and hope.

Adverse prevailing conditions will inevitably revert to normal, and it may be with lightning suddenness. The profound belief of those who know both England and the Dominions is that in normal times the man or woman of enterprise, adaptability, and patience has six times more chances in the New World, than in the Old, of achieving a worthy independence and founding his home. Five hundred clergy now in England who have served (to their great advantage) a term Overseas are unanimous in this opinion. Their testimony cannot be suspect; they have no axe to grind—they are only anxious for the welfare of their fellow-men. It is they, and such as they, therefore, who are most persistent in pressing home this message. It was at a meeting

een 150 such clergy and the Council, at Fulham Palace, that lecision was taken to adopt St. George's Day (and its nearest ays) as a central festival for advancement of these views.

'here is appropriateness and inspiration in the choice of His esty's name-day—the birthday and passing-day of Shake-re, the festival of our English patron saint, in whose honour unded the most famous order of chivalry in Europe, the ersary of Zeebrugge fight—as the central economic phase of Vorld War against depression and industrial confusion. The has to be continued uninterruptedly throughout the year. there is obvious value in an annual demonstration.

n five years' work the Council has been responsible for the atch of some 4300 migrants to Australia, Canada, and New and. It is not a specially striking record, for the Church as hole has not yet risen to its opportunity. The majority of e—among them 1300 boys—are placed upon farms, where have, in the main, happy and hopeful prospects. It is ettable that only 140 single women have been induced to pt the chances offered. But 270 families, with 140 adult lren, are an asset of first importance to the Dominions. n if the parents make no large fortunes, they will have enabled sons and daughters to grow up into full-fledged citizen-, fitted to take advantage of Dominion conditions. Their sacrificing anxiety to improve prospects for their offspring e most worthy of motives, and calls for unstinted support. more so, in that families, though incomparably the most able migration unit, are more difficult than any other to nge for satisfactorily. There is, in their case, greater risk need for fuller preparation of house room, vicinity of schools, ors, and variety of employment, than in the case of single men boys.

n its welcoming and after-care arrangements Overseas the ncil has been happy in the co-operation of the Council for al Service in Canada, and of the local immigration committees erth, Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney and Auckland. Hostels Belfort and Indian Head (Saskatchewan) and at Edmonton erta) are intended to provide real homes for boys as they e, and when they change their farms. An outstanding ulty, owing to the enormous distances which clergy must r, is to maintain regular close touch with them. This field- is felt to be of supreme importance. The dangers of isola- of losing heart, of finding a too heavy task-master, are ter than home-keeping Englishmen can well imagine.

n the view of experts—whether of the Government or the ties—this oversight should be the vital first charge upon urces. Few things spread so much discouragement as reports

that a boy from (say) Lambeth has been marooned among folk whose Central European language he does not understand, or that a girl has been unsympathetically treated, in the hostel which is her only home. And the misfits acquire a prominence out of all proportion to the numbers who are happily flourishing.

But by far the greater number of those who do not succeed appear to have neglected the simplest precautions. They have *not* sought the advice of their clergy, or of a Council which exists for the purpose of giving it. They have *not*, therefore, been commended, in the age-long way, to friends and co-religionists, who would naturally welcome and advise them. They have, it may be, succumbed to the blandishments of a commercial agency, whose only concern is to do business in virtue of exaggerated promises, and to take the fees which accrue from a transporting company. This neglect of what can be 'a very present help in time of trouble' is no doubt largely due to ignorance. And for ignorance of the existence of the Council the Clergy themselves are largely responsible. Instances not infrequently come to light in which country vicars, being applied to for advice by parishioners who wish to migrate, have referred them to the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., or the Dominion offices rather than to their own Council. How far this ignorance is due to inefficient staff work of the Council or to congenital apathy of overworked Clergy need not be decided. What is certain is that it must be amended. The St. George's Day movement aims, first of all, at abolition of such apathy.

The first point to be made is, that the whole movement, so far as the Church is concerned, must rest upon a missionary spiritual basis. The Empire persists in virtue of its power to show forth certain very definite qualities—honesty in the fulfilment of contracts, equality between man and man, thoughtful care for the weaker members of humanity. No Empire in history has yet fallen which maintained this essential Gospel. The outward-reaching influence of a mass of virile, upright white men, upon neighbouring nations with whom they have trade relations, must of necessity be tremendous. In mere strategy of missionary policy there may, for instance, be greater wisdom in seeing that Australia is tenanted by ten million upholders of English culture than in evangelising Korea. The Commonwealth is a spearhead of Christian ethics, impinging more closely every year upon Asiatics, who are half the human race. Each instructed layman is, in the sparsely populated areas of Canada or Australia, a potent exemplar of what we hold to be most sacred and most sound. Our Overseas Bishops and Synods welcome with open arms the man, or the family, who is to bring them such extra strength. Little right have they to complain of caution in admission of new-

comers to young communities, who have maintained the detestable view, that second-best failures are good enough for the Colonies! Indeed, when appeals for support of Empire settlement on missionary grounds are made to congregations, an enthusiastic response is assured. The appeal for assistance in transferring the mere bodies of men, leaves them comparatively cold.

There needs to be, also, complete understanding that 'field-work' Overseas is richer in opportunities than any activity in home propaganda. Apart from oversight and encouragement of new arrivals, speakers and preachers must be commissioned to inform and lead, with wise boldness and wide outlook, a public opinion which is apt to be dominated by secular spokesmen. If Australia, for example, is to remain 'white,' its empty spaces, where they are tenantable, must be seriously occupied within reasonable time. The conscience of the civilised world and the growing land-hunger of a teeming East, may not be flouted for ever. It is the office of the Church leaders to take a line in the name of righteousness, which neither politicians nor the Press may have the courage to take. They can afford to face unpopularity, if need be, for a great cause, or they are confessedly unworthy of their office. With increasingly efficient field-work it should be presently possible for the Bishop and his migration committee, in many a Dominion diocese, to notify the Central Council in London of types—whether family, single men, boys or women—who would be welcomed in a given locality. And it should not be beyond the competence of a central Council to fill such vacancies from its host of waiting applicants. This implies, of course, constant touch between centre and outlying dioceses. There could naturally follow an extension of the practice, already existent in some parish churches, of posting up a list of those who have migrated Overseas during the last ten years; of remembering them as brothers in a distant station, who are 'paving the way' along which thousands are to follow. Already it is the case that many who, after daring the great venture, have 'made good' use their first savings for a trip home. They are proud to show the success of their enterprise, and keen to induce their friends to follow them. It is their coming and going that we would gladly develop further; for few are they who, having once tasted the sweets of surer independence and well-being, can consent to abide in the cribbed narrowness of even their loved motherland. The journey from the Tyne to Queensland must be made as normal as from Yorkshire to Kent. Winnipeg must be as natural a goal to the man from Cardiff, as London. The linking of home parishes with their opposite number 'overseas' might form a strong bond of family 'connexion.'

Lastly, the publications which deal with conditions of life in our Dominions need to be reformed altogether, in the direction of picturesque attractiveness and honest portrayal of facts. Government issues are apt to be dull and unconvincing, a medley of dry statistics and cheap advertisements. It is true that pioneer settlers lack time and energy, even when they have the gift, to chronicle their successful struggles, or to paint any true picture of their surroundings. The simplest tale, however unvarnished and straightforward from any of them, is worth all the handbooks together, put forth by the professional hired writer. In this matter we can afford to hear only the truth ; and that truth is so rich in attractiveness that it outweighs—like Cook's voyages or Dampier's story—any invented statements.

These are some of the methods and motives projected for emphasis by the Church at St. George's tide in the interests of our people. Needless to say, the co-operation of many agencies is enlisted. There are missionary societies which deal with our own folk, as well as with alien races. Their particular efforts will be forwarded by an agreed concentration upon all work outside these islands. Competitive rivalry between agencies will find no place in a determined unification of policy for the spread of the race, as and when it shall be proved wise. For one keen aim of all working in this field will be to study schemes, collect evidence, amass and spread such information, as may lead to sane and statesmanlike conclusions. Very clear it is, that the interest of the public, though misinformed and sadly misled, is being turned more and more keenly to the possibilities of life in our Dominions as part solution of many difficulties. Immediate economic hindrances enforce a time of waiting, which should also be a time of reflection and study. Unless all precedents of the past are misleading, we may confidently look forward to the day when a sudden call will be made, from Queensland or Western Australia, Saskatchewan or Rhodesia, for immigrants by the thousand and score of thousands. Those coming demands should be met, not haphazardly in the panic of confusion, but calmly as the result of careful preparation. It is for the Church to prepare public opinion along continuous lines for such an expansion.

Each of our Dominions is now rapidly acquiring a distinctive character and atmosphere as it grows into full strength. Those characteristic conditions of life—and success depends upon acceptance of them—can only be learned by slow and sometimes painful experience. All the greater reason is there for insisting that the move shall be made when migrants are young and susceptible. This carries with it the corollary of unhasting continuous plantation of those who can shed the traditional outlook of the Old World, and cheerfully welcome the essential

viewpoint of the New. Nothing of this can be learnt in any preparatory farm or training camp of the motherland, useful as they may be for physical 'try-out' and hardening.

It is, however, certain that community settlements—on the lines, for children, of Fairbridge in Western Australia, for adult families, as in the group settlements of that State—could give the necessary waiting stage of preparation, with the added strength of varied occupation and its attendant attractions. They should be repeated, step by step, in other States of Canada, Australia, Zealand, and South Africa.

Adverse criticism of these proposals has been advanced by certain influential writers. They have claimed that the clergy were not ordained to be 'migration agents,' and have no time to spare for table-serving activities. They do not admit that the planting of Churchpeople in the empty spaces of our Dominions can be regarded as missionary work. We can only pray for their ultimate conversion and remind them of the solemn promise they made at their ordination. The English Church has in previous centuries instructed the conscience of the community in the matter of hospitals, education, and old age pensions. Its influence in the direction of promoting settlement Overseas has principally consisted, during the last 400 years, in making conditions of life impossible in these islands for those who could not accept a certain type of Church discipline and teaching. The opportunity now occurs, to change all this for the better, to range itself with the truly elevating, and pacificating, forces of the time. But the immeasurable power promised it, cannot be had by clergy who are narrowly parochial, or by Bishops who are insular.

Every Bishop of the Church of England at his consecration was solemnly asked by the Archbishop: 'Will you shew yourself gentle, and be merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people and to all strangers destitute of help?'; and he answered: 'I will so shew myself by God's help!' The contention is, that interest in scientific use of our Dominion areas is one modern way of fulfilling this promise.

The time has come when a successor to Sir James Fitz-James Stephen might plead at the tribunal of œcumenical conscience:

> My Lords! if your episcopate has decided that no furtherance shall be given by your councils to this outstanding opportunity of social betterment, let it say so plainly . . . but consider, my Lords, the stupendous folly and cowardice of such a decision. . . . You can discourage your clergy, and practically silence them by being silent yourselves. But can you silence the vigilant criticism of modern minded men? Can you silence the hungry anxiety of large-hearted lovers of mankind, who wait for a lead from you? *No!* you cannot. But let me tell you what you can do: You can give added point to accusations that the Church of England is allowing its strength to dribble away into the sands of contro-

versy and the tinkering of its machinery, till it has lost touch with practical realities. You can stand by and allow it to neglect one of the greatest moments in history, or you can lead and serve your day and generation, as in your high privilege and manifest duty.

ARTHUR G. B. WEST.

NOTE.—The general aim of the Council of Empire Settlement is to secure:

(1) In cathedrals, parish churches and school chapels a service, sermon or lecture at least once in the year, and by preference within the octave of St. George's Day (April 23), setting forth some of the attractions of life in our Dominions overseas, and stimulating interest in them:

(2) To invite financial help from collections, subscriptions and donations to St. George's Day Fund, for—

(*a*) The payment of travelling field officers.
(*b*) The transport of boys and families.
(*c*) The publication of up-to-date literature.

A. G. B. W.

A GREAT AGRICULTURIST: EDWARD STRUTT

Edward Gerald Strutt, fifth son of the second Lord Rayleigh, died on March 8, 1930, at the age of seventy-five. By his death English agriculture lost its most sagacious leader. Not only was he the foremost man of his generation, but his name is comparable only with those of the historic leaders of the eighteenth century. They were, however, more fortunate in their circumstances. They had behind them the flowing tide of prosperity ; he battled all his life with the strong ebb of adversity.

In the last two years, records have been published of the successes of farmers who have left the beaten track and struck out new and profitable lines for themselves. The successes of men who have pursued time-honoured methods have been left out of the picture. The interesting feature of Strutt's career is that he made farming pay without departing from what may be called its orthodox practice. He began in 1876 with the home farm of 1000 acres on the Rayleigh estates in Essex. At his death in 1930 he had under his management 30,000 acres, upwards of 700 workers in his permanent employment, and, on the Rayleigh estates alone, a dairy herd of 850 cows, which in 1928 won the championship for clean milk herds in England. Throughout the depression which marked the last twenty years of the nineteenth century he succeeded in growing wheat at a profit, and in demonstrating the advantages to both milk and corn of arable dairying. In only two seasons of the gloomy years 1885–1912 did he lose money over his wheat, though prices averaged less than those of to-day. During the post-war years 1919–29, the cereal year 1926–27 was the only year in which his wheat was unprofitable, and then he lost 2*s.* 5*d.* per acre on an area of 1326 acres under the crop. To his own county of Essex, apart from his administrative services as an alderman of the county council and chairman of the War Agricultural and Small Holdings Committees, his example and success in commercial farming were of incalculable value. It is some indication of his growing reputation that, while he was still a young man, Guy's Hospital entrusted their extensive estates to his management. The funds of that institution were, under the will of the founder, largely invested in land, with

the result that during the depression of the 'eighties the income was disastrously reduced. Strutt's advice and guidance retrieved the situation. In a few years the revenue of the hospital was practically doubled, to the immense benefit of the poor of London.

In 1912 Strutt delivered his presidential address at the Surveyors' Institution. Its publication made a sensation. It revived hopes of arable farming by demonstrating from his actual figures that wheat-growing could be made to pay. It placed him, in the public estimation, in the forefront of agriculturists, a position which he held to the end of his life. Through it, also, he and I became for the first time closely associated, for he consulted me about many of the details of its preparation. The acquaintance rapidly ripened into warm friendship. At our first meeting Strutt's personality made a strong impression on me. In any company he would have been a notable figure. His rugged features were forceful; his face was that of a man who achieved things. He had a keen appreciation of humour, and, though he did not himself make humorous remarks, his sayings often had a whimsical turn which arrested attention, enforced as they were by energetic flaps of his short, powerful arms. No man could be simpler or more unaffected. His manner was the expression of his character; straightforward, kindly and genial, it had about it that indefinable suggestion of humility which was, I think, inherent in his nature, and gave him a peculiar charm. But behind this modesty lay an explosive impatience of slackness or inefficiency, a fearless courage, and definite opinions, firmly held because they were founded on his unrivalled experience of the needs of agriculture. To be of service to that industry was the passion of his life, not only because of its national importance, but also because, as he frankly admitfed, his own interests were largely involved in its prosperity. He knew, as no other man in his position knew, the mind of tenant-farmers, for he was before anything else himself a farmer, and a commercial farmer at that. A practical man rather than a theorist, it was from their point of view that he approached every new suggestion. Ready himself to experiment, keeping fully abreast of scientific developments, and possessing that mixture of boldness and caution which are essential to commercial success, he never adopted a novelty, whether in means or methods, until he had, with the minutest attention to detail, exhaustively tested its value as a paying or working proposition. It was this combination of vision and practice which made him so useful in the agricultural world. Long before such subjects were generally discussed he had thought out for himself, and proved by experience, the commercial limits of intensive farming, the financial advantage of field to field costs and careful accountancy, the keeping of milk records, an exacting

standard of cleanliness in every stage in the production of what was then only known as 'milk,' the application of tuberculin tests to dairy herds, the association of his workers with himself as co-partners in his farming ventures.

I do not know what his political opinions were. We never talked politics. But I imagine that he was by instinct and inheritance a Conservative. On the other hand, he was certainly a member of the Cobden Club, for, on one occasion, he induced me to attend as his guest a dinner and discussion of that august and formidable body. But, as with many others, his theoretical adherence to the principles of Free Trade was modified by his growing conviction that some measure of relief had become essential to the salvation of English agriculture. Whatever change his political and economic views may have undergone, he remained, as was to be expected from his independent character, a sturdy individualist. Before the war he was a prominent member of a small group of men who met from time to time to discuss in private the agricultural problems of the day. But I do not think that he was ever in complete sympathy with his more inexperienced colleagues. Neither co-operation nor the example of Denmark commanded his whole-hearted support. He had found out his own methods and markets for himself, and by his own efforts had built up a successful commercial business in the supply of milk to London. Co-operation, therefore, appealed to him with less force than it does to others who do not possess his enterprise and initiative. So he also felt that neither the economic necessities of a country like Denmark, which possesses neither minerals nor industries, nor the social and political position of Danish farmers, sufficiently resemble conditions in this country to offer solutions that can be generally adopted.

Throughout the Great War, Strutt's services to the country and the industry were many-sided. It is on this aspect of his career that I can speak from special knowledge. For the first ten months of the struggle the Government had assumed that our own, Allied, and neutral shipping would continue to bring to our ports in normal quantities our foreign food supplies. But in the summer of 1915 the destruction of shipping began to arouse uneasiness. A Departmental Committee was appointed (June 17, 1915), under the chairmanship of Lord Milner, to consider what steps should be taken to maintain, and if possible increase, 'the present production of food in England and Wales, on the assumption that the war may be prolonged beyond the harvest of 1916.' Besides the chairman, the Committee consisted of eight members, four of whom held strong views in favour of Free Trade. They were Lord Inchcape, Mr. (now Sir) Daniel Hall, Mr. (now Sir) Francis Acland, Sir H. Verney, Mr. (now Sir) Charles

Fielding, Mr. Seddon, M.P., Edward Strutt, and myself. We worked hard, meeting almost daily, because, unless our report could be brought out, discussed, and accepted by the Cabinet before the end of the coming harvest, our recommendations could not be put into operation for many months. Our interim report was issued July 17, 1915. It unanimously recommended:

(1) That, in order to encourage wheat-growing, farmers should be guaranteed for four years a minimum price per quarter of wheat, payments to be regulated by the difference between the guarantee and the *Gazette* average price for wheat for the year in which the grain was harvested.

(2) That district committees should be set up by the county councils, and each supplied with statements showing in their respective districts the area under the plough and the acreage under wheat, oats and potatoes in the years 1875 and 1914 respectively.

(3) That each district committee should report on the capacity of every farm to grow more of the required produce, and on the willingness of every individual farmer to contribute additional food. On the receipt of these reports the Committee proposed to meet again and consider whether compulsion would or would not be necessary.

At the time the Government decided to take no action. The Committee's recommendations, therefore, remained in abeyance, though they were reinforced by the subsequent Report of another Departmental Committee which met in the autumn of 1916, with Lord Selborne in the chair, to consider the policy to be adopted towards agriculture after the war. This Committee included not only representatives of England and Wales, but of Scotland and Ireland, and among the members were Edward Strutt, Daniel Hall, and myself. With some modifications its first Report, presented in December 1916, recommended that the proposals of the Milner Committee should form the basis of future policy for the United Kingdom. In its subsequent discussions I took no part, as I had in the interval become President of the Board of Agriculture. But Edward Strutt continued throughout to attend its sittings and influence its decisions, and his name appears in its later Reports.

In December 1916 a campaign for increased food production was launched, and a few days later (January 1, 1917) a new branch of the Board to carry out that special object was constituted, assisted by small executive committees in each of the counties and administrative divisions. For some days I hesitated whether to rely on the voluntary efforts of farmers or to apply compulsion. The first course was easy; the second bristled with difficulties. But the distinction was vital. In most farm leases covenants restricted the conversion of pasture into arable. If

the plough policy was to be applied generally, tenants must be protected against the consequences of their breaches of covenant. An elderly man, thrust into office with only two years' experience of parliamentary life, I was naturally reluctant to encounter the inevitable political opposition which compulsion and guaranteed prices must arouse, and I was fully alive to the magnitude of the task, even if the powers were granted by Parliament. On the other hand, much had happened since the Milner Committee had reported. The food position had worsened. Starvation stared us in the face. Strong action was urgently needed, but it was considered advisable to conceal the necessity. Thus those who knew the full facts could not use them in public for fear of panic. Would farmers surrender their independence without the fullest explanation of the circumstances? Unless I were loyally backed by them, I could not hope to succeed in forcing the plan on an unwilling community. Here lay my chief difficulty; and it was here that Strutt gave me invaluable help. Late one evening early in January 1917 he and Sir Daniel Hall came to see me at the Board of Agriculture. They urged me to apply compulsion in carrying out in detail the plough programme sketched by the Milner Committee. Strutt assured me, with the earnestness and force of conviction, that the great mass of farmers were only looking for a lead, and that even the loudest grumbler would do his best. I took the plunge, and that night sent the Prime Minister a memorandum of the legislation that would be required to put the plan into execution. The next morning I saw Mr. Lloyd George. He warmly approved of the proposal, and promised his whole-hearted support. Never was a promise more loyally kept. The result was the Corn Production Act of 1917. Scotland and Ireland came into the scheme, and thus the attempt to grow more food became a combined effort of the United Kingdom. It was subsequently extended to the Allied countries in Europe.

Strutt had correctly anticipated the attitude of British farmers. Even though they were imperfectly informed of the necessities of the case, they used every effort to increase their production of essential food. During the whole period of the plough campaign Strutt came almost daily to the offices of the Board, where Sir Daniel Hall had been recently appointed Permanent Secretary. He had allowed himself to be attached as 'Agricultural Adviser,' and though the post was honorary, it gave him the right of access to official papers. On most matters of real difficulty he was consulted. He also served on the small committee of nine farmers, who met once a fortnight at Victoria Street, Westminster, to discuss the agricultural situation with the President. The members of the committee were unpaid. They did not even receive their railway fares. They gave their services,

and, in spite of the distances from which many of them came and the difficulties of railway travelling, it was only sickness that prevented any of them from regular attendance. Their advice and assistance were so invaluable to me that I should like to put their names on record. They were: George Rea (Northumberland), A. Mosscrop (Yorkshire), R. C. Patterson (Staffordshire), Edward Strutt (Essex), S. W. Farmer (Wilts), Walter Berry (Kent), H. Padwick (Sussex), Samuel Kidner (Somerset), and Professor Somerville. Punctuality, in the rush of correspondence, interviews and deputations, was often difficult to achieve. On these occasions it was only attained by the sacrifice of Strutt. He, my secretary and I used to walk together from the Board to the further end of Victoria Street. Like many hunting men, he was more at home on a horse than on foot on the pavement. My secretary, a long-legged Highlander, and I, if pressed for time, could walk fast, and, puffing and protesting, Strutt paddled a couple of yards behind.

The wide range from which the committee was drawn proved in two respects especially useful. I had no secrets from them. They knew as much as I did of the activities of the submarine, and the vicissitudes of the food situation. Through them the information spread, as it was intended to do, among farmers in their respective districts. Later on, when indignant letters appeared in the Press protesting against the failure of crops on newly ploughed land, their reports, and particularly those from Strutt, who made it his business to collect information, enabled me to estimate the value of the hostile criticism. No publicity agent through whom we might counteract the effect which the correspondence produced upon newspapers was employed by the Board. But it was evident that those farmers who had failed were vocal, while those who had succeeded were dumb. It was useless to argue from particular instances of success or failure. No farmer announced in the Press that per acre of newly ploughed grassland he had grown 80 bushels of wheat or 100 bushels of oats, or 18 tons of potatoes, or 47·8 tons of mangolds. Yet these were actual figures. More conclusive were the general averages drawn from fifty-eight of the sixty-one counties or administrative divisions of England and Wales of the principal crops grown in 1918 on 1,400,000 acres of newly broken pasture. Taking the acreage as a whole, including in the calculation the total or partial failures, and comparing the average yields on the total area with those of 1903–13, the results per acre were as follows:

	1918.	1903—13.
Wheat . . .	31·3 bushels	31·4 bushels
Barley . . .	28·8 ,,	32·44 ,,
Oats	47·7 ,,	40·3 ,,
Potatoes . . .	7·1 tons	6·16 tons

The comparative failure of barley was partly due to its fastidiousness; it was 'too much of a gentleman' to flourish on newly broken pasture. But the low yields were mainly caused by its late sowing as a mending or patching crop. With this exception, the policy as a whole, and speaking generally, had succeeded, and, satisfied with this knowledge, I thought it wisest to leave letter-writers, with whose personal loss I sympathised, without any official answer.

In launching the plough campaign I had relied much on the advice of Strutt. I consulted him also on its abandonment. We had planned a further inroad upon pasture for the harvest of 1919, which involved the ploughing of an additional million acres of grass in England and Wales. So far the general result was thus summarised by Sir Thomas Middleton. In normal times this country grows only ten weeks' supply of bread, and relies on foreigners to provide that for forty-two weeks. The plough campaign had reversed the position. On the existing scale of consumption and standard of milling the harvest of 1918 provided a home-grown supply for forty-two weeks, and left us dependent on foreigners for ten weeks. With the additional acreage we might reasonably hope to secure practically the whole of our bread requirements from our own fields. Yet the food position had not improved. It was, so far as the Allies were generally concerned, at its worst in 1918. In the early months of that year Mr. J. A. (now Sir Arthur) Salter, chairman of the Allied Maritime Executive, wrote that at that time 'the spectre of famine was more terrifying than at any previous period, and the cry for more ships to transport food was only one of a host of equally insistent but mutually destructive claims for transport.' In the following October a statement had been drafted by the Transport Council for publication at the end of 1918. It called upon the public in Allied countries to submit 'to severe hardships' in respect of food supplies, in order that the 'maximum number of troops might be transported to France before the fighting of next year.' For various reasons the statement was never issued. But its preparation illustrates the grave difficulties of the food position of the Allies on the eve of the Armistice. It also justifies the pressure which had been put on British agriculture to grow a larger supply of the nation's bread. The 6,000,000 tons of corn and potatoes which farmers had added to the output of 1916 released a corresponding tonnage of shipping for the transport of American troops.

The need for increased production seemed, therefore, to demand the extension of the plough policy to an additional area of pasture. But in July 1918 new conditions had, in my opinion, changed the situation. The gravity of the military situation on the Western

Front in March had necessitated fresh demands on the man-power of the country. In the agricultural industry the call-up of men, fixed eventually (May 8) at 30,000 men, was a number which could only be furnished with the greatest difficulty. Farmers received the blow with dogged determination. At Oxford, on April 25, I had to announce the Government decision to a great gathering of farmers. At the close of my speech I waited in some anxiety for the response. It was what I hoped. Mr. Stilgoe answered for the county. 'The Government,' he said, 'need not fear for the farmers of Oxfordshire. They would do their best, and give their last ounce to bring nearer the end of the war.' That spirit was general. But the process of selecting the men under the call-up revealed the extent to which the industry was already depleted of skilled labour. The loss of their most useful and experienced men forced farmers to realise that agricultural workers were no longer, as they had been for the last twelve months, exempted from military service, and that, if the war lasted into 1919, more men would be inevitably withdrawn. They found it difficult to reconcile the Government decision with the alleged stringency of the food situation. Their confidence was shaken. The withdrawal of the men was a patent fact; the danger of food scarcity, so far as they knew, was a matter of argument.

The temperature had cooled. Another chilling influence, also regarded merely as an instalment, was the first decision of the Wage Board which came into operation in May. Costs of production were raised and the margins of profit reduced by the rise of wages. Except by an insignificant increase in the price of oats, the Food Controller was obliged to refuse assistance. Without this encouragement, there remained only an appeal to patriotism founded on carefully guarded statements of the true facts. Moreover, the extension of the plough policy meant the break-up of pasture of good, though not of the best, quality. Where land of this value was at stake, opposition seemed probable, and, once organised, it would spread wherever the endurance of farmers was already overstrained. During the late spring and early summer Strutt was often and anxiously consulted by me on the temper of farmers. He thought that the present loss of men, the prospect of a further call-up, the rise in wages, and the refusal to raise corn prices had revived their old uncertainties and sense of insecurity. He hesitated to think that there would be any determined opposition; but he doubted whether I could still rely on the same loyal co-operation. He considered that, with the limited, uncertain and more costly labour at their command, farmers already had as much arable land on their hands as they could manage with clear advantage. It was obvious to me that,

so far as the general public was concerned, it would have been prudent to push forward the additional programme. I should be a less vulnerable target if I had tried the plough and failed than if I abandoned its further use without a trial. Urban populations, short of bread, were unlikely to remember that the area of grass which can be successfully ploughed and cultivated for food is governed by the available sources of labour. They would be the more severe in their judgment, since they knew that I had the necessary instrument at my command. Efficiently organised and equipped as it now was, the Food Production Department could have themselves done most of the work of ploughing.

Strutt had been confident in the winter of 1917; in the changed circumstances of the summer of 1918 he was doubtful. His hesitation impressed me. But it would not be fair to him to say that it guided the decision not to extend the existing arable area. From other sources I knew that the endurance of many of the rank and file of the farmers was strained to the breaking-point. Against a mass of agricultural opinion compulsion might be ineffective. It was, however, on other grounds that I eventually decided not to attempt a new plough programme. Nothing that we could now do would affect the threatened scarcity in the coming winter. The increase in the supply of corn from the added area would not make itself felt before the harvest of 1919. Hitherto the national emergency had justified and even necessitated the use of drastic powers. We had acted under the Defence of the Realm Act, which allowed no appeal against ploughing orders. But in August 1918, as the result of a parliamentary bargain to smoothe the passage of the Corn Production Act, the right of appeal was to be restored. Such an interposition of the law's delays would have been fatal to the plough programme, especially as the higher value of the grass to be broken up would naturally stimulate increased opposition. No doubt, if the national emergency still existed, Parliament would sanction the continuance of our drastic powers, and a Bill to this effect had been drafted by the Board. But could I any longer urge the plea of necessity? On the contrary, I was in July 1918 myself convinced that the war would be over within the next six months, and with it the dreaded scarcity caused by deficient transport. The programme of extended tillage was, therefore, never submitted to the Cabinet, and all our efforts for increased production were concentrated on bringing the existing area into the best condition possible in the circumstances.

One political event after the war bitterly disappointed Strutt. He believed that the minimum price for wheat, which he had assisted in securing, was of the utmost importance to agriculture. He thought that the principle of the Corn Production Act of 1917

had been lightly abandoned by agriculturists and that it ought to have been preserved. I do not, however, think that, even if the guarantee had been prolonged in its original form, it could have survived the recent fall in prices. The Act of 1917 was to operate for six years only, unless it was renewed before the end of that period. It applied, therefore, to six harvests, of which 1917–18 was the first and 1922–23 the last. If in any of those years prices for wheat or oats fell below the figures named in the Act, farmers were to be paid the difference between them and the average market price. Anticipating, as the course of events after the Napoleonic struggle suggested, that the close of the war would be followed, at no distant period, by a heavy fall in prices, a sliding scale was fixed. For the harvests of 1920–21, 1921–22, 1922–23 the guaranteed prices for wheat and oats were lowered to 45*s.* and 24*s.* per quarter respectively. Wheat harvested in 1920–21 averaged 86*s.* 4*d.* and oats 45*s.* 7*d.* The State, therefore, incurred no liability. The average prices for wheat and oats at the harvest of 1921–22 were 49*s.* and 28*s.* 4*d.* Again, therefore, the State would have paid nothing. But in the cereal year 1922–23 a further decline was shown in wheat to 40*s.* 9*d.* and in oats to 26*s.* 6*d.* The State, therefore, would have paid nothing on oats; but it would have been called on to pay 4*s.* 3*d.* on each quarter of wheat, or, approximately, 2,000,000*l.* What actually happened was something very different. The Corn Production Act of 1917 was superseded by the Agriculture Act of 1920. Strutt took no part in the preparation of that measure. He had ceased to act as agricultural adviser when I resigned the Presidency in the previous year and Sir Daniel Hall had ceased to be Permanent Secretary. So far as the Bill preserved the principle of the guarantee, he gave it his support; but he strongly opposed the new figures on which it was based. He even sought an interview with the Prime Minister at which he vigorously protested against the new figures, especially that for oats. His advice was not followed. Under the Agriculture Act of 1920 farmers were guaranteed for the harvest of 1921–22 68*s.* for wheat and 48*s.* for oats. The result of the change was disastrous. In the first year of the operation of the new Act the State was required to pay the difference between the new figures and the market prices of 49*s.* for wheat and 28*s.* 4*d.* for oats, or approximately 18,000,000*l.* The part of the Act which related to the guarantee was at once repealed. Strutt, who had made a profit on both his wheat and oats at the lower prices, received a cheque in compensation which was for such a sum that, as he said himself with characteristic candour, 'it made me *almost* ashamed.'

In the difficult years which followed the close of the war Strutt did valuable work. He gave time, energy, and money

generously to the sugar beet industry, especially to the Kelham factory. He represented agriculture on the Royal Commission on Tariffs in 1923, with Lord Milner in the chair. He also served on the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (1920–22). A special committee dealt with the management of their estates, and of this I was asked to be chairman. To overcome any reluctance on my part, the Prime Minister allowed me to suggest the names of three of my colleagues. Edward Strutt was the first man to whom I turned. In the course of our work we paid visits, lasting several days, to both Oxford and Cambridge. My colleagues, adhering to the wise rule of the surveyor's profession, refused the hospitality which was generously offered by many of the colleges. One result was that we were thrown very closely together; another was that we got through double the work. Our Report, though not published till the full labours of the Commission were finished, was presented fifteen months earlier. Its completion enabled us to offer the informal advice to the colleges that, apart from any question of domestic policy, they had an exceptional opportunity of selling land to advantage, an opportunity which, in Strutt's and my opinion, was never likely to recur.

Strutt had hosts of friends. I do not believe he had a single enemy. At his death the funeral services, both in London and in the country, were striking demonstrations of the respect which was widely felt for his useful career. But I think he would himself have been most gratified by the crowd of rural workers who followed the waggon which conveyed his coffin to Terling Churchyard. The men in his employment were aware that he knew better than they did how work ought to be done, and that nothing careless or slipshod would escape his eye and forcible rebuke. But they knew also that, if he was warm-tempered, he was warmer hearted; that he interested himself in their home lives; that, if they, their wives or children were ailing, he was always ready to send them, at his own expense, to recuperate at the seaside, or to lend them money to tide over difficulties. The simple, inarticulate folk who gathered in such numbers at his grave were paying no conventional tribute of respect. They came to show their sense that, by the death of Edward Strutt, they had lost, in the widest and fullest meaning of the word, a friend.

ERNLE.

THE DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA

According to the generally received account, the mainland of South America was first discovered from Europe by Columbus on his third expedition in 1498. On this third voyage Columbus did not strike out across the Atlantic from the Canaries, as he had done on the first and second, but sailed south as far as the Cape Verde Islands and thence to the south-west. According to his biographer, Las Casas, who quotes from his log, he 'wished to test the idea of King John of Portugal who said that there was mainland (*tierra firme*) to the south.'

The belief of the King of Portugal which thus led Columbus to the shores of South America had previously induced Portuguese diplomacy to press for and exact from Spain by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) the famous line of demarcation 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. And it was this line of demarcation which enabled Portugal later on to claim Brazil, and which accounts for the fact that Brazil is to-day a nation Portuguese by speech and tradition. King John's idea, therefore, was one which has had a considerable effect on the history of the world, and it is natural to inquire whether it was a mere idle fancy, a product of baseless rumour or *a priori* cosmographical speculation, or whether the correspondence of belief and fact can be traced ultimately to an actual acquaintance with the fact. Or to put the question more briefly, are there any grounds for asserting a discovery of South America before Columbus?

It is now thirty-five years since H. Yule Oldham read to a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society a paper entitled 'A Pre-Columbian Discovery of America' (published in vol. i., No. 3, of the *Geographical Journal*), in which he claimed that an inscription in a corner of Bianco's map of 1448 must refer to South America. His theory met at the time with much adverse criticism, and since then appears to have been more or less forgotten even among specialists; it has certainly not succeeded in finding its way into general histories. Since the beginning of the present century, however, studies of the Age of Discovery have made considerable progress, and the position is no longer what it was in 1895; in particular, history has gained by a new attitude,

more genuinely critical and less dogmatically incredulous, towards the *îles fantastiques* of the fifteenth century. W. H. Babcock's *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic* may be taken as an example of the new outlook. In this essay it is my endeavour to show that Yule Oldham's main argument is one which should be taken seriously by historians, and, further, that a slight modification of his original theory will enable it to overcome objections which formerly seemed fatal to it.

Recent research has undoubtedly tended to emphasise the value of maps as evidence for discoveries, even when unconfirmed by any literary record. As Kohl says, ' It is not seldom the case that an old map will contain the only information we possess concerning some expedition or discovery.' Thus the world-chart made by Nicolo de Canerio in 1502 shows the coast of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico, whereas we have no written account of a visit to these shores before that of Ponce de Leon. Of this early period of America exploration Gomara says in his *Historia de las Indias:* ' As most of those who made these discoveries were ruined thereby, there is no recollection left of any of them, so far as I know ; least of all, of those who sailed northward, coasting the Bacallaos region and Labrador.' But details of such voyages which never found their way into books or documents were gathered up by the map-makers.

The map which now concerns us was made by the Venetian Andrea Bianco in London in 1448. Bianco was himself a sailor as well as a cartographer ; he served as a boatswain, probably on the merchant fleet which sailed annually from Venice to England and Flanders. His chart of 1448 is the first to record the discoveries which had recently been made by the Portuguese along the African coast as far as Cape Verde. The Cape itself had been first rounded in 1445. To the west of the Cape two islands in approximately the actual position of the Cape Verde group are marked on the map as *dos ermanes.* Some way to the south on the edge of the parchment is a stretch of coastline with the legend in Italian : *Ixola otinticha xe longe a ponente* 1500 *mia,* which Yule Oldham, rendering *longe* in its mediæval idiomatic meaning of ' distant,' translates ' Authentic island distant 1500 miles to the west.'

Two points with regard to this strange inscription call for special notice. The first is the adjective ' authentic.' Clearly the word is meant to distinguish this particular island from others known only by vague rumour or by tradition. From the pen of Bianco it has great force. His work shows him to have been, within the limitations of his age, a man of extremely sober and accurate mind, and the ' authenticity ' of his island means that he had somehow fully satisfied himself as to its reality. We are

entitled to credit him with a measure of common sense and to assume that he would not have entered a remote island on his chart and described it as 'authentic' merely on the strength of a sailor's yarn in a tavern. He must have followed the obvious course of checking the account of one witness by the independent testimony of others before making such an emphatic assertion.

A second point is that Bianco has his *dos ermanes* on the site of the Cape Verde Islands, whereas, according to our literary sources, these islands were only discovered by Cadamosto in 1456. Here then, diverging from the African coast towards the far western island, Bianco had a knowledge of reality which cannot be accounted for from the written records, and, as his information was undoubtedly correct in the case of the Cape Verde Islands, the credibility of the map with regard to the more remote 'island' is considerably increased.

As Yule Oldham pointed out, an 'island' 1500 miles to the west in a latitude some way south of Cape Verde can only represent some part of the New World, whether in fact insular or continental. That the island was regarded as a large one is indicated by the length of the coast line which is sketched in on the edge of the map; only the side of it towards the north-east is shown, and its insularity does not appear from the cartography. If it was really an island it should be one of the West Indies. But it may have been a part of the mainland; from a short stretch of coast a continent could not have been easily distinguished from a large island, and common sense would have assumed the land to be insular until proved otherwise, especially if the coastline projected. John II. of Portugal believed, not in a mere island, but in a continent, in this quarter, and I hope to show later that the Portuguese must have appreciated a certain indication of continental mass which had escaped Bianco. Further, some part of the coast of Guiana or northern Brazil, while no less compatible than the West Indies with the note of direction, which is extremely vague, agrees far better with the distance, which is in any case, for fifteenth-century geography, a much better guide. Scaling Bianco's mile to the modern, his figure is remarkably close to the actual shortest distance between Africa and South America. Prevailing winds and currents lead from Guinea waters to South America; Cabral on his way to India was thus blown out of his course on to the shores of Brazil. And what happened to Cabral in 1500 may well have happened to some unknown voyager before 1448.

But who can that voyager have been, and why has his name been lost to history? Was he one of the captains in the service of Prince Henry the Navigator? Yule Oldham assumes that he must have been. But there were other ships as well as Henry's

sailing in the Atlantic tropics, and the more satisfactory hypothesis is that the discoverer was not a Portuguese. In order to understand why this should be so, it is necessary to digress somewhat and consider the conditions of maritime enterprise towards the middle of the fifteenth century.

At that time any state which interested itself in overseas commerce sought to control certain waters as its sphere of influence and to exclude foreigners from these waters as far as it was able. The Portuguese claim to a monopoly of the trade of West Africa beyond Cape Bojador did not receive any sort of international recognition until the issue of the Bull *Romanus Pontifex* in 1455, but it was asserted and enforced by Portugal before that date, and the royal decree of 1480, which ordered that the crew of any foreign vessel found in the Portuguese zone of navigation should be thrown into the sea, only legalised the common practice of seafarers towards those whom they regarded as poachers. But the West African trade became extremely lucrative as the expeditions of Henry the Navigator opened up the coast from the mouth of the Senegal onwards—Cadamosto says that 'from no traffic in the world could a like gain be had'—and, though no state made a resolute attempt to break the Portuguese monopoly, there was no lack of individual adventurers who for such a stake were ready to risk the perils of the forbidden sea. Spaniards were the worst offenders, and there was continual bickering between Portugal and Castile, until by the Treaty of Alcaçovas in 1479 the latter undertook not to send ships south of the Canaries. But other nationalities also were represented among the poachers, and in 1482 John II. sent an ambassador to Edward IV. of England asking him to restrain his subjects from sailing to Guinea.

The outlook of the non-Portuguese adventurers in African waters was naturally different from that of the captains of Henry the Navigator and his successors. The latter were sailing in a State enterprise which over and above immediate profit served a policy of systematic exploration. Thus in 1469 the Guinea trade was leased to Ternam Gomez for five years on condition that he explored each year 300 miles of new coast. For a captain under such a Government the accidental discovery of a new land, even though the result of a disastrous storm, could only be regarded as a piece of good luck; his natural course of action would be to take the bearings of his discovery as well as he could and to make a report as soon as he reached home. The poacher, on the other hand, was a man engaged in a small private enterprise directed only towards stealing some of an already existing trade, and indifferent to discovery unless at once lucrative. There was no regular market for geographical information except in Portugal, and there

the poacher could not sell it. For him, therefore, the chance of being driven on to the shores of South America would have been a mere misfortune, and his one idea would have been to escape from such a situation; he would have found nothing but forest and swamp and natives unaccustomed to strangers, and, though the pilot on the return voyage might have kept count of the day's run by dead reckoning, no serious attempt would have been made to take the bearings of the discovery. On return to port the misadventure would have added to the stock of sailors' yarns, but all record of the voyage would probably have been lost had not some of the crew met Bianco in search of information for his new map.

The hypothesis that the discovery was made by a private adventurer would therefore appear best to account for the vagueness of Bianco's location of it and for the fact that we have no literary notice of it. It can indeed be argued that the discovery was made by the Portuguese, and that the news of it was censored in accordance with their policy of suppressing information which might assist their rivals. Professor Prestage has shown that this policy affected historical records, and it is possible that herein lies the solution of our problem. Yet we have a fairly long list of Portuguese voyages and discoveries during this period, and although certain details may have remained esoteric, especially those relating to the goldfields of Guinea, it seems unlikely that the discovery we have been considering could or would have been kept a secret had it been made in the service of the Navigator. It is easier to assume that the 'island' was discovered in the way we have described, by a lone rover, perhaps even a downright pirate, and that the news of it reached Portugal precisely through this chart of Bianco's. The group which formed itself round Prince Henry combined the experience of Portuguese seamanship with geographical information accumulated from all quarters; these men would certainly have noticed the entry in Bianco's map with its stressed 'authentic,' and their curiosity would have been aroused. They would have instructed their agents abroad to report any gossip on the subject they could pick up, and in this way they probably heard of a further feature of the discovery, not given by the map, which led them to change the island into a continent—for such it was in the 'nineties in the belief of John II. The increase in magnitude may perhaps be attributed merely to a fanciful exaggeration. But it is better explained otherwise. From their long experience, aided by direction from the scientific spirit of Sagres, the Portuguese had derived a very fine geographical technique. Columbus notes in his log that the Portuguese had discovered many islands by observing the flight of birds, and strives to make use of their

method. With such sharpened wits they can hardly have failed to notice the outflow of fresh water from the great rivers of tropical Africa and the relation between the freshening of the sea and the volume of the river. Now in all the world the river which conquers the salinity of the ocean for the greatest distance beyond its mouth is the Amazon ; the sea is fresh far out of sight of land, and the phenomenon excited the wonder of all the early navigators to these shores, whence the Amazon was first named the 'River of the Fresh-water Sea' (Vincente Pinzon, *Santa Maria de la Mar Dulce ;* Juan de la Cosa, *Mar de Agua Doçe*). The Orinoco likewise pours out a great flood of fresh water, though much smaller than that of the Amazon, and it was by the outflow of the Orinoco that Columbus in 1498 first became aware that the south coast of the Gulf of Paria was continental. If, then, our hypothetical discoverers had found fresh water at sea—off the mouths of the Amazon, or perhaps of the Orinoco—the significance of the fact would have been grasped by the State geographers of Portugal, while it might have escaped both the discovers themselves and also Bianco. It may seem, indeed, to the modern reader that the significance was too obvious to have escaped anybody. But it must be remembered that scientific geography was still in its infancy ; that Western Europe affords no parallel to the phenomena of the Congo and the Amazon ; and that for the ordinary mariner of the fifteenth century the world, and especially the remoter parts of it, was full of inexplicable wonders. That the inference from fresh water in the sea to the existence of a great river was not at that time inevitable is sufficiently proved by the slowness of Columbus in recognising the truth in 1498 ; even after finding fresh water in the Gulf of Paria he still persists in regarding the adjacent lands as insular, and only after sighting various channels of the delta of the Orinoco does he at last bring himself to enter in the log his conclusion that 'this is a mainland, very great, of which hitherto nothing has been known.'

We may take it, then, that the explorationists in Portugal long before 1492 had come to believe in the existence of extensive land in the South Atlantic and had pigeon-holed the idea for future reference. It may at first sight seem incredible that they should not at once have acted on their belief and sought to rediscover and take possession of the new land. But their failure to do so will seem less remarkable on a consideration of the factors governing Portuguese policy during the fifteenth century. Portugal was not only one of the smaller states of Europe, but was until the middle of the 'eighties a prey to a rampant feudalism which left to the Crown 'no estates except the high roads of Portugal.' There was always at court a strong

anti-exploration party which held that the despatch of ships and men overseas dangerously weakened the royal power in domestic and European politics. And funds were never really adequate. Henry financed the early voyages partly from his own revenues and partly from the properties of the Order of Christ, but these resources were very limited; the West African trade after 1444 proved very lucrative, but it was also a distraction, for the Lisbon merchants who exploited it found their energies fully occupied in its development, and were opposed to more distant and hazardous ventures while the nearer field offered such certainty of profit. The Guinea traffic was, moreover, a hostage to fortune, and had to be protected both against hostile native tribes and envious Castilians. Hence the long delay in the realisation of Henry's original plan of reaching Abyssinia and India. Cape Verde was passed in 1445, but the Cape of Good Hope was not rounded until 1486, and even after that twelve years elapsed before Vasco da Gama made his famous voyage to India. And if the fabled wealth of India was not a lure sufficient to overcome delay, we need feel no surprise at the neglect of a land in the South Atlantic which was not definitely located and was not known to contain anything of value.

Actually we have record of several Portuguese voyages of exploration, more or less official, carried out in the 'Ocean Sea' before 1492. All of them, however, appear to have started from Madeira or the Azores, and the objective of the more ambitious was Antilia. We do not here need to discuss the special problem of Antilia and the other islands associated with it; it suffices to point out that this group belongs very definitely to more northerly latitudes than the land with which we are concerned. If any one of the voyages was directed towards the more southern land, using the vague indication on Bianco's map, it is probable that it did not go far enough to the south, and in its westward cruise was baffled by the emptiness of the Atlantic in its widest extent. Any one of the voyages would, of course, have reached America had it gone far enough, but their range was restricted by the natural reluctance both of captains and crews to venture too far from their bases in search for lands whose situation was doubtful even if their existence was regarded as certain. The caravels could only carry a limited supply of water and provisions, and a bad storm might mean helpless drifting and a slow death in an expanse of unknown sea.

There is, then, no evidence that the Portuguese ever rediscovered Bianco's 'authentic island.' Nevertheless, they must have regarded it as within their reserved sphere of navigation, and were consequently much alarmed when Columbus returned in 1493 from his first voyage and discovery of western islands on

behalf of the Spanish sovereigns. Forced by stress of weather to put into the Tagus on March 4 instead of making a Spanish port, Columbus was received by John II. at Valparaiso on March 9, and was accused of having discovered islands which by treaty with Spain—*i.e.* the Treaty of Alcaçovas—lay within the Portuguese sphere. In reply he said that he had not been anywhere near Guinea, but had sailed to Antilia and Cipangu (Japan)—with which he had identified Haiti and Cuba respectively. After this interview Columbus went on to Spain, and diplomatic conversations were opened between John and the Spanish sovereigns,

It is clear that John's original claim against Spain was based. not on any supposed rights of Portugal in India—which was not mentioned in the Treaty of Alcaçovas—but on an interpretation of the rather ambiguous passage granting to Portugal islands to be discovered south of the Canaries and in the region of Guinea (*todas las yslas que agora tiene descubiertos, e qualesquier otras yslas que se fallaren o conquirieren de las yslas de Canaria para baxo contra Guinea*). The King of Portugal chose to regard this clause as applying to the whole Atlantic south of the latitude of the Canaries. But certainly no such partition of the Ocean had been contemplated at Alcaçovas, and it is unlikely that the claim was meant seriously; it was a bargaining lead. The Spanish sovereigns on their part had no less exalted ideas of their rights. In a letter dated May 28, confirming Columbus in his titles and privileges, they declare: 'It is our will that you be Admiral of the Ocean Sea, which belongs to us, beginning at a line which we have caused to be traced and which passes through the Azores and Cape Verde Islands from north to south, from pole to pole, so that everything west of it is ours.' Thus while John affected lordship of the world south of the latitude of the Canaries, Ferdinand and Isabella regarded themselves as owning it west of the longitude of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands—which were apparently supposed to be in a line!

Soon after the return of Columbus Portugal fitted out a fleet to take possession of the new discoveries, and counter-preparations were begun in Spain. But neither state was really disposed to go to war about a field which was obviously big enough for both of them. Columbus was anxious to make his proposed second voyage in safety, and it seems to have been agreed in Spain that, in order to prevent any complications over the Azores or Cape Verde Islands, Portugal should be allowed 100 leagues clear to the west from these groups, and that the meridian thus drawn should divide the Portuguese and Spanish zones of navigation. By application to Rome this principle was embodied in the Papal bull *Inter cætera*, dated May 4 and expedited in June. The Pope Alexander VI., who was at this time very partial towards Spain,

had previously issued a bull (*Inter cætera* of May 3, expedited in April) granting to Spain all lands discovered or to be discovered by her envoys, not yet in actual possession of any Christian monarch and outside the region of privilege granted by previous bulls to Portugal.

The Spanish sovereigns soon repented them of their generosity in giving Portugal a line 100 leagues west of the Azores; in a letter dated September 5 they told Columbus that there were rumours of rich lands between this line and the south of Africa, and suggested that they should obtain a new bull curtailing the rights of Portugal in that quarter. This is the first reference in the controversy to the South Atlantic, and was presumably due to a leakage from Portuguese sources regarding the land believed to exist there. The rumour at once put a new complexion on affairs, for the Spanish, in drawing the line, had considered only the North Atlantic, and had not intended to give away anything but salt water.

But while the Spanish sovereigns were contemplating encroachments to the east of the Papal line, the Portuguese were demanding from Spain a line still further to the west. And their demands, pressed with great persistence, were destined to prevail. It must be remembered that Portugal had not so far agreed to any limitation of her rights whatever, and was not bound by Papal bulls. The latter might be regarded in Rome as acts of Papal sovereignty, but they could not function as international law until ratified by treaties between the nations concerned; the support of the Papacy was of the greatest value in diplomacy, but an excess of partiality might overstrain the reverence of the less favoured state for the Holy See. Spain required security for a colonial expansion still in its infancy, and this could not be obtained by decrees from Rome, but only by direct treaty with Portugal; Spain must have recognition of her right to sail to the Indies and a free passage through the Portuguese sea zone. To gain these ends Spain was prepared to pay a price when she found that Portugal was determined to exact one, all the more since the price was to be paid in coin which appeared to be of very dubious value. Negotiations between the two states continued into 1494, and then on June 7 of that year was signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, whereby a line of demarcation was drawn along a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and all lands which might be discovered by either party were to belong, if west of the line, to Spain, and if east of it, to Portugal. A curious clause provided that any land discovered by Spaniards between the 370-league limit and a 250-league limit within twenty days from the signing of the treaty could be claimed by Spain; the reference was presumably to the possible results of Columbus' second voyage.

Harrisse, in *The Diplomatic History of America*, rightly says with regard to this treaty that 'what must be determined is the character and extent of the concession which Spain meant to make when by the Treaty of Tordesillas she granted the 270 leagues additional to Portugal, and what the latter power believed it was receiving.' If the theory we have been considering is correct, Portugal believed she was receiving at any rate a share of a mainland in the South Atlantic. The Spanish diplomats, on the other hand, being ignorant of the evidence for this land, were probably inclined to doubt its existence; what they regarded as certain was that Spanish ships had reached 'the Indies' and that the vast commerce of Asia was about to be tapped by Spain. For access without interference to such a known world of riches they were naturally ready to sacrifice a land whose reality was attested only by rumour. They had probably expected the Portuguese to make demands with regard to India, and were greatly relieved when their rivals sought to discuss only the nearer side of the Ocean. The Portuguese on their side were undoubtedly well aware that Columbus had not penetrated half-way to Asia, and considered themselves to have a long start in the race for India. Events were to prove them right.

The distance of 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands has appeared to historians as an entirely arbitrary figure. But if we remember the usage which reckoned four miles to a league, light begins to dawn: 370 leagues is 1480 miles, which is virtually identical with the '1500 miles to the west' on Bianco's map. We do not know how much the Portuguese first demanded in the negotiations, but we cannot doubt that 370 leagues represented their 'irreducible minimum.'

Our knowledge of the inner history of Iberian diplomacy in this period is scanty in the extreme, but that outside opinion later on regarded Portuguese policy as based on a knowledge of the existence of South America is shown by a passage in Thorne written in 1527: 'When this aforesaid consent of the division of the world was agreed of betweene them, the King of Portugal had already discovered certaine Islands that lie over against Cape Verde, and also certaine part of the maine land of India towards the South, from whence he ſette Brasill, and called it the land of Brasil. So that for all that should come in his terme and limites, he took 370 leagues beyond Cape Verde.' This account was probably not based on accurate knowledge, but it is valuable as revealing a belief current among seafaring men, and reinforces the conclusions we have already reached.

The Treaty of Tordesillas must be reckoned a diplomatic victory for Portugal. Columbus was away on his second voyage when it was signed, and he never agreed to it; he considered that

the Spanish sovereigns had broken faith with him by making over rights which belonged to the 'Admiral of the Ocean Sea.' The greatest advantage for Portugal lay in the fact that she could now claim the benefit of discoveries without the trouble of making them. Each state was equally bound to hand over discoveries which might be made by its subjects in the zone of the other, but, whereas the Portuguese had no occasion to sail west of the line of demarcation, the Spaniards had to sail through the Portuguese waters in order to reach their own. Having staked out their claim, the Portuguese were therefore in no hurry to explore it. When Columbus touched at the Cape Verde Islands on his third voyage in 1498, he heard there that the King of Portugal was contemplating an expedition to the south-west, but nothing had been done about it. Vasco da Gama was given a general commission to find new lands, but his goal was India. Then in 1500 Cabral, with a fleet of thirteen ships bound for Calicut, was driven out of his course by a storm on to the shores of Brazil. There seems to be a widespread impression that this event decided the destiny of Brazil; even so learned an authority as the Very Rev. W. R. Inge, writing recently in the *Evening Standard* on the notable accidents of history, asserted that Brazil became Portuguese because Cabral ran into a storm. But by the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas Portugal could have claimed it even if the whole coast had been first explored by Spaniards. If there was a decisive accident, it was one which befell persons unknown more than half a century before Cabral, and through them determined the policy of King John II. of Portugal in 1493.

G. F. HUDSON.

TENNYSON'S UNPUBLISHED POEMS

II. CAMBRIDGE AND AFTER

I WILL begin this instalment with a series of poems on real or imaginary female characters, which resemble *Lilian, Rosalind, Adeline, Eleanore,* etc., in the volumes of 1830 and 1832, and all seem to have been written about the Cambridge period.

Much adverse criticism is lavished upon these early poems, often with little discrimination. They are the work of a very young man, and some of them no doubt are inferior, but I do not think anyone who reads (for example) *Rosalind* or *Eleanore* without prejudice can fail to realise that they show great metrical skill and have considerable beauty. They are, however, the outcome of an attitude towards women which is antipathetic and appears rather ridiculous to modern ideas, and this prevents them from being read without prejudice. But ideas on social questions are transitory, while these new poems seem to me to have qualities which should endure. I think, therefore, that they should be given their chance, and I feel sure that, even if they come in for some rough handling at first, their merits will in the end be recognised.

The first two poems, *Marion* and *Lisette,* exist in a series of MS. copies evidently made by a friend for private circulation amongst the poet's admirers. Hallam, Lord Tennyson, dated *Marion* as of the Cambridge period, and *Lisette,* of which a MS. in the poet's hand exists at Trinity College, Cambridge, is probably of about the same date.

The argument of *Marion* appears to be complete, but it will be observed that the last two lines do not fit into the rhyme scheme, so that the poem cannot be regarded as a finished work. It is no doubt somewhat prosaic in parts, but the characterisation seems to me really interesting, and there are some beautiful passages which only Tennyson could have written, such, for instance, as the cobweb simile, about two-thirds of the way through the poem.

'Marion'

Thou art not handsome, art not plain,
And thou dost own no graceful art,
Thou hast no little winning ways
Wherewith to buy our love or praise,
Yet holdest thou an ample reign
Within the human heart.
It is a sort of pride in thee
In every shade of joy or love
Still with the general mind to flow,
Nor more nor less, but ever so—
What is it oversteps this law,
And overshowers the daily and the real
As with a fruitful rain of grace ?
Let me die, Marion, if I ever saw
Such ideal unideal,
Such uncommon commonplace :
Though thought and act and speech in thee
Run parallel with thought and speech
In the universal mind,
My gentle Marion, couldst thou teach
That peculiar alchemy
To the rest of womankind,
Which evermore to precious ore
Changes common thought in thee,
That spiritual economy,
Which wasteth not itself in signs,
And yet with power intertwines
Thine image with the memory,—
The world would build thee silver shrines.
From what far inward source
Is that rare influence drawn
Enlightening all intercourse
With thee, my quiet Marion,
Which can illustrate every nameless act,
And from the eyelids of hardfeatured fact
Rain tender starlight on the heart ?
That magically woven net
Thou threwest round me when we met,
Thinthreaded as the cobweb round
In a corner of the glass,
Wherewith the greenwinged moth is bound
And seeth not and cannot pass.
It is the slow-increased delight
Of unperceivéd gentleness,

That touching with scarce visible ray
The barren life of every day,
Possesseth all its nakedness
With stealing shadow and with light.
Love is a vine, and in the hot
And Southern slopes he takes delight;
He curls his tendrils in thy light,
But his grape clusters ripen not:
But mild affection taketh root
And prospers in thy placid light.
Thou art the soul of commonplace
The body all mankind divide—

Lisette is much lighter, neater, and more deftly turned; indeed, it seems to me a charming period piece, and, although unlike anything else of Tennyson's, is none the less very characteristic of its author.

'LISETTE'

My light Lisette
Is grave and shrewd,
And half a prude,
And half coquette.
So staid and set,
So terse and trim,
So arch and prim
Is my Lisette.

A something settled and precise
Hath made a home in both the eyes
Of my Lisette,
Lives in the little wilful hands,
The little foot that glides and flits,
Braced with dark silken sandal-bands,
Even in the coxcomb parrokette
That on the drooping shoulder sits
Of trim Lisette.

The measured motion of the blood,
The words, where each one tells,
Too logical for womanhood,
Brief changes rung on silver bells:
The cheek with health's close kisses warm,
The finished form so light,
Such fullness in a little form
As satisfies the sight:

The bodice fitted so exact,
  The nutbrown tress so crisply curled,
And the whole woman so compact,
  Her match is nowhere in the world :
Such knowledge of the modes of life
    And household order such,
As might create a perfect wife,
    Not careful overmuch :
      All these so moved me
        When we met,
      I would she loved me
        Trim Lisette.

What if to-morrow morn I go,
  And in an accent clipt and clear
  Say some three words within her ear,—
I think she would not answer ' No.'
  But by the ribbon in her hair,
  And those untasted lips, I swear,
    I keep some little doubt as yet ;
          With such an eye,
          So grave and sly,
            Looks my Lisette.
          What words may show
          The ' Yes,' the ' No '
            Of trim Lisette ?
          The doubt is less,
            Since last we met ;
          Let it be ' Yes,'
            My sweet Lisette.

I have felt more doubt about publishing the next poem, *Amy*. The only copy of it is very difficult to decipher, and is evidently a very early draft which the poet intended to revise. As it stands, the poem contains many blemishes and some ' cockneyisms.' At the same time it seems to me to have a very real beauty, both of feeling and form, and I have therefore decided to include it, while omitting some obviously imperfect passages, the removal of which does not impair the sequence of the whole.

The only MS. occurs in a curious little fat leather-bound pocket-book, about 4 inches long by 2½ inches broad. This book contains, besides various poems and fragments of verse, a considerable collection of nursery and folk rhymes, notes in Italian, Greek and Anglo-Saxon, glossaries of rare English words, botanical, ornithological and astronomical notes, etc. Many of the verse fragments are from poems published in the 1830 volume, and

Amy, therefore, was almost certainly written before that date and, unfortunately, never completed.

'AMY'

Highminded and pure thoughted chaste and simple,
In life's broad river set,
A lily, where the waters faintly dimple
Leaving the flower unwet,
The silver tongues of featherfooted rumour
Ne'er spake of thee to me,
Thou has't no range of wit, no wealth of humour,
But pure humility
Dwelling like moonlight in a silver vapour ;
Not pale St. Agatha
Bent o'er her missal by her waxen taper,
Not sweet Cecilia,
St. Agnes on St. Agnes Eve, who leadeth
Over the snowy hill
The snowwhite lambs and with hushed footstep treadeth,
Is not so chaste and still
In the cold moon e'er yet the crocus flamy
Or snowdrop burst to life,
Yet with a human love I love thee, Amy
And woo thee for my wife . . .
Dear sainted Amy, thou dost never tremble
To starts or thrills of love,
But rather in thy motion dost resemble
Hill-shaded streams, that move
Through the umber glebe and in brown deeps embosom
The tremulous even star,
Fold within fold thou growest, a virgin blossom
In dewy glades afar . . .
O long black hair, O pale thin hands ! O splendour
Of starry countenance,
Wherein I loose myself from life and wander
In utter ignorance
As in some other world, where strong desire
Fulfils herself and draws
Homeward and all things are of orders higher
Subject to loftier laws . . .
Yet take blind Passion ; give him eyes : and freeing
His spirit from his frame
Make double natured love lose half his being
In thy spiritual flame,

Till like a rainbow in a rainbow folded
And of a rainbow made,
My spirit within thy spirit may be moulded,
My soul of thine the shade.

'To the Picture of a Young Lady of Fashion'

These verses only exist in the series of poems copied in a hand not Tennyson's, to which reference has already been made. The first four lines are almost identical with the opening lines of W. M. Praed's well-known poem *To the Portrait of a Lady in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy* (Everyday Characters):

What are you lady, nought is here
To tell your name or story,
To claim the gazer's smile or tear,
To dub you Whig or damn you Tory,

but the two poems have no other resemblance, and even the metre differs slightly (in the fourth line of the stanza). According to Derwent Coleridge's edition of Praed (see vol. ii., p. 155), his poem was published in 1831. Here is something of a problem. As, however, all the other poems in the series which includes this poem are clearly by Tennyson, I think this must also be his, in spite of its dissimilarity to his known work and its similarity to Praed's.

The explanation probably is that Tennyson saw the Praed poem when it was published in some periodical or 'annual' in 1831, memorised the first four lines (perhaps not quite correctly), and amused himself by making them the basis of an exercise in the Praedian manner. If this is a true explanation, the lines show with what skill the poet could adopt and reproduce the style of another and very different writer:

What are you lady? nought is here
To tell your name or story,
To claim for you our smile or tear,
To dub you Whig or Tory;
I don't suppose we ever met;
And how shall I discover
Where first you danced a minuet,
Or first deceived a lover?

Tell me what day the post records
Your mother's silk and satin;
What night your father lulls the Lords
With little bits of Latin;

Who makes your shoes, whose skill designs
Your dairy or your grotto ;
And in what page Debrett enshrines
Your pedigree and motto.

And do you sing or do you sigh ?
And have you taste in bonnets ?
And do you read philosophy ?
Or do you publish sonnets ?
And does your beauty fling away
The fetters Cupid forges ?
Or—are you to be married pray
To-morrow at St. George's ?

I ceased—methought the pencilled fan
Fluttered, or seemed to flutter,
Methought the painted lips began
Unearthly sounds to mutter, . . .
' I have no house, no ancestry,
No wealth, no reputation ;
My name, fair sir, is " Nobody " ;
Am I not your relation ? '

The following lines come from the fat note-book. Hallam Tennyson published the first, but not, I think, the best, stanza in the memoir (One-Volume edition, p. 83) under the date 1832 :

' *What Thor said to the Bard before Dinner* '

Wherever evil customs thicken
Break thro' with the hammer of iron rhyme,
Till priest-craft and king-craft sicken,
But pap-meat-pamper not the time
With the flock of the thunder stricken.
If the world caterwaul, lay harder upon her
Till she clapperclaw no longer,
Bang thy stithy stronger and stronger,
Thy rhyme-hammer *shall* have honour.

Be not fairspoken neither stammer,
Nail her, knuckle her thou swinge buckler !
Spare not : ribroast gaffer and gammer,
Be no shuffler wear no muffler,
But on thine anvil hammer and hammer
If she call out lay harder upon her,
This way and that nail
Tag rag and bobtail,
Thy rhyme hammer *shall* have honour.

On squire and parson broker and banker
Down let fall thine iron spanker,
Spare not King or Duke or critic,
Dealing out cross buttock and flanker
With thy clanging analytic,
If she call out lay harder upon her,
Stun her, stagger her,
Care not for swaggerer,
Thy rhyme hammer *shall* have honour.

The fragment which I next give is from the fat pocket-book already described. It is perhaps the beginning of an attempt to create something in the nature of a Greek choric ode.

Tennyson indicated in the notebook by long and short marks (in some places rather surprisingly) the syllabic scansion of the first stanza, and I have reproduced these in the footnote, so as not to interfere with the enjoyment of the lines,[1] which are plainly experimental, but have a remarkable melody and charm.

FRAGMENT

Ilion, Ilion, dreamy Ilion, pillared Ilion, holy Ilion,
City of Ilion when wilt thou be melody born ?
Blue Scamander, yellowing Simois from the heart of piny Ida
Ever-whirling from the molten snows upon the mountain throne,
Roll Scamander, ripple Simois ever onward to a melody
Many circled, overflowing thoro' and thoro' the flowery level of unbuilt Ilion,
City of Ilion, pillared Ilion, shadowy Ilion, holy Ilion,
To a music merrily flowing, merrily echoing,
When wilt thou be melody born ?

Manygated, heavywallèd, manytowered city of Ilion,
From the silver lilyflowering meadowlevel
When wilt thou be melody born ?

[1] Īlĭŏn, Īlĭŏn, drēamy̆ Īlĭŏn, pĭllāred Īlĭŏn, hōly̆ Īlĭŏn,
Cĭty̆ ŏf Īlĭŏn whĕn wĭlt thoū bē mĕlŏdy̆ bōrn ?
Blūe Scămāndĕr, yĕllōwĭng Sĭmŏĭs frŏm thĕ hēart ŏf pīny̆ Īdă
Ēvĕr-whĭrlĭng frŏm thĕ mōltĕn snōws ŭpŏn thĕ mōuntăin thrōne,
Rōll Scămāndĕr, rĭpplĕ Sĭmŏĭs ĕvĕr ōnwārd tŏ ă mĕlŏdy̆
Măny̆ circlĕd, ŏvĕrflōwĭng thōrŏ' ănd thōrŏ' thĕ flōwĕry̆ lĕvĕl ŏf ūnbūilt Īlĭŏn,
Cĭty̆ ŏf Īlĭŏn, pĭllāred Īlĭŏn, shădōwy̆ Īlĭŏn, hōly̆ Īlĭŏn,
Tŏ ă mūsĭc mĕrrĭly̆ flōwĭng, mĕrrĭly̆ ĕchŏĭng,
Whĕn wĭlt thōu bē mĕlŏdy̆ bōrn ?

Ripple onward, echoing Simois,
Ripple ever with a melancholy moaning,
In the rushes to the dark blue brimméd Ocean, yellowing Simois,
To a music from the golden twanging harp wire heavily-drawn.
Manygated, heavywalled, manytowered city of Ilion,
To a music sadly flowing, slowly falling,
When wilt thou be melody born ?

The following lines come from a notebook inscribed ' A Tennyson. Trin: Coll: Cambridge.' They are very roughly written and entirely without stops. There is a gap in the MS. between lines 8 and 9, which suggests that the poet intended to add another couplet there. The lines may be compared with the ' Leonine Elegiacs ' in the 1830 volume:

ELEGIACS

Over an old gate leaning i' th' mellow time o' the gleaning
Pleasant it was to hark unto the merry woodlark :
Loudly he sang from the thicket and nigher the shrilly balm-cricket
Under a full-leaved spray chirruped and carolled away :
Under a sky redcopéd the lights o' the evening slopéd
All with a roseate heat tipping the points of wheat :
Every cloud over the dim sun was barred and bridgéd with crimson,
Only one great gold star burned thro' a cleft from afar—
Over a brook and two meadows beyond up among the elm shadows
Steeped in the sunlight calm glowed the white walls o' the farm,
Three full wains had been thither with labour three empty come hither,
Half of the gold stack stared over the pales in the yard.

The following fragment is in a small black pocket-book, which is dated in Hallam Tennyson's handwriting 1831–33, and I have found a variant version written in ink in a proof copy of the volume of 1832. The farm described in the second stanza is probably the one mentioned in the Elegiac lines just quoted.

FRAGMENT

I

A million gossamers in field and fold
Were twinkling into green and gold,
Then basked the filmy stubbles warm and bare,
While thousands in a silent air
Of dappled cloudlets roofed the day,

And sparrows in a jangling throng
Chirped all in one—a storm of song—
As by the ruined kiln I lay.

II

All else like me, one peaceful presence kept,
On his bound sheaf October slept,
Thro' crumbling bricks the woolly thistle grew;
Yet in the round kiln slept the dew
And, over harrowed glebe was seen
Hard by one waning elm, the farm
In tempered sunshine white and warm,
Where Lucy lived the village-queen.

From the same notebook comes the following fragment, characteristic of Tennyson's Nature poetry during the early *In Memoriam* period. Many sections of that poem were founded on brief mood pictures like this, written in various metres:

Over the dark world flies the wind
And clatters in the sapless trees,
From cloud to cloud through darkness blind
Quick stars scud o'er the sounding seas:
I look: the showery skirts unbind:
Mars by the lonely Pleiades
Burns overhead: with brows declined
I muse—I wander from my peace
And still divide the rapid mind
This way and that in search of ease.

I will conclude this article with a series of sonnets,[2] all but the last written probably about the Cambridge period. Tennyson has not been considered conspicuously successful in the sonnet form, but many of these seem to me superior to the majority of the sonnets published in the 1830 and 1832 volumes. Moreover, they are, for the most part, illustrative of moods and personal experiences of the young poet, and thus have a biographical interest.

The first three, which seem to relate to love episodes of Tennyson's youth, are from a small brown notebook (one of the series bound by the poet's father), inscribed 'Tennyson A. Trinity Coll:' The third is obviously reminiscent of the invocation to light at the commencement of book iii. of *Paradise Lost*.

[2] The number of different rhyme schemes in these sonnets is remarkable, only two (the second and fifth) having similar arrangements. The first is on the true Italian model; the third normal Shakespearean; the remainder all more or less irregular. Of the nine arrangements only three (those of the first, second and fourth sonnets) occur in the published sonnets of Tennyson.—C. B. L. T.

SONNET

She took the dappled partridge fleckt with blood,
And in her hand the drooping pheasant bare,
And by his feet she held the woolly hare,
And like a master-painting where she stood,
Lookt some new goddess of an English wood.
Nor could I find an imperfection there,
Nor blame the wanton act that showed so fair—
To me whatever freak she plays is good.
Hers is the fairest life that breathes with breath
And *their* still plumes and azure eyelids closed
Made quiet death so beautiful to see
That Death lent grace to Life and Life to Death
And in one image Life and Death reposed,
To make my love an Immortality.

SONNET

I lingered yet awhile to bend my way
To that far South,[3] for which my spirits ache,
For under rainy hills a jewel lay
And this dark land was precious for its sake,
A rosy-coloured jewel fit to make
An emperor's signet ring, to save or slay
Whole peoples—such as some great King might take
To clasp his mantle on a festal day :
And yet a jewel only made, to shine,
And icy cold although t'is rosy clear :
And for this weakness I myself condemn,
For it is far too costly to be mine,
And nature never dropt a human tear
In those chill dews whereof she froze the gem.

'SALVE LUX RENATA'

Hail Light, another Time to mortal eyes
Issuing from behind the starry veil !
How gently morn steals from the misty skies,
Touching dim heights with sheeted radiance pale.
Pleased I behold, for to my inward sight
Within that dawn there dawns a mystery,
The shining marvel of another light,
On this auspicious day newborn to me.

[3] Tennyson had in his youth a great longing to go and live in some Mediterranean country, as his eldest brother Frederick did, soon after leaving Cambridge.—C. B. L. T.

Therefore, Oh Lord, whose effluence increate
Was light from everlasting ; who dost call
Each several morn 'Let there be light' and strait
For a days space the light is over all,
Grant to my dawn of joy a dawnlike strength
To lead up into day of summer length.

This very characteristic sonnet is written on one side of a sheet of paper, the other side of which contains the early sonnet numbered 'I' in the collected works and beginning 'As when with downcast eyes.' The latter was published in the 1832 volume :

Alas ! how weary are my human eyes
With all the thousand tears of human scorn.
Alas ! how like the dazzled moon at morn
My waning spirit after darkness sighs.
Thro' kindling buds hale March will yearly blow
On hollow winds his gusty showerdrops,
And many an April sprinkle the blue copse
With snowy sloethorn flowers when I am low,
And brown September laughing cheerily
Bruise his gold grain upon his threshing floor,
And all the infinite variety
Of the dear world will vary evermore.
Close weary eyes ; breathe out my weary breath,
One only thought I have, and that is death.

The next two sonnets, which are both political, occur in an early Somersby notebook, which contains a fragment of the *Dream of Fair Women*, first published in 1832.

SONNET

The Wise, the Pure, the lights of our dull clime
Fall from the age, and we shall roam the gloom
Wild hearts whom their own rage and heat consume,
Weak wings, that every Sophister can lime.
They will not hear the loud lies of the time
To come, the shallow fret and frothy fume
Of brass-mouthed demagogues, O'Connel, Hume,
And the others whom the sacred muse of rhyme
Disdains to name. O that true Liberty
Would ride upon the singing winds and blow
Her silver trumpet clear from sky to sky
That we might see, who love her all in all
For her fair self, and of a surety know
Those men that to the golden idol fall.

SONNET

Woe to the double tongued, the land's disease,
Lords of the hustings whose mob rhetoric rends
The ears of Truth—How shall they make amends,
Those that would shatter England's ancient ease
Built on broad bases and the solid peace
Wherein she prospered ?—Woe to those false friends
That mouth great things and for their own vile ends
Make swarm with brazen clang the humming bees,
Those that would turn the ploughshares into swords,
Those that inflame themselves with idle words
In every market place. Their doom is signed,
Tho' they shall cause confusion and the storms
Of civil blood—Moths, cankers, palmer worms
That gnaw the bud, blind leaders of the blind.

Judging from the paper and handwriting, this sonnet belongs to the Cambridge period. The last line suggests that the lament is for the departure southward of some human rose of the Somersby district :

Oh fade not yet from out the green arcades,
Fade not, sweet Rose, for hark the woodland shrills !
A lamentation grows in all the shades,
And grief in copses where the linnet trills :
The sweet Rose fades from all the winding rills
And waning arches of the golden glades :
From all the circuit of the purple hills
The sweet Rose fades, alas, how soon it fades.
It does not fade, but from the land it goes,
And leaves the land to winter. I remain
To waste alone the slowly-narrowing days.
It fades to me : for they transplant the Rose,
And further South the Rose will bloom again
Like a mere Rose that only cares for praise.

This sonnet is probably also of the Cambridge period, and chronicles a characteristic mood of depression and self-depreciation. Possibly the friend to whom it is addressed may have been Arthur Hallam :

When that rank heat of evil's tropic day
Made floating cloud of flowing joy, and cleft
My shores of life (their freshness steamed away,
Nothing but salt and bitter crystals left),
When in my lonely walks I seemed to be
An image of the cursed figtree, set
In the brown glens of this Mount Olivet,

Thy looks, thy words, were sun and rain to me.
When all sin-sickened, loathing my disgrace,
Far on within the temple of the mind
I seemed to hear God speaking audibly,
' Let us go hence—' sometimes a little space
Out of the sphere of God I dared to find
A shadow and a resting place in thee.

The following sonnet is from a notebook inscribed ' A. Tennyson. Trin. Coll. Cambridge ' :

Conrad ! why call thy life monotonous ?
Why brood above thine anchor ? the wov'n weed
Calms not but blackens the slope water bed :
The shores of life are fair and various,
But thou dost ever by the beach abide :
Why hast thou drawn thine oars across the boat ?
Thou canst not without impulse downward float,
The wave of life hath no propelling tide.
We live but by *resistance*, and the best
Of Life is but the struggle of the will :
Thine unresisting boat shall pause—not still,
But beaten on both sides by swaying Unrest.
Oh ! cleave this calm to living eddies, breast
This sloth-sprung weed with progress sensible.

This sonnet (in an unusual but effective vein of satire) is written on an old sheet of notepaper, which contains also an early version of the ' Bridesmaid ' sonnet (written about the marriage of Charles Tennyson Turner and Louisa Selwood in 1836). The last line was used by the poet in *Aylmer's Field* (published 1864) :

How thought you that this thing could captivate ?
What are those graces that could make her dear,
Who is not worth the notice of a sneer
To rouse the vapid devil of her hate ?
A speech conventional, so void of weight
That after it has buzzed about one's ear,
Twere rich refreshment for a week to hear
The dentist babble or the barber prate—
A hand displayed with many a little art,
An eye that glances on her neighbour's dress,
A foot too often shewn for my regard,
An angel's form, a waiting-woman's heart,
A perfect-featured face, expressionless,
Insipid, as the Queen upon a card.

C. B. L TENNYSON.

(To be continued.)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

CONTENTS FOR MAY

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THE

NINETEENTH

CENTURY

AND AFTER



No. DCLI—May 1931

SHOULD LIBERAL UNIONISM BE REVIVED?

Politics at Westminster have undergone a signal transformation since the Christmas recess. When members reassembled in January there was much expectation of dramatic developments. Conservative prophets were for the most part hopeful that the Government would fail to carry the second reading of the Trade Disputes Bill. On the chances of two prominent horses in the political stakes, General Election or Labour Budget II., tipsters in that quarter of the ring would certainly have backed the former to come in first. Failing the Trade Disputes Bill, votes of censure based on the unemployment figures were relied upon to put the Government out.

All these exhilarating expectations have crashed. The Government's Bills, including even the Trade Disputes Bill, have suffered reverses of many kinds without shaking the determination of their jockeys to keep their seats. Damped by surprising manœuvres on the part of the Liberal fire brigade, votes of censure have petered out. Crassus, the Roman triumvir,

is said to have invented simultaneously the fire-engine and the system of insurance against fire. Chance or an enemy would kindle an outbreak in the house of some opulent friend, and Crassus would arrive upon the scene in the nick of time, prepared to put it out—at a price. The sum was paid; the house was saved; the triumvir wholeheartedly, the owner halfheartedly, rejoiced. Mr. Lloyd George must have been reading Roman history of late:

> On fire that glows with heat intense
> I turn the hose of common-sense,
> And out it goes, at small expense!

The last vote of censure is a triumphant example. As a show of fireworks and fire-extinction, the House of Commons is undeniably interesting.

The effect of all this upon the country's feelings—and fortunes—is less entertaining. Falling revenue, dwindling trade, decreasing employment, widespread bewilderment, indignation, distress. By-elections have been raining upon us; but they show no clear demand either for continuance or change of the present *régime* at Westminster. The poll of the two parties which control the entertainment at Westminster has certainly fallen in a startling manner. In the eight by-elections in which it has run candidates this year the Labour Party has lost an average of over 2500 votes. In the six by-elections in which it has taken part the Liberal party has lost on the average just under 6000 votes. But of the total of over 58,000 votes lost by the Labour and Liberal Parties the Conservative Party has gained on the balance only 2000. The most marked feature of the polling is abstention. Nor is the gloom of the picture relieved by the two elections since Christmas in which the Conservative vote has been split by a Crusader. I have omitted both these from the totals given above, since the votes, especially at St. George's, cannot easily be classified. The St. George's by-election, which presented a great opportunity, ended in a debasing and unprofitable brawl on an issue which no by-election could possibly settle, however it resulted. It is to be hoped, from every point of view, that these outbursts of civil faction will not be renewed.

The indifference of the electorate is all the more astonishing since a policy of fundamental reform, comparable to the First Reform Bill and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, is definitely before it. Great reforms in this country are usually signalled in advance by strong evidence of popular feeling. It was so in the days when Cobbett rode from village to village helping to raise a passion for parliamentary reform which swept away old political divisions in a prairie fire, though it made no impression upon the rocklike conservatism of the Duke of Wellington. It was so likewise in

the time of the Anti-Corn Law League, though the final landslide of opinion was precipitated by an accident, the Irish famine. Our unemployment figures deserve, it is true, to rank with the terror created by the famine; but there was no bottomless reserve of free potatoes then, as to-day there is free unemployment benefit paid from sources which many voters believe to be inexhaustible. To come to a much more modern instance, there is no interest and enthusiasm surrounding the policy of fiscal reform to-day comparable to that roused by the Tariff Reform League under the magnetic leadership of Joseph Chamberlain. The protagonist of that campaign moved from platform to platform amid strong excitement, and who can tell, but for the uncertainty of the official Conservative leaders, what success he might have won? There is no such strong excitement abroad in the country to-day—only distress, confusion, and bewilderment. Not that fiscal reform lacks a solid mass of supporters, marshalled behind convinced advocates and a powerful organisation. These things it has; but it has not yet touched the swinging and uncertain central vote—so large to-day—which turns elections. Little more than half the electorate records its vote at the by-elections. Manifestly a large proportion of it is still uninterested, uncertain or indifferent. That is the situation.

In this respect the present position shows a close resemblance to that of January, 1886, when Mr. Gladstone took over the Government from Lord Salisbury's Ministry of Caretakers with a majority in which the Irish Nationalists were an essential factor. The bent of English feeling at the time was profoundly uncertain. Mr. Gladstone's record from 1880 to 1885, which included the surrender at Majuba and ended disastrously with the murder of Gordon at Khartum, had caused profound disquiet; but the newly enfranchised agricultural labourer had given him unexpected support at the General Election in November, 1885, and it was by no means certain that the marked evidences of dissatisfaction with his leadership in his own party would seriously affect the political situation in the new Parliament. The future turned upon two factors—the initiative and statesmanship of the Conservative leaders, and the political courage of the Liberal anti-Home Rulers. These two bodies were united, in spite of many differences of outlook and sentiment, by a strong common instinct that Mr. Gladstone's conduct of national and imperial affairs, not merely in the case of Ireland, but throughout the range of his activities, was dangerous to security. The same feeling—as the General Election of July, 1886, made evident—was latent in a majority of the electorate. But that feeling would never have gained adequate expression—much less altered the course of English history—had it not been for the

insight, courage, and statesmanship of a few men, of whom the most important were, on the Conservative side, Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill; on the Liberal, Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Gladstone kissed hands for the third time as Prime Minister on February 1, 1886, and from that moment the situation developed rapidly. The Whig element in the party was already alienated. Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, and Lord Northbrook refused from the outset to join the Government. More serious still, a powerful section of the Radicals was also uncertain. Mr. Bright would not take office; Mr. Chamberlain took it very halfheartedly. The Prime Minister laid the Home Rule measure before the Cabinet in the middle of March. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan resigned immediately. The defection of all these men as individuals from Mr. Gladstone's leadership was important; but no one could say how much Liberal support they would carry with them in the country and therefore how serious their defection would prove. Their problem, fully appreciated by the Conservative leaders, was to swing with them a sufficient proportion of the Liberal vote to make their action, on appeal to the country, decisive. For Mr. Chamberlain, moving for the first time in Whig company, the situation was particularly difficult. He was not at the moment on good terms with Lord Hartington; as a Radical of strong and outspoken views, he was greatly distrusted by Lord Salisbury.

It seems certain that only Lord Randolph Churchill's clear insight and broad sympathies turned the situation to good—an achievement of national and Imperial consequence which will always redeem his violent and headlong action a few months later. He had already, in a speech delivered at Manchester at the beginning of March, expressed, with Lord Salisbury's approval, his conviction of the necessity of close co-operation between the Conservatives and the anti-Gladstonian Liberals:

> We believe in your hearts you are animated only by a desire for the welfare of the country; we believe that you possess the capacity, mental and otherwise, for contributing to that welfare. If you like to form a Government yourselves, we will support you. If, on the other hand, you wish for our personal co-operation in that Government, we will give it you.

Their opponents, he went on, were the party of Separation; he hoped for a party representing all elements in the nation, whatever their previous political labels—all elements whatsoever opposed to Separation. And then in a passage which marked, I believe, the birth of Unionism:

> Let us go in for a party of Union; and it is not to be only a party of union of the United Kingdom, but it is also to be a party which supports as

its great and main and leading principles union with our Colonies and union with our Indian Empire. I offer this without further elaboration to your most earnest attention, because I believe that it is only by the union of all the subjects of the Queen in all parts of the world and by the re-invigorated co-operation, cohesion and consolidation of all parts of the widely scattered British Empire that you can hope to restore to your commerce and to your industries their lost prosperity.

Mr. Chamberlain's own theme a few years on!

The Home Rule Bill was introduced on April 8. Some days before Lord Randolph had already succeeded in bringing about a meeting between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain. The setting for this historic interview was significant—the visitors' room at the Turf Club. Neutral ground, but far from neutral consequences! By the end of the month Mr. Chamberlain had carried the Liberal Two Thousand in Birmingham with him. The second reading of the Bill was taken on May 10. Strong pressure was being brought to bear upon anti-Gladstonian Liberals by Mr. Gladstone's loyal forces in the constituencies. During May, accordingly, the Conservatives and they came to an arrangement to prevent division of the anti-Home Rule vote at the election. As this fact is not at all clear from the leading biographies and histories of the period, it may be well to support it with an unexceptionable reference. This is to be found in a memorandum by Queen Victoria published with the latest volume of her Letters.[1] The memorandum is dated Windsor Castle, May 19, 1886; and it contains the following note of a conversation with Mr. Goschen:

> Speaking of the elections Mr. Goschen said, as Lord Salisbury did, that the Agents of the Conservative Party and of the Liberal Unionists were both engaged in settling about their candidates, so that they should not oppose each other, and in certain places give way to one another. This was especially necessary for the Liberal Unionists, as they would otherwise lose so much, and not for the Conservatives.

Even so, the results of the division on the second reading of the Bill hung in the balance, confidence oscillating from side to side as the debate, which lasted till June 10, showed one feeling uppermost and then another. When members drifted out into the lobbies after Mr. Gladstone's final oration—a splendid effort, the peroration of which was prophetic—Lord Randolph exclaimed gloomily, 'There are not three hundred men with us!' (the House then contained 676 members). Mr. Gladstone himself was not unhopeful. The Unionists, however, had done their work well. The figures were 313 for the Bill, 343 against—an unexpected and signal defeat for the Government. At the

[1] *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, 1886—1901 (edited by G. E. Buckle), p. 132.

General Election which followed, the decision of Parliament was upheld. The country returned 390 members against Mr. Gladstone, including 74 Liberal Unionists; 280 for him, including 85 Irish Nationalists. The total poll for Great Britain showed the wisdom of preventing a division of the anti-Gladstonian vote in the constituencies. The Gladstonian Liberals had 1,344,000; the Conservatives 1,041, 000; and the Liberal Unionists 397,000—a majority against the Government of only 94,000 votes.

Lord Hartington, the leader of the Liberal Unionists, declined Lord Salisbury's offer to serve under him, if he would form a Government, and also the offer of posts in Lord Salisbury's Government, on the ground that he was surer of Liberal support for the close co-operation which he promised, if he did not take office. It is doubtful if his hesitation was justified. Six months later Lord Randolph Churchill's sudden resignation caused universal alarm, and for a short time the life of Unionism seemed precarious. Lord Hartington still preferred to stand out, but he pressed Mr. Goschen to accept Lord Randolph Churchill's place, which Lord Salisbury offered him. Mr. Goschen had been defeated at the General Election in spite of the electoral arrangement. He was, however, returned at a by-election as Liberal Unionist member for St. George's, Hanover Square; and thenceforward Liberal Unionism had its representative in the Cabinet. Lord Lansdowne, who was offered the Secretaryship for War, or the Colonies, thought he should remain in Canada pending settlement of the fisheries dispute with the United States. Mr. Chamberlain, whose chief ally was Lord Randolph, was apparently not offered anything. His position as leader of the Radical Unionist group was indeed exceptionally trying, and made great demands upon his signal courage. He was at one time, I have heard, so depressed that he meditated going to Australia. In the autumn of that year, however, he accepted the appointment of chief British plenipotentiary in a Commission sent out to the United States to deal with the fisheries dispute, and returned to England in the following spring with a greatly enhanced reputation. In May, 1888, he spoke on the political situation to his constituents in Birmingham. 'I know,' he said, 'of only two parties. One is the National and the Unionist Party, and the other is the Gladstonian. . . .' Until the emergence of an effective Labour Party in 1910 this remained the situation. Lord Randolph's vision of political union between Conservatives and Liberals in pursuit of a common national and imperial policy therefore came to fruit with remarkable speed and effect. That union held the country at three elections—1886, 1895, and 1900. It wrote a varied and constructive chapter of our history, the main inspiration of which was Disraeli's dream

of Young England revitalised in Tory democracy and in Chamberlain's Radical Imperialism. On our development at a critical period it was the dominating influence for twenty years.

This chapter in history seems to me to throw invaluable light upon our political problems at the present day. I am personally convinced that the precedent of 1886, applied *mutatis mutandis* to the conditions of 1931, points a clear and practicable way out of our perplexities, and that we shall neglect that precedent at our peril, if we insist on neglecting it. Before I attempt, however, to apply the moral, it is necessary to dwell upon one salient difference between the conditions of 1886 and 1931 which greatly aggravates the complexity of our own situation.

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone had put a single clear-cut issue before the country and Parliament. It was presented in the terms of a Bill on which, after some hesitation which actually complicated the debate on the second reading, he decided to stake the life of his Government. The House of Commons therefore had to vote one way or another on the proposal for an Irish Parliament. In the event of that proposal being defeated at Westminster, the country would be called upon to give its verdict, for or against, immediately afterwards. The sharpness of the edge thus given to the situation was due in part, also, to another factor which is lacking at the present moment. The middle or third party—namely, the Irish Nationalists, on whom Mr. Gladstone depended for power—were men of one idea. There was no question what Mr. Parnell wanted or how his followers would vote. Though he led the smallest party in the House, he succeeded in making his policy the test question between the other two parties. A majority of members in both those parties faced the issue reluctantly, and only because Mr. Gladstone gave them no alternative. It will always be a question whether the precipitate courage with which Mr. Gladstone presented that issue to Great Britain was in fact a service to his cause. With the best intentions, generation by generation, we have always blundered in the handling of Irish affairs. But the courage of his leadership was magnificent, and it dominated the situation.

There is no such clear-cut issue in a Bill to-day. If Mr. MacDonald were, with Mr. Gladstone's courage, to lay a Bill for public control of, say, the iron and steel industry before Parliament, the gauntlet would be on the floor; Parliament and the country would have no choice but to take it up. Mr. Graham has indeed recently declared that, in the opinion of the Government, this is the only solution of the iron and steel problem which offers substantial hope; but it will not be presented to Parliament. Mr. Maxton is not Mr. Parnell; Mr. MacDonald is not Mr. Gladstone 'Socialism in our time' will be thundered from platforms

in suitable spots; it will not be thundered from the Treasury bench.

On the other hand, there is Mr. Lloyd George. He is now, with his ingrained instinct for action and endless resource, gradually imposing his will upon the Government, and he is driving relentlessly to the front an issue which all the parties, with whatever reluctance, must face. His proposal is broadly for greatly increased expenditure on Socialist lines combined with Free Trade; the only alternative before the country is fiscal reform. Unfortunately this all-important issue will probably not confront Parliament, like the Irish issue, in a single clear-cut Bill. It will be implicit in a series of proposals for increased expenditure which in sum but not in detail will either effect a rapid cure of all our maladies or precipitate collapse. If Mr. Snowden were not a man of iron conviction and great moral force, Parliament might now be wrestling with the issue in the shape of extensive loan proposals. Though Mr. Snowden may succeed in qualifying the crudity with which these costly proposals are submitted to us, I do not see how he can prevent them from being in fact imposed upon us, unless a majority in Parliament believes with Mr. Keynes that a reform of our fiscal system offers a better way out.

It seems certain, then, that Mr. Lloyd George will have his way, unless all, Conservative or Liberal, who regard that way as ruinous, combine to defeat it in this Parliament and at the election which defeat will produce. Let there be no mistake—this will be no easy task. The Socialist Party has for a generation at least preached State expenditure as the solution of all distress; and there is a powerful mass in the electorate which believes that solution to be barred from them only by the selfishness of the propertied classes clinging to undeserved wealth. The case for expenditure will therefore enlist behind it the whole of the vote which is marshalled by the narrow sense of class, and yet another section of voters which will see in the opposing demand for economy nothing but the withdrawal of a livelihood which they have learnt to expect as their right. Strong in itself, this appeal to the electorate will be weighted with the popular arguments for Free Trade—arguments which count less to-day than ever before, but are nevertheless still used with effective force.

It is difficult to understand how anyone with a sense of reality can continue to believe that arrangements will not be made between Mr. Lloyd George and the Government to prevent a division of the Free Trade vote. I cannot myself attribute the fact that there was no Liberal candidate at Woolwich, and that there is to be no Socialist candidate at Whitby, entirely to the long arm of coincidence. Mr. Lloyd George has told his party

in unmistakable terms that they must choose between extinction and organised co-operation with the Government. Sir Herbert Samuel evidently concurs. An arrangement by which Liberal candidates are given as free a hand as possible in the counties, while Socialist candidates concentrate on the boroughs, cannot be difficult to make. Mr. Lloyd George on his side will certainly not forget the practical lessons of 1886. What this will mean is best to be learnt from the votes cast for the three parties in the two types of constituency in 1929. In the English boroughs the figures were :

	Conservative.	Socialist.	Liberal.
London Boroughs . .	754,242	784,646	353,917
Provincial Boroughs . .	2,973,234	3,403,401	1,642,570
Totals . . .	3,727,476	4,188,047	1,996,487

In the English counties this was the poll :

Conservative.	Socialist.	Liberal.
3,454,591	2,663,205	2,349,092

Confronted by these figures, and by the certainty of some electoral understanding between the Socialist and Liberal Parties in pursuit of a popular policy of expenditure and in defence of Free Trade, Conservatives and Liberals who regard the Socialist-Liberal policy as ruinous will be mad not to revert on their side to the example of 1886. Men who still value their country will not, in this grave emergency, leave anything they can help to chance.

If this issue is not yet sufficiently clear-cut in Parliament, it is the business of leaders to make it so and to concentrate all their energies upon it. Apart from the absence of a single concrete Bill which would bring the issue to a definite and early vote, the present situation resembles exactly the situation forty-five years ago ; for the Liberal-Socialist policy will, I repeat, take effect in the life of the present Parliament, unless a majority, which must be composed of Conservatives and Liberals, determines to defeat it. This is not to be achieved without organisation on the Liberal Unionist precedent ; and that organisation, to fulfil its aims, must be directed, as in 1886, to winning the next election as well as to defeating the Socialist Administration in Parliament. Now as then, the nation is looking for a national lead, and will, I believe, follow it effectively if the case is put to it on the broadest

possible grounds, free from that party narrowness of statement which the Conservative and Liberal Unionist leaders cast to the winds in the anti-Home Rule fight. I do not see how such a lead can evoke a sufficiently wide response unless Conservatives and Liberals combine in making it. Agreement on the principles of policy is, of course, essential to co-operation of that kind ; without it co-operation would degenerate into a purely political manœuvre for place. But, given agreement in principle on the main issue of the day, it is time to remember that the co-operation of men of different parties in a national emergency is honourable to both ; that, if it is to be effective, such co-operation must be open and organised ; and that political, like military, organisation means making the utmost at every point in the field of the total available strength. Local associations have every right to a powerful voice in the question of candidates ; but it is not the least part of a true leader's duty to give them clear, if tactful, advice. Generals who leave such matters entirely to the commanders of battalions and companies and platoons will certainly be defeated by generals who do not. That, I believe, is one of the most important morals of 1886.

How many Liberals are there in this Parliament prepared to set their faces resolutely against heavily increased expenditure on policies of State intervention, State works, and State relief ? And what alternative policy are such Liberals prepared to support ? The issue lies, for the time being, entirely in the hands of Liberal members of this Parliament. Even a small group, effectively organised, could exercise a powerful influence. But their position at the next election, as well as their action in this House, will depend inevitably on the extent to which they can conscientiously co-operate with the Conservatives, and that in turn will depend on their attitude to fiscal reform. For no section of Liberals is an intransigent course really practicable except for the life of this Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George publicly emphasised that fact in his address to the Members and Candidates' Association immediately before the Easter recess. In view of that fact, he is leading the party into organised co-operation with the Left. There is no effective counter to this—no counter, that is, that will enable right-wing Liberalism to exercise any influence beyond the life of this Parliament—except organised co-operation with the Right. For Liberals of the right centre not to recognise this is to condemn the Liberalism which they represent to impotence, and also, as I believe, to give the country over to a policy which they regard as ruinous. As well might the Liberals who could not follow Mr. Gladstone on Home Rule have refused in their time to make terms with the Conservatives. If that course was hard for the Whigs, like Lord Hartington, it was

doubly hard for Mr. Chamberlain, the Radical. But the Liberal Unionists of that time took it unflinchingly, because they could not make their opposition effective by any other means. Right-wing Liberals are in the same position to-day; they must organise for co-operation with the Conservative Party on some definite alternative course, if they are to contribute in any way to the defeat of what I may comprehensively describe as Red finance.

All these considerations lead back to the question of fiscal reform, and many leading Liberals have shown that they approach that question with a clear perception that mere negation is not a practical policy in the conditions now facing us. Sir John Simon, in that spirit, has declared his readiness to examine the alternatives without Free Trade bias, and Mr. Keynes has gone a good deal further—so far, indeed, as to recommend in principle, not only a general tariff for revenue, but also the protection of British industry in the home market. The elements of the problem are indeed comparatively simple, though the choice for Free Traders on the balance of objections is in some ways hard. The most salient feature of the situation is that purely economic arguments carry much less weight than they did in comparatively recent years, because the conditions have altered so fast. Thus no one with any political sense believes that it will be possible to balance the Budget and maintain stability for the next few years by sheer economy and without fresh revenue of some kind. How is such revenue to be found? It cannot be raised by heavier direct taxation, because—quite apart from the probable fall in yield—such taxation would take the remaining heart out of enterprise, add to the burdens on industry, and drive employers into bitter wage disputes with the working class. Since, tariffs or no tariffs, a new co-operative effort between all the partners to industry is indispensable to a recovery of our industrial strength, any method that must lead, like Red finance, to industrial trouble may be put out of court. If heavier direct taxation is barred on all these grounds, there must be recourse to indirect taxation. In what form? To put a concentrated load of taxation upon a few articles of universal consumption which we do not produce would neither be fair nor politic, since to increase the taxation on the poor and decrease that on the rich is a sure road to the very trouble which it is of cardinal importance to avoid. Tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, tobacco, beer—all these articles are necessary to the working class; none can wisely or justly be visited with marked attention, if income tax is to escape. Even petrol taxation increases the cost of transport and affects the motor industry in regard to small cars. If, then, we are debarred from increased direct taxation and from oppressive indirect taxation of a few articles with which the small consumer

cannot dispense, we are driven to a general tariff spread over a wide range of imports. Having once accepted the necessity for such a tariff, many Free Traders would feel no strong objection to its use for safeguarding British industry in the home market, as Mr. Keynes suggests, nor for assisting Imperial development and the creation of further overseas markets for British goods, provided only they were satisfied on another point.

That point is the method by which duties are to be fixed. Not only among Liberals, but among working-class voters of every sort, there is a widespread fear that a tariff, when once established, might be manipulated for the benefit of producers without regard to consumers, and for enriching the propertied classes without proportionately benefiting the working class. This is not the place to discuss the problem in detail ; but Liberals would, I believe, be representing a widely held opinion in standing for the establishment of two kinds of machinery as conditions of their support of fiscal reform. One is the creation of a Central Tariff Board of an independent character, which would serve both to examine the incidence of duties before they were imposed and also to protect members of Parliament from pressure of an undesirable kind. The other is the establishment of trade associations in every important industry to include representatives of the consumer as well as the producers concerned, and representatives of trade unions and workers as well as of the employer and manager class. I would add that there is much to be gained and nothing to be lost by definitely and decisively barring the taxation of bread and meat.

Throughout the country there are thousands of Liberals prepared to co-operate with Conservatives on these lines, provided they are given a clear Liberal lead. But the lead must be Liberal, and to be effective the movement behind it must be organised. It must also find a name which marks its position distinctively. These are the lessons of 1886. I am convinced that, if they are followed in time by those Conservatives and Liberals who have the initiative in their hands, they will produce another Liberal Unionist movement as decisive as the first. I am also convinced that nothing but a national movement on these lines can win a decisive and final victory for Blue over Red finance.

EDWARD GRIGG.

THE ERA OF THE PRESS CÆSARS

A Hectic Fantasy

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THE earlier volumes of Professor Stodgebury's *History of the British Empire* have led us to expect much. But the last instalment, in which he covers the century and a half of the rule of the Press Emperors, has more than rewarded our expectations. As a vivid dramatic narrative, with its intimate sketches of the remarkable series of personalities who created, sustained and finally wrecked a unique system of autocratic government, it will fascinate the ordinary reader. The serious student of history will be even more interested in the masterly analysis of a political evolution which no one would have dreamt of predicting, and which few of those who took part in it themselves realised. To us it all seems obvious and natural because it happened, and because our whole world organisation in the twenty-third century has arisen out of it. Not the least of the merits of Professor Stodgebury's presentation is that he takes us back into the mental atmosphere of the twentieth century, and gives to the well-worn facts of the past all the freshness and unexpectedness of contemporary happenings.

The volume opens with a brilliant chapter describing the decay of parliamentary government throughout the British world in the half-century which followed the Great European War. Everywhere the political machine had killed true political life. Governments incapable of anything except manœuvring to retain office were succeeded by oppositions incapable of any higher aim than that of securing it. What was only sorry ineptitude in the home of old parliamentary tradition became grotesque and often tragic farce in the caricature assemblies of India and Africa. The great mass of thinking people of all races chafed helplessly, or acquiesced cynically, at their impotence to secure progress, or even tolerably honest and firm government, or to prevent the imminent dissolution of the British Commonwealth through the unwillingness of its various parliaments ever to agree upon any

common policy. The immense power of the Press only aggravated, by its irresponsible exercise, the evils of latter-day democracy. Concentrated in the hands of a few men of great wealth, but of little political aptitude or judgment, it was ever ready to weaken and destroy Governments without being prepared to take their place. The only positive achievement to its credit, the campaign for Empire Economic Co-operation, had not been followed up by any consistent policy of Imperial reconstruction. Its good effects, material and psychological, seemed more than offset by the growing political disintegration. Great Britain and the Dominions were at continual loggerheads. India was fast resolving into the chaos and anarchy from which British rule had rescued it a century and a half before. Africa, East and West, was in a ferment. In Egypt it required a massacre of foreigners and an Italian landing to bring about a brief spasm of firmness, and that on the part, not of Great Britain, but of Australia and South Africa. The outside world had made up its mind that the British Empire was in dissolution, and treated it accordingly.

Against the background of this melancholy confusion our author sets the amazing personality of the great Julius, the regenerator of the Empire and inaugurator of the new era in its constitutional development. The earlier career of Lord Julius Jenkyns (to give him the designation by which he was known to his contemporaries), the fantastic extravagance with which he dissipated a vast fortune, the scandals which shocked even the easy-going social world of his day, the audacity of his youthful novels, the incredible daring of some of his feats of airmanship, are only worth noting as premature and misdirected essays of that transcendent quality which was destined to influence so largely the history of mankind. The kaleidoscopic years of his political experimenting, from Conservatism to Communism, and back into office as member of a Labour Cabinet, are of greater interest for the occasional evidence they afford of the fearless thinker underlying the political gamester. The crisis of his fate came in the week in which he met, wooed and married Calpurnia, the heiress of the Rotherbrook millions. The apoplexy which carried off her father at the tidings left the young Socialist leader in control of the whole non-Socialist Press of England and of no small body of newspapers outside.

For his colleagues this was too much. Terrified as they had been of his dangerous revolutionary leanings, they dreaded him even more now they knew that his weight might at any moment be transferred on to the other side, and that, in any case, the character and fate of each and all of them were absolutely in his hands. His new power, and his well-established popularity with the crowd, made an open breach undesirable. Clutching des-

perately, but unhopefully, at a straw, the Prime Minister offered him the Viceroyalty of India, an office which, despite its great associations, had long come to spell nothing but impotence and humiliation to its holders. To the amazement of all Julius accepted. A sigh of relief went through the political world, which decided that his incurable love of change had finally ruled him out of the parliamentary picture. Shrewd business men already began making their plans for the acquisition of the great Press Combine when Viceregal extravagance should necessitate a sale.

The prospective Viceroy had quite other ideas. Previous visits to India had led him to two conclusions—one political, the other financial. The first was that British rule, and indeed all government, in India was collapsing for want of organised Press support. The second that, properly run, the Press of India might be made a gold mine for those who took it in hand. Within a fortnight of his acceptance of the post the ablest of the business managers of the Press Combine, Mr. Anthony Markheim, had flown to Bombay with a free hand and an unlimited credit to buy up enough papers to ensure a good reception for the Viceroy on landing. Markheim set himself to his task with almost uncanny genius, and his operations paid their way almost from the start.

For the first time in a generation a Viceroy was received with something approaching enthusiasm. A 'go back Jenkyns' demonstration at Bombay was spontaneously broken up by the crowd. With each succeeding month the legend grew of the Viceroy's charm, of his love for India, of his learning, of his saintliness, of his terrible sternness when roused to anger. Harun al Rashid stories of him circulated in every bazaar. Before three years were out the Viceroy was generally acclaimed as Mahatma by the Hindus and, after a small Tibetan expedition, as Ghazi by the Moslems. More than that: an ardent, almost mystical cult of the British Crown and of the Empire grew up and rapidly carried the political intelligentsia away with it. The Viceroy and Markheim between them only proved, what Muhammad had proved before, that nothing can be changed so quickly as the unchanging East if you know how to do it.

It was in such an atmosphere that the Viceroy celebrated, on an unexampled scale, the centenary of Queen Victoria's proclamation as Empress of India, and utilised the occasion to promulgate his new Constitution for the Indian Empire. Our historian brings out clearly how much this Constitution, in its underlying structure, owed to the discarded and long-forgotten report of the Simon Commission a generation earlier, and at the same time what a unique concentration of political power was embodied in a Viceroy who enjoyed sole control of the armed forces, the Press,

and the broadcasting and television system in a country with nearly 400,000,000 people, and, on their behalf, could claim for himself Dominion status.

The new Constitution was not carried without serious friction with the Home Government, which, from its own political point of view, as well as influenced by survivors of the old Indian nationalist politicians, had endeavoured to veto some of its provisions, and had only been coerced into acquiescence by an extraordinary mobilisation of all his weapons of publicity and propaganda against them. An open breach came a few months later with the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. Tired of the timidity and feebleness of the Foreign Office, Julius justified his new constitutional status by declaring war on his own account in the King's name. When the Home Government disavowed him and refused support, he opened his own recruiting stations in England, securing a verdict from the Courts in his favour against Government attempts to apply the Foreign Enlistment Act to stop him. Recruits and loans poured in from Britain and all the Dominions. In a series of brilliant operations, skilfully prepared for by a most intensive campaign of Moslem propaganda, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkestan, as well as Tibet, were cleared of the Russians. In spite of the protests and disavowal of the British Government, they were incorporated, as permanent 'allies,' in the Indian Empire. The judicious purchase of the Press of Egypt and Iraq, and a personal visit from Julius himself, now induced the rulers of these countries, as well as the Palestine Assembly, to transfer their alliances from Great Britain to India.,

It was at this stage that the British Government thought fit to demand the resignation of one who was unquestioned autocrat over all the lands between Ruwenzori and Altai. The demand was left unanswered, but next day one of Julius's papers suggested that a Victory March through London and an Air Pageant should be organised, by voluntary subscription, for the great Viceroy and for his forces. The suggestion, echoed and re-echoed by the whole Combine, soon created an irresistible popular agitation. Disregarding all orders, Julius crossed the Mediterranean—thus for the first time formally violating the constitutional conventions he had hitherto nominally respected—with a hundred air squadrons, the vanguard of vast fleets of air and sea troopships to follow. The British coast defence squadrons sent out to oppose him went over in a body. The Government and most of their parliamentary supporters took flight in an airship to Canada, where alone among the Dominions they thought they could look for any measure of support or sympathy. But Julius had foreseen this, and they were forestalled by the invaluable Markheim, whose business dealings with the Canadian Press

secured for the refugees a chilly reception, and before long a demand for their deportation. To avoid this the ex-Cabinet crossed over into the States, where their cause was warmly espoused—and in British eyes irretrievably damaged—by all the anti-British elements.

Meanwhile Julius had held his Victory March, arranged for a General Election at which practically no one was elected who had not received his letter of approval, and met Parliament as Prime Minister, Viceroy of India and High Commissioner General in Asia and Africa, to which offices he shortly added the Premierships of Northern Ireland and of the Irish Free State. No chapter in the present volume is more intensely interesting than that which contains the record of the stupendous task of reconstruction carried out by the first great Press Cæsar in his brief span of supreme power. The reorganisation of the British Isles on a provincial basis, and the final settlement of that to us unintelligible issue known as the Irish question, the reform of Parliament with its dominant Upper House, the complete recasting of the whole of English social legislation, including the marriage laws, the clearing up of the world chaos in wireless power transmission, the substitution of the modern duodecimal for the old decimal system of notation—these are but a few items in the colossal task carried through by the greatest rationaliser in history. Imagination boggles at the thought of what he might have achieved next, but for the bomb thrown in the Delhi Assembly by a handful of honest but misguided fanatics of the old parliamentary idea.

The revival of parliamentarism in England, as in India, was short lived. For a few months the House of Commons resounded once more to the eloquence—unequalled in its palmiest days—of politicians of the old school who still believed that a country could be governed by speeches. A fortunate accident has preserved that masterpiece of parliamentary invective, Lloyd Churchill's description of the career and methods of Anthony Markheim, from the proscription of all publicity with which that master of ruthless Press strategy extinguished him and most of his colleagues. It was Markheim, indeed, who perfected that painless, but supremely efficacious, device for the complete extinction of political opponents, which consisted in the suppression, by the whole combined machinery of Press, cinema and telephonovision, not merely of the political utterances, but of all the activities, and even of the names and features, of proscribed individuals, for whom there remained no alternative but to sink, unknown and unknowable, into the underworld of the permanently disconnected.

Markheim's own spell of power, based only on his position as General Manager of the Press Combine, and unsupported by any political capacity to match his genius for financial negotiation,

came to a speedy end as soon as Calpurnia's nephew and heir, Augustus Rotherbrook McAdam, secured a verdict of the Courts in favour of his ownership of the property. The story of Markheim's attempt, in collaboration with Madame Ptolemides, the fascinating multi-millionaire widow of Alexandria, to break the Combine with their new Eastern Press Syndicate, of the titanic competition in stunts in which McAdam outbad and outwitted them, of their bankruptcy and suicide, has been told too often to detain us now. More novel is our author's analysis of the differences in political method between the great Julius and his less brilliant, but politically more sagacious, nephew. Realising the deep-seated suspicion of the British people of anything that looked like a direct trampling on their constitutional liberties, he resolutely refused to take the Prime Ministership. All he asked for himself, as some recognition due to his position, was the Governor-Generalship of the United Kingdom, a post instituted by Julius to mark the reasonable, but often overlooked, claim of the Mother Country to Dominion status.

Low as the power of the Crown had sunk in the British parliamentary system in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it had always been an axiom of the constitutionalists that the Crown could disregard and override the advice of Ministers on the one condition that its action was endorsed by public opinion afterwards. It was Augustus's masterstroke to realise that the exercise of the functions of the sovereign by one who was in a position both to manufacture and control public opinion gave to that latent power of the Crown a wholly new significance. Upon that conception his whole system of government was based. It was a system essentially British in its flexibility as in its preservation of ancient forms. Parliamentary and Cabinet government continued: in appearance only, it is true, as far as major issues of policy were concerned, but in sufficient reality as regards minor matters to keep politicians busy and contented with their mimic warfare. Meanwhile His Excellency, Governor-General in fact as in name, combining in his person the power of guiding public opinion—as well as the knowledge of the limitations to that power—with the ultimate decision in policy, serenely steered the ship of State along the courses predestined by himself. Such was the skill and discretion with which Augustus wielded his powers, that in a reign of forty years he only once openly broke with his Ministers, and never found it necessary to veto a Bill. His powers were increased, without overtaxing his capacities, as he consecutively accepted, and retained for life—though with many becoming professions of diffidence—all the other Governor-Generalships of the Empire, the Viceroyalty of India and the African and Eastern High Commissionerships. It

is difficult to imagine any other system under which such a diversity of disconnected units could have been kept together as a single Empire under a nominally democratic form of government, and, indeed, as carried out by Augustus, and by more than one of his earlier successors, it seems to have been an almost ideal system for its purpose.

In external affairs McAdam was as cautious as Jenkyns had been daring. His refusal to intervene in China and his evacuation of Tibet were, indeed, openly criticised in many quarters. But he was responsible, through his treaty of mutual citizenship rights with the United States, for sowing the seeds of the greatest territorial amalgamation that the world has yet seen, though sixty years were to pass before the American Presidency and the Governor-Generalships of the Empire were combined in a single person. That person, Trajan P. Ziegenbock, proprietor of the World Wide Ziegenbock Follies, President of the Anglo-American Press Trust, sole proprietor of the *Shout*, the great daily appearing simultaneously all over the world in thirty-seven languages, and controlling shareholder in Anglo-American Teletalkivisions and in the Atlantic and Pacific Wireless Power Syndicate, stands out, in all his accumulative simplicity, as the one other heroic individuality in the procession of worthy or unworthy, but not intrinsically conspicuous, figures which march across our author's pages. The British Empire, which had already been enlarged a decade before by the adhesion of the Scandinavian States, after their secession from the Pan European Union, now embraced, in fact if not in name, the United States with its Central American dependencies down to the Panama Canal and its great Asiatic dependency of China.

The story of the next fifty years is one of growing confusion and disorganisation. Professor Stodgebury has not spared the individuals whose weaknesses and vices—timidity or megalomania, vindictiveness or sentimentality, debauchery or fussy puritanism—contributed to the breakdown of the system. But he rightly insists that the system failed in the end for essentially the same reason for which the parliamentary system failed before it—namely, that the ever-increasing multitude of problems and the growing complexity introduced by scientific developments were beyond the capacity of the system itself and of the financiers and business managers who directed it. The volume closes with the years of stealthy conspiracy which paved the way for the Empire-wide lightning strike of editorial, technical and scientific staffs, the vesting of all publicity as well as of the older forms of political power in the hands of the new Council and Directorate of Science and Research, the abolition of the Governor-Generalships, and the resumption of all the functions of the Crown all

over the Empire (and of the Perpetual Presidency in the American and Chinese half of it) by Her Majesty Elizabeth II. The next, and final volume, will, we understand, deal with the development of the new system of government by the scientists, both in the British Empire and in the now closely associated world outside, down to the suppression of the great African and Asiatic revolt against the famous Light Beige Enactment, the world eugenic legislation aimed at grading up dusky humanity within a prescribed maximum limit of pigmentation. We look forward to its publication with the keenest interest.

L. S. AMERY.

FRANCE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL EXHIBITION

AFTER more than thirty years of residence outside France I was hoping that I had acquired the right to rest in my native country of Lorraine in the midst of my souvenirs and recollections, when a Minister of my country came and asked me, with an affectionate and flattering insistence, to organise and superintend an International Colonial Exhibition.

I accepted, because it gave me the opportunity of still serving both my country and the ideals that are so dear to me. First of all my country; for I believe that, in fact, the work of colonisation is the form of activity which expresses most exactly France's deepest qualities, and that it is at the same time the one which is best able to guarantee her prosperity. And also my ideals—because between the opposing currents of opinion which at the present moment are so profoundly troubling our Old World, order *versus* disorder, the traditional civilisation of the West *versus* the new social experiments which are being tried in the East and the Far East, I have long ago made my choice. Once and for all I refuse to believe that Europe is henceforward incapable of pursuing her civilising mission, which she assumed centuries ago all over the world. I call the doctrines which Communism propagates —retrogression, and not progress; and I refuse, for my part, to accept the much-vaunted thesis of the *Bankruptcy of the West.*

How can one affirm one's faith in these beliefs except by speeches, which leave no record, or by writings which the dust of the library so quickly covers? The man of the present day does not at all like to be preached to. He prefers to gather his own information freely by looking, according to his leisure and his fancy, at a great book, full of pictures spread open before his eyes. That book is the exhibition. It is going to make its appearance just at the moment when this article is published, and I am just now correcting its last proofs. If I were the sole author responsible for it, I could hardly feel myself entitled to speak of my own work. But I have been surrounded with such a fine team of picked collaborators, Frenchmen and foreigners, that my own personal part, once the end to be attained was fixed and the

methods and the division of work laid down, has been infinitely less active than theirs. And so, at the moment of writing, when we are on the eve of presenting to the public so varied a picture where so many aspects of the vast earth are gathered together and so many images of human genius and labour displayed, I am able to affirm, not indeed with any personal pride, but with profound gratitude to all those who have understood and served me so well, that the *ensemble* has, to use the language of the studio, 'come off,' and will be worthy of all those who do us the honour of coming to see it.

Most nations are quite ignorant of the real place which France occupies in the world. How should they realise it, when the French themselves know and say practically nothing about it? May I remind the reader that it was only when I was over forty years of age that I myself suddenly received the revelation of the greatness of the French colonial empire, through the chance of an appointment which posted me to Indo-China?

France is a nation of 100,000,000 people spread over 12,000,000 square kilometres. From the point of view of the area which she occupies upon this globe of ours she is, thanks to her colonies, the third largest country in the world, the first being the British Empire and the second Russia. She is larger than China or the United States. With regard to population, France is the fifth country of the world, the first four being the British Empire, China, Soviet Russia, and the United States. Without her colonies France would be, measured by area, only the seventeenth, and by population only the eleventh country.

All over the five continents France occupies favoured spots. First, in Africa on the further side of the Mediterranean (which unites even more than it separates the peoples dwelling along its shores) she constitutes a continuous block of territory which prolongs the influence of the Mother Country to the southern side of the equator so powerfully that one might well say that she extends from the English Channel to the Congo, over 55 degrees of latitude. At the north entrance of the Indian Ocean she occupies Djibouti, at the southern entrance the great island of Madagascar. In the China Sea she possesses Indo-China, a magnificent colony which subtends upon the coast a sea-front 3000 kilometres in length—the distance from London to Batoum as the crow flies. In the Southern Pacific she possesses a very beautiful settlement, New Caledonia, and some islands which furnish naval bases of the first order. In the North Atlantic she has the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, opposite the Panama Canal the French Antilles, and in South America French Guiana, rich in gold and precious woods.

Such in outline is the French colonial empire, the second

largest in the world. I have already stated that the majority of mankind are ignorant both of its extent and of its value. But even among the small number of persons who understand these facts certain criticisms are sometimes raised against us. This empire, we are told, is it not too large for France to be able to make proper use of it? Has she not, even upon her own soil, been forced to summon numerous foreign workers? Does she not suffer from a scarcity of men, especially since the hard sacrifices which she consented to bear during the war? Ought she not to let other European peoples whose birth-rate is more prolific than her own take a share in her colonial domain?

The answer to these objections is quite easy. Apart from North Africa, New Caledonia and the high plateaux of Madagascar, all the French colonies are situated in tropical regions where the white man cannot work with his hands. Neither in West nor in Equatorial Africa, neither in Indo-China nor in Guiana, could any European agriculturist, whatever his country of origin, clear the forest or the jungle, push the plough, or wield the axe. In such climates physical effort is forbidden to the white man: he can only play the part of controller or supervisor. Colonising in such parts of the world does not consist in building farms, as in Normandy or Yorkshire; it means sending out doctors, engineers, capital, materials.

Is France incapable of sustaining such an effort? From the medical point of view, she possesses the Pasteur Institute and medical schools, not only in her State universities, but special centres for tropical medicine as well at Bordeaux and Marseilles, where gallant battles are being fought with success against the plagues which decimate mankind. Need I recall the work of Versin on bubonic plague, of Lavéran and Marchoux on malaria, of Fourneau on amœbic dysentery, sleeping sickness, and certain other specific diseases? What settler in the colonies has not carried in his travelling equipment Calmette's serum against snake-bite? I was told that in British India alone this serum was saving thousands of human lives every year. I should like to say that throughout my whole colonial career I have always considered the doctor as the first pioneer of civilisation. In Morocco I used to send doctors and nurses into the disturbed regions in the Atlas mountains, where soldiers would have been met with a rifle and bullet and where a hundred resolute men could hold up a battalion. Without any military escort and without any other weapons except their medicine chests carried on a few mules, these doctors and nurses used to go into the *kasbas* and along the roads and set up their tents. In a very short time they found pressing round them a rather fierce but pitiful collection of humanity, which learned in this way, without any talking, why France wished

to come into contact with it. The doctors of these travelling medical units and the education officers were my most valued collaborators. Many of them, like the admirable Dr. Chatinières, fell victims to the epidemics which they went out to combat at the centre of their own hearth, more especially to exanthematic typhus, the ravages of which have repeatedly laid waste Southern Morocco. I will ask the reader's permission to salute their memory with emotion and to assure them that the sacrifice which they made so humbly for the three finest causes that a man can serve—science, humanity, and country—will be proudly remembered at the Colonial Exhibition.

Side by side with her doctors France has reason to be proud of her engineers. I have seen them at work too, these builders of roads and constructors of bridges and dykes, turned out each year by the hundreds in those great schools whose scientific fame is universal—the *Polytechnique*, *Centrale*, the *Ponts et Chaussées*, the *Mines* and the *Travaux Publics*. All those who have seen the Pont Doumer at Hanoy, the Yunnan railway, or the dyke at Casablanca know what these men are capable of doing. The Nile has submitted to their conquering will, and a large number of them have won in Egypt the confidence and the grateful recognition of the official authorities. To-day in the Niger they are tackling a great river, useless as yet, which they know how to turn into a fertilising stream. In Indo-China in digging their canals they have removed more earth than was displaced by the Suez Canal under the orders of one of their great predecessors, de Lesseps. They too, with the true scientist's simplicity and humility, will be able to show at the Colonial Exhibition that they knew how to play their important part in the magnificent struggle on which man has embarked against the forces of Nature, in order to enslave them through his knowledge to his will.

France needed capital in order to develop in her far-off provinces the work of her doctors and her engineers. On the eve of the war France and England were the bankers of the world. France was still hesitating to invest a part of her savings in new countries. These countries for the most part had been joined to her too recently. She did not know them well; we first went for the most pressing tasks—pacification and administrative organisation. Even in 1914 the economic inventory of discovered wealth and enterprises undertaken by the first explorers, and continued by military officers and civil administrators, did not yet form a sufficiently precise picture to induce French capitalists to create powerful concerns founded upon a solid basis.

The war proved that the colonies, so far from weakening their Mother Country in the hour of trial, were able, on the contrary, to provide her with the most valuable assistance. Without the

millions of tons of ground-nuts which West Africa sent to the home country our war factories would have lacked the lubricants needed for their machinery and the glycerine wanted for their explosives. Further, at the conclusion of hostilities an immense wave of sympathetic gratitude swept over France towards these colonies, which had provided us of their own free will with hundreds and thousands of splendid fighting men whose devotion, pushed frequently to the supreme sacrifice—the volunteer troops raised in our colonies in North Africa lost 30 per cent. of their personnel—is the greatest proof which we could offer to the world that we knew how to gain their affection and their trust.

The war was thus the first great colonial lesson which France received. The exhibition organised at Marseilles in 1922 was the second. This was to many of my compatriots a real revelation. Public opinion, always rather sensitive, rather feminine, suddenly conceived a real craze for colonial enterprises. Eminent men like Albert Sarraut and Octave Homberg, and many others, took up again the task of national education which had been shouldered at the beginning of the twentieth century by my great friends now dead—Eugène Melchior de Voguë, Eugène Etienne, and Jules Charles-Roux. By their books they helped to enlighten the public, thus filling in regrettable lacunæ in our official education and counteracting a certain indifference on the part of the more important sections of our Press. From this period we can date a considerable development of private colonial enterprises, which were encouraged at the time by the high prices ruling for certain raw materials of colonial origin, such as rubber, cotton, coffee, etc. Thousands of millions of francs were invested, principally in Indo-China and Morocco.

For nearly two years now the world crisis has slowed down this expansion, and already French public opinion, always nervous and as much prone to discouragement as to enthusiasm, has felt itself in the grip of that disquiet which paralyses effort and initiative.

At the moment France has made the two gestures which the times demand. She has organised the Colonial Exhibition and authorised a loan for a sum in the neighbourhood of 6,000,000,000 francs (about 48,000,000*l.*) in order to give to her different colonies the economic equipment of which they stand in need. Of these 6,000,000,000 francs a total of more than 400,000,000 francs (over 3,000,000*l.*) will be devoted to sanitation and public welfare and the protection of native races. Thus while every Frenchman —and we hope millions of tourists of different nations—will gain at the Colonial Exhibition an exact notion of what modern colonisation means, we shall witness the opening in our colonies of harbour works, railways, roads, and canals, bringing to the

native workers high wages and attentive medical assistance; and offering them for the transport of their agricultural products and raw materials facilities which they have never known and, indeed, hardly even imagined. Thus the Colonial Exhibition at Paris will teach a great lesson of the energy and the solidarity of mankind. All those who visit it will gain a better understanding of the mutual interdependence which to-day unites into a single whole the different regions of the world.

What, after all, is Europe but a brain (laboratories, libraries, universities), a factory, and an art museum ?

Let us leave aside art and the past, for the first necessity is to live. For this immense factory, over-elaborately organised perhaps, she must have raw materials and markets. Where can she find textiles to clothe herself (cotton, wool, silk) and the different foodstuffs for her nourishment except in the tropical countries outside her continent, in the far-off regions of Australia, Africa, or South America, where the land is not parcelled out into little ownerships, but flocks and herds can find domains of wide area, where the raising of them produces a personnel which some European Powers would hardly recognise as their population ? Mankind, each day more anxious to improve its standard of living, has formed the habit of consuming products which in other times would have constituted luxury goods reserved for the favourites of fortune. The British worker cannot dispense with tea, the French with coffee, the German or the Spanish woman with chocolate. All these colonial products are to-day necessities of our daily life. Another—namely, rubber, the consumption of which in gigantic quantities is quite a recent feature of world industry—could no longer be eliminated from international trade without provoking a transport crisis which would give men the impression that they were undergoing a retrogression of several centuries. Nowadays a bad cotton harvest in Texas is sufficient to give the mills of Lancashire, Alsace or Normandy a taste of unemployment. Conversely, if the factories of Akron, Clermont Ferrand, or Montluçon slacken up their output of tyres the coolies of Malaya and Indo-China and the *batak* of the Dutch East Indies will become anxious about their handful of rice. To-day a solid chain made up of millions upon millions of human beings binds the peoples of the world into a solidarity which cannot be disjoined. If some of them come to break this chain and place themselves outside its circuit (Russia and China, for example), the result is a series of cyclonic depressions which are destined for a long time to trouble the economic climate of the world.

In the face of such evidence, how can certain persons be sufficiently blind to refuse Europe the right of intervention in

other countries, among primitive and backward peoples, when her object is to bring them the benefits of her scientific discoveries, the assistance of her doctors and her engineers, to awaken in them the sentiment of the dignity and solidarity of mankind, of which our missionaries are such admirable apostles? To range the European worker against colonial activity would be to deprive him of clothing and food and to push him to strikes and to revolt. And this in the name of what principle or superior rights? There are in France some self-styled 'intellectuals' who have said, 'in the name of the right of idleness, of ignorance, of the right to disease and death.' To read these strange writers one would think that the intervention of Western Powers in the life of the peoples of Africa and Asia had driven forth these populations from I know not what earthly paradise, where their existence rolled gently on in the sweetest *far niente* and in the practice of the most angelic virtues! According to these authors, Europeans have brought them nothing but vices (of which they were ignorant)—alcohol, the love of filthy lucre, and above all that abominable law of work which white men are sufficiently mad to inscribe upon the entrance to their schools, declaring it to be prescribed by the Divine will because they have found it formulated in the Holy Bible!

This theory has not even the merit of originality; it is only a rehash of those dreams of Rousseau about the noble savage—deceiving dreams, like so many others which rise from the fog of Lake Geneva. It is not my task to defend countries other than my own against such impostures and sophisms, but, so far as France is concerned, I have the right to say that these gentlemen entirely misconceive the truth. The present colonial domain of France is not the outcome of a policy of force or of enslavement conceived by her successive Governments (it would, alas, indeed be surprising if this had been the only example of their continuity) and brutally executed by soldiers. On the contrary, it is the result of a great work of human liberation carried out by a handful of men as good as they were brave, nearly always in the teeth of the various Governments and Parliaments which France has given herself during the past century.

The origin of this empire was the French intervention in Algeria in 1830, undertaken as a necessary measure of international policing by the Government which had restored the finances, the navy and army of France after the long blood-stained tragedy of the Revolution and the Empire. At this time France was completely ignorant of the wealth of North Africa, for the trade of this region was practically *nil*. The expedition was certainly not desired by the bankers of those days (one need only read the *Journal des Débats* of the period), nor

even by the soldiers, for in the memoirs which have been published dealing with this epoch we find that many of the officers appointed to this campaign tried to get themselves replaced. It was simply a matter of destroying a nest of pirates, as Lord Exmouth had gloriously attempted to do before us. It was intolerable in the nineteenth century to see the sea-borne commerce of all civilised nations in the Mediterranean paralysed by a band of ruffians who used to reduce to slavery the passengers and crews they captured.

Algiers was taken, and now the only difficulty that remained for us was to preserve the fruit of our intervention. To evacuate the African coast would mean not merely facilitating, but inevitably provoking a recrudescence of piracy. For the Arab, he who withdraws even after a victory is a beaten man. In spite of numerous protests in the French Parliament, we remained in Algeria. Did the inhabitants lose by our presence? We have scrupulously respected their religion and their customs, and developed their country, the trade of which to-day is worth more than 7,000,000,000 francs (56,000,000*l*.). The population has increased from 2,000,000 in 1872 to 5,000,000 in 1926—the last census whose results have been published. I have already described how between 1914 and 1918 they gave proofs of their fidelity and gratitude towards us.

In West Africa our defeats at the beginning of the nineteenth century only left us the island of Gorée and a narrow strip of country on the coast of Senegal. What was happening in the 'great land,' as they call it out there, the interior of that great black continent which was still full of mysteries for Europe? A few Frenchmen settled at St. Louis knew—a constant succession of struggles between Moorish and Yolof tribes. One day a great Frenchman, a young sapper officer who had been trained in Algeria under the command of Bugeaud, came to that country. He organised the defence of the posts placed along the banks of the River Senegal; then he founded, under the protection of our white soldiers (for at that time we had not yet got a black army), some villages to receive the slaves who were escaping from the territories occupied by native sultans, and taking refuge among us like hunted beasts. These villages were called 'villages of freedom.' This name tells everything. Some of these old villages of freedom, like Kayes, to-day number more than 10,000 inhabitants and produce annually tens of millions of francs' worth of trade.

Then there are all our big explorations undertaken in the interior of Africa. René Caillie entered Timbuctoo a year after the death of Major Laing and returned on foot to Morocco across the Sahara. Monteil set out from St. Louis du Sénégal and arrived

in Tripoli after having reached Lake Tchad. Binger explored the whole country contained within the bend of the Niger. All these journeys were achieved by men who marched alone with the tiniest of escorts and never fired a single shot.

When we had to fight it was in the highest sense of the term a war to end war. This is where my master, Marshal Gallieni, received his training, the man to whom I owe my knowledge of all those methods thanks to which I have been able to render some service to my country. It is there that the great principle which France has always strictly followed in conducting her colonial campaigns was evolved, a principle descending from Bugeaud through Faidherbe, applied by my glorious predecessor Archinard (whom we are proud and happy to have still with us) and taught by him to Gallieni—that the soldier in fighting should always think of the day after the battle, should keep as his aim, not destruction, but construction, and should think, even on the battlefield itself, of the market, the school, and the dispensary which he will begin to build on the spot on the morrow of the combat.

In West and Equatorial Africa, in Indo-China, in Madagascar, whether our enemy called himself *Samory*, *Rabah* or the *Dhe Tham*, whether we had to chastise the brigands called *Black Flags* or the *Horas* or *Sakalaves*, what we destroyed was always the shameful exploitation of man by man, slavery and raiding, and what we have built has been peace and prosperity. As some people have chosen to travesty the truth, we have the right to re-establish it and to affirm what our ideal was in the midst of dangers and fatigues—an ideal which is also at the same time our honour.

Such is the book which France will display to her visitors loyally open. As for those which the friendly nations who have accepted our invitation will present, their leaves shall not be turned with less respect or admiration. We shall have the pleasure of seeing Belgium, our noble ally in those evil days, affirming herself also as rich in the world, thanks to her magnificent Congo, as she is great in history through the loyalty and courage of her King and people. The Netherlands will offer visitors the marvels of their Indies, where they have shown themselves masters in so many fields, especially from the point of view of tropical cultivation. Italy has been able to recall, by faithful reproductions of glorious monuments, the civilising work of Rome, which she is taking up once more in her national discipline and her pride in her most illustrious past. Portugal, the country of the unforgettable navigators of the fifteenth century, who planted upon all the coasts of Africa those 'Padrones' stamped with their arms under the cross of Christ, has built some pavilions worthy

both of her history and of her taste. The United States, by an act of courtesy which no French visitor can fail to appreciate, has reproduced faithfully Washington's noble, calm, and gracious residence at Mount Vernon.

A great sadness interrupts my thought and my pen as I find myself unable to inscribe the British Empire in this list, especially as I owe to so many English examples, books and friends so large a part of my colonial experience, and when I think with undying gratitude of the honours which France has received from England in my person, or of the name of the African Society, or of the part played by two of His Britannic Majesty's ships-of-war on the day that I left Africa. I reflect how greatly my chief, Gallieni, would have been distressed if he had not seen in such a collection any representation of the country to which his friend Lord Kitchener belonged—Lord Kitchener his companion-in-arms during the two last Franco-German wars. The greatest colonial Empire of the world does however, at any rate, occupy a place worthy of itself in the Cité des Informations attached to the Exhibition.

By this *rapprochement* of the great colonial Powers the anxiety to co-operate practically in the finest work of civilisation and progress will be strengthened—a desire which should to-day be the chief guide of nations conscious of their power, their dignity, and the dangers which threaten them. In fact, whatever may be the tasks of construction or reconstruction within their own frontiers that are demanding action on the part of European States, there is one common work, which is obligatory among all those of them who have sown their seed in far countries—the work of awakening primitive or backward peoples to a more lively feeling for the dignity of man, of bringing to them more material welfare, and of raising them to a clearer recognition of the solidarity which, whether they wish it or not, binds together mankind.

How petty from now on, and, to tell the whole truth, how mad, must those rivalries inspired by vanity or even by self-interest in our little Europe appear to us—which may bring in their train new wars—when there is another battle more generous, more absorbing, and more urgent to be fought, the battle against physical and moral misery.

There is the duty which the West must consciously bear in mind, under pain of renouncing its past and its future, under pain of an abdication which nothing can justify. We may not withdraw ourselves from this Defence of the West, which my friend M. Henri Massis has presented so powerfully, because all over the world the question has been put : the struggle has been begun by an enemy who understands better than certain French

and English 'bourgeois' the new scale by which we must measure political questions. That enemy is Communism: we have seen it at work under different masks in Morocco as well as in the Dutch East Indies, in China as well as in British India. It exploits to the full the whole content of hate and revolt embraced by that dangerous formula which invites people to take their destinies into their own hands, as if all nations had arrived at the same stage of civilisation, as if they had no longer anything to learn from one another, as if they no longer needed to help each other.

In the face of those who are inspired by this strange mysticism of negation and ruin, we ought to make a united front, and by we I mean all those who are being attacked. We ought to accept the challenge in defence of the interests which are threatened, the value of which we know—human freedom, so harshly oppressed by the apostles of the new doctrine, freedom won with so much difficulty in the course of centuries, through wars, revolutions, and economic crises, by the great Western nations.

The time is past when the Chancelleries of Europe could, if I may venture to use the term, carve themselves out niches or when the newspapers of different countries, by flattering national self-esteem, could rejoice in any misadventure which had befallen any neighbouring Power in its colonies. In the eyes of the enemy we all form a single whole: every retreat of a Western nation in Asia or in Africa is an attack on the prestige of the others.

Far from carrying us away from our immediate needs and our most necessary requirements, colonial activity, undertaken under the banner of friendly and admiring collaboration, seems to me, therefore, to be the best means of fighting for what is most dear to us. *Pro aris et focis.* If the International Colonial Exhibition in Paris can convey such a lesson, it will have been what I wanted it to be, not a mere mirror of the dead past, but a point of departure, a new orientation of the energies and the hearts of all the nations who are prepared to come and see it.

LYAUTEY,

Maréchal de France.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

THE latest fall of the Spanish monarchy undoubtedly took the world by surprise, and that for a variety of reasons. In the first place, King Alfonso had weathered so many storms that his position seemed secure, while his opponents had so often attempted to overthrow the throne that the failure of their efforts had come to be taken for granted. Then, again, there was no particular reason why there should be a revolution. The country as a whole was less affected by the general economic depression than any of its neighbours, it was not subject to any oppression, and there were no real grievances that called for redress. Yet the unexpected has happened, and for the fourth time in little more than a century a Spanish Bourbon has lost his crown.

The cause of this catastrophe is to be found, not in the happenings of the last few weeks, but rather in the trend of events since the beginning of the present century. When King Alfonso came of age the political parties were already in a state of disintegration, and during the twenty years that followed the Cortes consisted of little more than a number of warring groups, divided by no very definite principles from one another. Moreover, throughout this period Spain did not produce one statesman worth the name, with the exception of Don Eduardo Dato, and, possibly, of Señores Canalejas and Maura. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the King, like the vast majority of his subjects, should have come to entertain the lowest possible opinion of politicians and their ways. Those who have read *El Jefe Político*, perhaps the most bitterly satirical work of that brilliant, but caustic, writer who veils his identity under the pseudonym of El Cabellero Audaz, will appreciate the decadence of the Spanish parliamentary system in the years immediately preceding the *coup d'état* of General Primo de Rivera in September 1923. It was, in effect, rotten to the core, and in its decay it was poisoning the whole life of the country.

The real tragedy of modern Spain is that no attempt whatever was made to take advantage of the enthusiasm which the establishment of the Directory aroused. It is true that the new Government, in marked contrast with that of Signor Mussolini,

was imposed from above, but public opinion was at first so overwhelmingly on its side that it could have remodelled the whole life of the country without encountering any serious opposition. Instead, the Ministry concentrated its attention upon public works, the Moroccan war, and the reform of administrative abuses, and, although it did more for Spain in six years than its predecessors had managed to effect in sixty, it gradually lost its hold upon the people, with the result that its fall was greeted with almost as much joy as had been its advent. At the same time, General Primo de Rivera never lost his popularity with the masses, however much the middle classes and the intellectuals might sneer at him, and the King's apparently callous treatment of him after his fall undoubtedly did something to undermine the monarch's own position. Where the dictator failed was in not creating a movement like Fascism which could have harnessed to the service of the State the enthusiasm engendered by the collapse of the old order.

General Primo de Rivera, however, was a soldier, and could not, perhaps, be expected to realise all this, for mass-psychology is not one of the subjects usually included in a military curriculum. Nor can the King, in reality, be blamed either, though it is he who in the end has had to pay the penalty. Yet had he convoked the Cortes within three months, as the Constitution obliged him to do, he could easily have obtained from it not only the ratification of what had happened, but a completely free hand in the future ; and in that event the charge of being unconstitutional, recently used against him with such damning effect, could never have been made. King Victor Emmanuel and Signor Mussolini were far wiser in their generation, for on the morrow of the march on Rome the Italian Parliament was called to ratify the change of Government, and although the *Duce* has revolutionised every institution in Italy he has never violated the letter of the Constitution. King Alfonso considered that the Constitution was suspended, and such was the case, but, as it contained no provision for its temporary suspension, he was, in law, acting in an unconstitutional manner. Of course, the Constitution had so often been disregarded in the past that one more breach of it did not seem to matter, but in this case it placed a very effective weapon in the hands of the enemies of the throne.

A second mistake which was made at this time related to the army. After the establishment of the Directory it was universally hoped and believed in Spain that the latest *pronunciamiento* would prove to be the last. With the victorious close of the Moroccan war an excellent opportunity presented itself for the abolition of conscription and the reform of the army as a volun-

tary professional force. Such a step would at once have provided the monarchy with a shield that would have protected it in every emergency, and it would have earned the undying gratitude of the poorer classes, who have always regarded conscription as an intolerable burden. On the other hand, the maintenance of a large and useless army—for in no quarter is Spain threatened from without—is not only a very great burden upon the national finances, but it is also a direct inducement to ambitious generals to play a part in politics. Even the Directory, with a soldier at the head of it, was continually at loggerheads with the army, and until the latter is reduced in numbers, and placed upon a different basis, it will be a source of embarrassment to every Spanish Government, monarchical or republican.

The consequence of these two blunders has proved to be very serious indeed for the King. He had taken care not to be too prominently associated with the Directory in the public mind, and the result was that he fell between two stools. Had he co-operated with General Primo de Rivera cordially and placed his experience at the dictator's disposal, there might have been a partnership like that between the King of Italy and Signor Mussolini, and with the same happy results. What actually happened was that the monarchy became the whipping-boy for the Directory's misdeeds, and it has never been able to shed the responsibility it then incurred.

The pendulum of public opinion in the Spanish countries, in the New World as in the Old, is always swinging between autocracy and liberty, and by the time that General Primo de Rivera left office the enthusiasm with which his accession had been greeted had completely vanished. There were many reasons for this, of which the Spanish national vice of ingratitude was not the least important. The cost of living had risen considerably under the Directory, the intellectuals despised the soldier who controlled the national destinies, and, above all, although the old Constitution had been suspended, nothing new had been set up in its place. There was, in fact, a general feeling of unrest throughout the Peninsula, of which the politicians who had been in the wilderness did not fail to take advantage. General Primo de Rivera remained, as has been said, even after his fall, too popular with the masses to be safely attacked, and in any event he soon died, so the full fury of popular resentment was directed against the King personally. That he was to some extent responsible for the failure to achieve stability is true, but the politicians who had themselves brought discredit upon the parliamentary system were the last who had any right to complain of the monarch's somewhat cavalier treatment of it. The truth, of course, is that King, Ministers, and people all have something to answer for in

the present state of their country, but so far it is the first alone who has had to bear the blame.

During the fifteen months which elapsed between the resignation of General Primo de Rivera and the Revolution the monarchy was on the defensive, and in more ways than one the situation recalled that which existed in France during the last days of the Second Empire. There were two courses open to the King, and two only: one was to take the government of Spain into his own hands, as King Alexander had taken that of Jugo-Slavia, and the other was to get back to a normal constitutional *régime* as quickly as possible. The latter was adopted, for the former was considered too dangerous, but from the very beginning it was fraught with difficulties, for the only Constitution to which a return was possible was the one which had already proved quite unworkable. Moreover, no new men had come to the front, and when the experiment of a purely palatine administration under General Berenguer had been tried and failed, there was nothing for it but a Cabinet composed of the very politicians whose supersession by the Directory had been greeted with a perfect delirium of joy. Thus, on the eve of the Revolution, the monarchy was suffering from all the disadvantages of the old order without being in a position to shelter behind the Constitution.

The unfortunate result of all this was that when the time came to vote on April 12 the nation had no choice but to place itself once more in the hands of the men it distrusted, or to go against the *régime*, and it decided to do the latter. All over the world at the present time there is a hankering on the part of a disillusioned mankind after some new thing, and Spain has not been exempt from this universal feeling. On the other hand, there can be no question but that by far the greater part of the country is Catholic and monarchical, and if it could have had new men and new measures without overturning the throne it would certainly have preferred such a solution. Unfortunately, owing to circumstances which he could not control, King Alfonso was unable to steer a middle course, and so the nation pronounced against him. Even so, however, he received a very large amount of support in the rural districts, though it is impossible to say until the figures have been published on which side the actual majority of votes was cast. The rejoicing at the turn which events have taken has been almost entirely confined to students and other young people, who in England would be cheering, not politicians, but their favourite horse or football team, to victory.

Of one thing there can be no shadow of doubt, and it is that King Alfonso's behaviour in the hour of crisis left nothing to be desired. He could, in all probability, have re-established his

position by force of arms, but it would only have been after shedding a sea of blood, and no hereditary monarch can reign as a military adventurer. The proverbial whiff of grape-shot would not have done his business for him, for, at the best, it would but have placed him in the same intolerable situation that Ferdinand VII. found himself during the last ten years of his reign. Furthermore, the manner of King Alfonso's departure was not only dignified, but there was nothing in it to create a gulf between himself and his subjects, and he very wisely followed the precedent of his grandmother, Isabella II., in this respect. Whether the Republican authorities were wise to let him depart without exacting a formal abdication is another matter: probably they had no choice but either to let him go, or to keep him a prisoner, as it is perfectly obvious that in no circumstances would he have abdicated. As James II. told Dundee, 'there is but a small distance between the prisons and the graves of kings,' and had King Alfonso met with any violence the Second Republic would have suffered accordingly.

What is clear is that nothing has been settled by the change of *régime*. In so far as the troubles of Spain are due to world causes the form of her government can make but little difference, while any prolonged period of unrest must of necessity adversely affect the national credit. The republicans have yet to prove that they have advanced beyond the ordinary progressive standpoint of 1848, and that they realise that economic diseases cannot be cured by political remedies. It seems in the highest degree unlikely that the administration of the Second Republic will be more efficient than was that of the fallen monarchy, and in these circumstances it may well be that before long the Spanish nation will be asking the question, which is already vexing the rest of Europe, what it has gained by sending King Alfonso into exile. In the meantime, the chances of its success can best be judged by a consideration of the problems which it will have to face.

The only fresh suggestion that the republicans have brought forward is the reconstruction of Spain on a federal basis, and at first sight the idea has much to recommend it. Regionalism was the order of the day until the accession of the Bourbons, and local patriotism is the very breath of life to every Spaniard. Even under the monarchy the King reigned by a variety of titles, and although all centrifugal tendencies had been sternly discouraged since the Restoration, it was realised that they had by no means been completely eradicated, particularly in Catalonia. So far, then, it may be said that federalism is in accordance with the national tradition, but it does not necessarily follow from this that it is in the country's interests to put back the clock. Of all

reforms, decentralisation is the one that requires most care in its execution, or it may prove to be but the first step towards disruption, as in the case of Austria-Hungary and Sweden-Norway.

For modern Spain the problem presents special difficulties of an economic nature. By far the larger part of the industrial life of the country is carried on in Catalonia, and it was for the benefit of this province that the high tariffs of recent years were imposed. If, however, Catalonia is to be autonomous, it would seem hardly likely that the rest of Spain will consent to the continuance of a high cost of living for the sake of a district that is to be regarded as a semi-independent State. Then there is the question of water-power, upon which the future development of the Peninsula so greatly depends. Rivers are no respecters of political boundaries, and there have already been differences between Spain and Portugal in the matter of the Douro, so that it is easy to see how great is the chance of dissension if the federal principle is finally to prevail. Lastly, the attitude of New South Wales towards its creditors on the one hand, and towards the Commonwealth of Australia on the other, is a timely reminder of the dangers run by a country where the responsibility at the centre is limited to any considerable extent. The fact is that of all political systems the federal is the most difficult to work, and the existing conditions in the Peninsula do not afford much ground for expecting its success there.

Of hardly less importance is the subject of the army. The bold course would be to do what the monarchy might well have done, and remodel it on a voluntary basis. It is, however, doubtful in the extreme whether the republic will ever be strong enough to bring about such a reform, beneficial as it would undoubtedly be to the whole nation. If the old military system is to survive, as seems inevitable, then it will not be long before the free working of republican institutions will be hampered by *pronunciamientos*, and the days when power alternated between two or three ambitious generals will return. The Restoration by no means put an end to military interference in political matters, but between the return of Alfonso XII. and the establishment of the Directory it was far less frequent than it had been during the previous fifty years. The Spanish soldiery, like the Roman in the later days of the empire, has always been turbulent, and the Hapsburg monarchs were so well aware of the fact that of the thirty-five *tercios* of which the army consisted at the death of Philip III. only seven were composed of natives of the Peninsula. The fact that the army accepted the establishment of the republic quietly is no sort of guarantee that it will not upset it at the first opportunity that suits its purpose. Indeed, the number of

potential Monks and Bonapartes wearing the Spanish uniform to-day must be enormous.

The relations, too, between the new *régime* and the Church will require very careful adjustment. The higher clergy are monarchist almost to a man, but for some years past an increasing number of the parish priests have been on the other side, chiefly because the Directory refused to increase the admittedly inadequate salaries which they received from the Treasury. In fact, it would not be too much to say that there has lately come to be some division of opinion in Spanish ecclesiastical circles with regard to political matters, and that partly for the reason already mentioned, and partly because of the old jealousy between the regular and the secular clergy. The former were favoured by the Directory, while the latter were not, and this difference of treatment has not made for unity. The result was seen at the municipal elections, when no inconsiderable proportion of the beneficed clergy exerted their influence on behalf of the candidates of the Left. It would, however, probably be a mistake to suppose that more than an infinitesimal minority of priests are republican, and their attitude at the election is rather to be interpreted as a protest than as a profession of faith in advanced democratic ideals. Just as many thousands of electors in pre-war Germany voted Socialist, not because they wished to be rid of the Kaiser, but because there was no other way of expressing dissatisfaction with the administration, so, owing to a combination of unfortunate circumstances, have many moderate Spaniards supported anti-dynastic candidates with whose full programme they by no means agreed, and among them was a large section of the clergy.

Such being the case, it is clear that anything in the nature of an attempt to deprive the Church of its present predominant position would bring the whole body of ecclesiastical opinion into conflict with the republic. Señor Zamora and one or two of his colleagues thoroughly realise this, but the movement which carried them into power is fundamentally anti-clerical, and it is difficult to see how they can for long withstand the pressure that will be brought to bear on them by their followers. Anti-clericalism was a prominent feature of the troubles in Barcelona in 1909, and it has certainly not lost ground with the extremists in the interval. Even if the republican diplomacy is sufficiently skilful to negotiate a separation of Church and State without an open breach with the Vatican, the even more thorny problems of civil marriage and divorce, neither of which exists in Spain, will remain to be settled. It may be, of course, that the Catholicism of the overwhelming mass of the population will make the new rulers think better of attacking the Church, but the omens

are not favourable, and the precedents are all against any display of moderation.

Lastly, there is the problem of Communism to be faced. Señor Zamora will have to show during the next few weeks whether he is a Thiers or a Kerensky. That Moscow will do its utmost to exploit the situation can be taken for granted, and there is a good deal of material in the Peninsula ready to its hand. The *Sindicato Unica* in Barcelona is solidly Communist, and it is probably the best organised body in Catalonia. There was a *Jacquerie* on a small scale in Andalusia in the days of the First Republic, and conditions in that province have not noticeably improved since that time. There were agrarian troubles in Alicante as recently as last December, while in the north-west Communists have already been elected to the local councils. Altogether, the soil is a fairly fertile one from the Bolshevist point of view, and everything depends upon the resistance of the new authorities. The inherent individualism of the Spaniard is probably too strong to allow of the country following the example of Russia for long, but even a short period of Bolshevist rule, such as Hungary experienced under Bela Kun, would do incalculable harm, besides constituting a very serious menace to the rest of Europe. Whether the republic can keep Communism in check without throwing itself into the arms of a military dictator remains to be seen.

From the international standpoint the Spanish Revolution is to be deplored as adding one more complication to a situation which was already difficult enough. A stable republic would, of course, make no difference in the European order, but as there must be an interval of uncertainty the change of *régime* is regrettable, at the best, while at the worst it may produce the utmost confusion, just as the last deposition of a Spanish Bourbon resulted in the Franco-German War. Any relaxation of control in Morocco would mean further troubles there, and they would soon spread to the French zone, as they did in the time of Abd-el-Krim. Internal disorder would necessitate on the part of France a strengthening of her meagre garrisons in the Pyrenees, and that in its turn must react unfavourably upon the prospects of the Disarmament Conference to be held next year. Furthermore, any prolonged financial stringency might induce an impecunious administration to sell the remaining colonies to France, who has an option on them, and that would almost certainly lead to claims for compensation on the part of other Powers. The geographical situation of Spain is such that her troubles can never be a matter of indifference to the rest of the world.

In fine, it is difficult to be enthusiastic about either the establishment or the prospects of the new republic. The dice are

heavily loaded against it, and if it succeeds it will be by a miracle. At the moment it calls to mind another Second Republic, that of France, and the problems with which it has to contend are not dissimilar. Whatever the ultimate issue may be, the Peninsula has clearly entered upon another such period of unrest as those which followed the revolutions of 1820 and 1868, and the analogy is not encouraging. Whether King Alfonso will return or not depends very largely upon himself, for it may be that when once he has tasted of the sweets of private life he will be reluctant to abandon them. Perhaps the best solution would be for the exiled monarch, after an interval, and for his two elder sons, to resign their rights in favour of the Infante Don Juan, who could then wait for the appearance of a Monk, or a Mussolini, when Spain could start afresh with new men and new measures. In any event, monarchy in the etymological sense is certain to prevail, and it always works more successfully when it has tradition behind it. Spain has obviously a hard path to tread, and every good European will wish her soon at the end of it, however much the ability of her new guides to lead her to Utopia may be doubted.

CHARLES PETRIE.

THE GERMAN-AUSTRIAN PACT

THE endeavour to create a German-Austrian Customs Union is nothing short of a test case of European politics. It is no good trying to minimise the importance of this action. I feel the only thing to do is to speak out as plainly as possible.

From the German point of view this game is decisive. There is no possibility of an honourable retreat, there is no way round. The German and the Austrian Governments have signed a preliminary contract and have pledged themselves to negotiate and sign a definite scheme of a Customs Union on certain lines. This obligation stands. If the scheme were to fall through owing to the political actions of other nations, not only the German Foreign Minister but the Chancellor, Dr. Bruening, himself would be hopelessly defeated and would have to go. The political position in Germany, in this case, would become very grave indeed. There is no alternative Government in view. All that has been gained by the shrewd and careful work of Dr. Bruening throughout an extremely difficult winter, both politically and economically, would be smashed.

What an outlook for German eyes, but, at the same time, what an outlook for Europe!

It is obvious that, in these circumstances, it will not meet the case when the British Press, with the usual air of superiority, complains of the clumsiness or stupidity of the German diplomats. I hope my English readers will not mind me saying that the British Press, or, I may even say, British people in general, are inclined to indulge in that superior attitude of kind reproach whenever something happens from abroad that looks to them disturbing and unintelligible. How could one believe that in a case like this, in the face of such far-reaching or even menacing consequences, the German Government had simply blundered and had gaily but blindly plunged into a diplomatic adventure?

No, the truth is quite different. It is obvious that the Government of the Reich knew perfectly well what it was doing and what the effect of its action in other countries would be. Dr. Bruening knew that his Government must win this case or collapse. He, or rather his Foreign Minister, started with this

action after convincing himself that the German-Austrian case is so strong that it cannot possibly be lost. In saying this I am not thinking so much of the juridical side of it, but of its political aspects as well.

There is hardly any doubt that the legal advisers of the German and Austrian Governments have done everything that was possible to give this transaction a form which is, from the lawyers' point of view, unassailable. They knew that the legal experts of some other countries would do their best to find fault with their legal arguments and constructions. The German Government was quite aware of the probability of an international body of experts going very carefully into this matter. Mr. Henderson has already notified his intentions in this direction, and, naturally, the German and the Austrian Governments have no objection against the League of Nations taking legal advice.

But, as everybody knows or should know, this is not the point. The point is that some nations, whilst contesting the legality of the German-Austrian action, are not thinking so much of any legal arguments as of the fact that for political reasons they will not tolerate this German-Austrian Customs Union. That is the reason why we call the whole thing a test case.

What is going to be tested ? Nothing less than the question whether Germany is permitted to move in this post-war world of ours on the same basis of equality with the other nations, and with the same right to look after her own affairs, so long as she keeps herself strictly within the boundaries of international law and international treaties.

Whatever the merits of a German-Austrian Customs Union may be, and whatever may be said against the diplomatic form of approach, one thing is quite plain : there are people in Europe who still deny to Germany this right to equality and self-government. Why do they deny it ? First of all, because they think that the dictators of Versailles must approve of all we are doing. Secondly, because a German-Austrian Customs Union is the very last thing that is agreeable to them for political reasons. If twelve years after the war, and nearly half a dozen years after Locarno, after the evacuation of the Rhineland and the conversion of a large proportion of the reparation debt into a private debt, these political objections against the German-Austrian move are still so strong that the Council of the League of Nations will set out to prevent the Customs Union for political reasons, then, I am afraid, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand Germans will come to the conclusion that the League of Nations is a humbug and is misused for the definite purpose of imprisoning Germany and denying to her all the rights that are essential for a self-respecting national life.

Let me speak out still plainer. Since the war the French Government has been doing all that is possible in order to secure what is called a large Danube Confederation. We all agree that an improvement of the economic position of Europe is only possible if we organise her on a larger scale than the present one, which is dictated by national shortsightedness and by national fiscal egotisms. It is equally agreed that the political aspect of Europe will improve if we approach our problems in parts—that is to say, 'regionally.' We know from experience that, at the present stage, we cannot rebuild Europe as a whole, but there is some reasonable chance for improvement if we concentrate our efforts on various regions where corresponding interests favour an early success. The south-east of Europe is certainly a region of such a kind.

If there were no German Empire in existence and no German interests to be considered, it surely could not be denied that Austria has a claim to be heard first about all schemes concerning the south-east of Europe. The position of the Austrian Germans in this particular part of the world is unique. I do not want to complicate things by referring to the merits of Austrian civilisation, nor to the historic part of the Austrian emperors in the south-east. They are facts. The present low ebb of Austria's historic importance may or may not be permanent. It is sufficient for my purpose to point out to my English readers that, even in the present depression of all things Austrian, Vienna is still much more a centre in the south-east of Europe than is generally recognised.

After the war, for instance, the Czechoslovakian banks left Vienna in the hope of gaining their definite independence of the greatest metropolis near the Balkans. But soon they were compelled to reopen branches in Vienna, and to-day one may doubt which is more important, the Vienna branch of the banks or the head-office in Prague.

However this may be, it is obvious that no solution in the south-east is thinkable which ignores Austria and Austria's vital interests. This lovely little country, smashed and torn to pieces by the war, and its inhabitants who talk our language, are close to German hearts. Is it a crime, is it unnatural? Can you stop it; can anyone stop it?

Our sympathy with our Austrian friends does not necessarily mean 'Anschluss'—that is to say, political union. There are plenty of Austrians who do not care for that, and there are not a few Germans who would hesitate to take such a step. Moreover, there is the Peace Treaty, with its verdict: no union allowed without special permission. This verdict is absurd; but anyway, for the moment, it stands and is respected.

But what you cannot stop is the ever-running current of sentiment from man to man, from German to German, irrespective of frontiers and paragraphs. We feel, both Germans and Austrians, that it is only natural that we should join efforts first, if the question of joining efforts in Europe, or in any parts of Europe, is raised. It may be difficult, say, for a Spaniard and a Pole to agree on a common scheme, designed to improve their economic position, but it is not equally difficult to do so for two varieties of Germans living next to each other, having a great common history and suffering from the consequences of a war which has been fought by them on the same side of the trenches.

Therefore, no scheme was likely to succeed in the south-eastern region the aim of which was to separate Germany and Austria or that was designed by France or some other nation in order to compel Austria to be satisfied in accepting a certain position in the world to the liking of other people, but not to her own. The French, supported by Czechoslovakia, made every possible effort to dictate to the Austrians what they must do or not do. For some time it looked as if the terrible financial and economic position of Austria might help the French politicians to a success they otherwise never could have achieved. Lately the doors to a Danube Confederation were opened very wide, and Austria was again invited, not without an unmistakable pressure. Nobody could be surprised about the echo the German-Austrian move had in Prague and Paris, who realises how near to a success the French policy already was, or was believed to be.

If anybody complains about the secrecy or trickiness of the German-Austrian move, he should remember that nothing helped so much to a fiscal agreement between Germany and Austria as the financial and political pressure which has been put on Vienna by France and other nations since Versailles and Trianon. To ask in Paris or Prague if such a past was agreeable would have been more than what could have been reasonably and honourably expected. Is it really too much if we expect to be permitted to enjoy the same degree of freedom as, for instance, Rumania and Yugoslavia, who in July of last year decided, with the friendly assistance of Czechoslovakia, to work out a Customs Union and to arrange for a permanent committee for this purpose? In the same way Germany and Austria have decided to conclude a fiscal treaty.

There is no Customs Union yet. There is only the definite agreement in principle. But there is much more: there is the invitation to all nations who are interested to join us and take part in the German-Austrian scheme one way or the other. We all hope that this is the turning-point for the fiscal policy of the whole European world. But, so far as Europe is concerned,

this scheme does not allow for political intrigues or conspiracies. As more nations join our efforts the plainer the true meaning of the German move will be. Not all future treaties can be as far-reaching and comprehensive as the German-Austrian arrangement ultimately can and will be. Other countries may prefer a greater number of exceptions to the rule of complete customs union. The arrangements may differ according to the individual requirements.

In German official quarters it is considered quite likely that sooner or later one country or the other, particularly in the south-east, will join us. For many months, after the famous Sinaia Conference, this question had been very closely studied in Berlin and elsewhere. More than once it appeared that countries like Hungary and Rumania, and others also, were seriously concerned with the question of gaining access to the great German market for agrarian products in exchange for the import of German industrial goods.

What we all want is the reopening of new markets without damaging valuable existing interests. This applies to England as well as to every other industrial country. The scheme indicated by the German-Austrian pact is not exclusive and never could be. It is the beginning of enlarging and strengthening the European markets. If we really increase our economic strength the gain is not our exclusive gain ; it will be a gain all round, not least for England, because our need and our capacity to buy on the English market will be increased as well.

Nobody, not even the experts, will be able to forecast precisely what the economic consequences of the German-Austrian Customs Union ultimately will be. Moreover, I am not concerned in this article with the economic outlook. It will take a long time before our scheme can be properly developed and put into operation. It will take still longer before other countries will take the plunge and follow suite. The German experts know very well that it will be most difficult, when others come in, to adjust individual interests and to produce a scheme which is economically well-balanced. No country has the intention of losing by such transactions. But one thing must be clear : for Heaven's sake do not let politics interfere with our common endeavour to find a way out of our disastrous economic slump. If Germany and Austria and others built up a useful economic unit to start with, why should anybody be allowed to disturb us whilst we are working for a better European system ?

Unfortunately, politicians have already interfered. Quite apart from the French thesis that Germany has not the right to start a scheme of her own, even if it keeps within the boundaries of her international obligations, we have been told that the

German Government is disturbing the otherwise promising international atmosphere. Mr. Henderson has even suggested that his fight for disarmament may be compromised by the German-Austrian action. Here again, I am afraid, the German answer must be more frank than some diplomats may like.

Who can dare to say seriously that the international outlook is promising, or ever was promising, so far as disarmament is concerned? The results of the various Naval Conferences, public and secret, are modest. There has been a certain limitation of armaments which should by no means be underestimated, but which certainly will not have solved the question of disarmament even if France and Italy see their way to an early agreement.

The French have their own conception of what they call 'security.' The naval arrangements have not worried the French negotiators too much, because they have not touched the French sense of security. The disarmed navies will in any case be most formidable. The result of naval 'disarmament' (in its present stage) leaves the difference between disarmed Germany and the rest of the world approximately as big as it ever was after the war. But at Versailles the disarmament of Germany was said to mean the beginning of disarmament all round.

If you consider this fact, it is surprising to notice that the German comments on the naval arrangements were comparatively mild. The reason is that Germany is so terribly concerned with the urgent problems of disarmament on land that she concentrates her energy on the question of limitation and disarmament of the big armies. The navies of other nations did not invade the Rhineland because they could not, but the armies did. Some French papers hint already at the possibility of a new occupation of the large cities on the Rhine if Germany does not drop the idea of the Customs Union.

The fact is that Germany has quite definite reasons to believe that Mr. Henderson is entirely wrong if he sincerely believes that there is really a good chance of success when the Disarmament Conference assembles next spring. Of course, it may be possible to negotiate some principles for comparing the military forces and estimating the national needs of the various countries; but it appears to us that France clings firmer than ever to her guiding idea that there is only security for herself and the whole world if France and her Continental Allies should control Europe by the dominating power of their armies.

Obviously it is very unwise for Germany to do anything that may be used as a pretext by France. The world seems to be still inclined in doubtful cases to find fault with Germany first; but let us be truthful about it: the French do not want to give up the hegemony on the Continent which they have won by the

combined forces of half of the world in fighting Germany; and official England does not think it worth her while to object to this seriously! It is therefore quite wrong to assume that the French attitude in this decisive question can be changed, or even influenced, by any German gesture or action, agreeable or the reverse.

Germany is most definitely bound to a policy of understanding and reconciliation with France. This is the legacy of the late Dr. Stresemann, who in his lifetime was not nearly sufficiently admired and recognised as the man who has shown us what must be done. But it is quite plain to all of us that a policy of understanding and reconciliation is no good to Germany if it is not based on the principle of equal rights and equal obligations for all big nations. Unfortunately it has become also obvious to all of us that France is not yet ready to deal with Germany on the basis of equality.

It is true that the Rhineland was evacuated a short while before the latest date laid down in the Peace Treaty. That was a belated fruit of Stresemann's policy of understanding. Whilst we were waiting for it the policy of understanding had a clear and tangible object. Well, there are still other possible objects like that, but the French statesmen do not dare to approach them. There is the Saar valley, there are Eupen and Malmedy, there are financial and economic problems, but there is not one amongst them which the French would allow to be solved. Take, for instance, the short-term credits. They are a curse in the present political circumstances, because whenever the French people want to demonstrate their political disapproval they withdraw the credits, or at least they hint they may do so. All German efforts to substitute long-term loans for those short-term credits have been in vain, because the French answer is: this, again, is a question of security. They want to continue the political pressure by financial means. This, however, does not strengthen the spirit of understanding.

Behind all the questions of lesser importance, of course, the big problems always dominate the Franco-German atmosphere: the Polish Corridor, the 'Anschluss' (the political union of Germany and Austria), disarmament and the like. It was, and still is, possible not to speak about some of them for the time being. The Briand-Stresemann talks and agreements were only possible and successful because certain of these political problems were put aside or not talked about. They concentrated on the Rhineland. The present German Government has not made the mistake of putting all those thorny questions into the limelight and of presenting the French with a list of urgent German desires. But some of them came to the forefront for other reasons: dis-

armament because of the approaching conference and German-Austrian relations because of the Vienna customs pact. And immediately the French answer was: this will not do.

Instead of an active policy of understanding, based on the common desire to settle questions which must be settled sooner or later, we are confronted with a situation plainly characterised by M. Briand when he said a 'deadlock' had been arrived at. In other words, there is at the moment no problem which can be made a subject of fruitful German-French negotiations and of an understanding. Since the evacuation of the Rhineland there has been none. France—so runs the French thesis—has gone a long way towards understanding, but it cannot go on with it if there is the slightest suggestion of change in the present balance of power—that is to say, if the German demand for equality has any bearings on the definite idea of French supremacy on the Continent or the *status quo*.

Therefore we think the prospects of disarmament are dark. The endeavour of Germany and Austria to strengthen themselves by economic and fiscal collaboration has neither created nor changed this situation, but, of course, it is bound to meet with the disapproval of everybody who is in favour of French hegemony and of the French attempts to secure it.

But, apart from that, we think that this French desire should not prevent a reasonable and well thought-out reorganisation of the *economic* capacity of Europe. So far no other country has made a workable proposal. The German and the Austrian Governments have made one. Let others do better if they can, but do not let political theories stand in the way of practical economics. This is the question; and therefore, I repeat, the pact is a test case.

R. KIRCHER.

IS THERE A SHORTAGE OF CLERGY?

TO-DAY we look back with admiration and regret at the Victorian age. Its solidity, its optimism, its industry, and its assurance strike us with wonder. Most of all may Churchmen lament the departure of those halcyon days; for if the Victorian social and industrial fabric was imposing, the Church, too, held an important and conspicuous place in the life of the nation. And if the public respected the Church, the Church itself had few misgivings; it was sure of its own ideals, its own methods, and, above all, of itself. It shared the activity and optimism of an age of material expansion and progress.

Nor was this prestige which the Church complacently enjoyed an honour which was undeserved. There is no denying that the Church of England of the last third of the nineteenth century was a remarkably successful institution. And its success was due to good causes—*i.e.*, to devotion, to enthusiasm, and to organising ability.

It is easy to exaggerate the influence upon the Church of England, at this period, of the Oxford Movement. The true inspirer of the Anglicanism of the 'eighties and 'nineties was not Newman, but Samuel Wilberforce, the indefatigable Bishop of Oxford. J. H. Newman had shaken the Church to its foundations, but Wilberforce renovated the tottering fabric and restored public confidence. Newman had raised the fundamental question whether the Church of England had any right to exist as an independent institution. Wilberforce believed and, in the opinion of his contemporaries, demonstrated that an efficient Church—one that was a real going concern—had every right to exist. While Newman looked back into the past with longing and into the future with despair, Wilberforce surveyed the field of the present with energetic confidence. He disseminated, by precept and example, a new gospel, the gospel of efficiency, and Englishmen, who distrusted Newman as an apostle of ideas and of principles, understood a man with a practical programme. By accepting their standards of success and their methods of hustle and advertisement, Soapy Sam won the hearts of prosperous Victorian Englishmen. He converted the business men into churchwardens

and the clergy into business men. He incarnated an ideal which the Victorians could understand—the ideal of efficient religion. It is an interesting fact that the year which saw Newman's secession was marked by the promotion of Wilberforce from his successful labours at Alverstoke to the Deanery of Westminster. The apostle of ideas was a failure; the apostle of activity a success. For the next sixty years activity rather than ideas was to be the distinguishing mark of the Church of England.

To work the miracle of reconstruction Wilberforce borrowed a certain amount of Newman's stock of ideas—for example, the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, with its enhanced estimate of the clerical office. This was, as it were, so much spiritual capital for the new business management to work with. Besides this, the Wilberforce renaissance took over what might be termed the liturgical stock-in-trade of the Puseyite 'ritualists,' though Wilberforce had no interest in ritual as such, and indeed distrusted and disliked a great deal of it. But used within limits it made for 'bright' services and the raising of liturgical standards. The new efficiency would indeed have been impossible but for the ecclesiastical reconstruction carried out by the Reform Parliament and denounced by Keble from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, as 'national apostasy.' But the redistribution of financial resources prepared the way for the business policy of Wilberforce, whose reforms were thus helped by conditions to which both Newman and his enemies had contributed. On the intellectual side there were selected portions of the Tractarian creed, and on the material side there were the financial readjustments made by the sacrilegious hand of the State.

Thus the Wilberforce renaissance gave to us the pre-war Church of England which most of us remember, with its surpliced choirs, coloured stoles, lacquered brasswork, tiled chancels, bright services, and bustling, optimistic, and energetic clergy. All that the word 'Church' denotes to nine-tenths of the British public dates from this period. Newman would have shuddered at this decorated Protestantism, but the Victorians liked it. And behind it, we must remember, there was a hitherto quite unprecedented amount of practical parish activity. Mission churches were being built, slums were being evangelised, Sunday schools were being built up, day schools being erected and financed; while, besides this, enormous sums of money were being raised for foreign missionary work. The clergy and their workers were all busy, enthusiastic, and full of hope.

The parochial plant which was required was often expensive, both initially and in upkeep, but in those days money was easily found; nor was there any shortage either of clergy or of lay helpers to man the machinery. The whole thing was a going

concern. Newly established seminaries at Cuddesdon[1] and elsewhere turned out a continuous stream of Oxford and Cambridge passmen to supply man-power for the new ecclesiastical machine. These young fellows, who were all gentlemen and all as keen as mustard, launched themselves upon the parishes. They did wonderful things; they boxed, they preached, they visited, they held Bible classes, they romped with the children of the working class. There now developed that singular type of Christianity which has been called muscular. These breezy, healthy, inexperienced, well-mannered, and uneducated young men showed how brawn might be combined with piety. They banished infidelity and immorality with athletics. Devout ladies financed their schemes, and middle-aged vicars were puzzled how to find scope for so much energy. It was now confidently believed that the clergy had only to take off their coats to sweep everyone into their net. It was only a question of man-power, money, and machinery. From the bishop in his palace to the newly ordained deacon in his lads' club, all ranks were inspired with supreme confidence in their aims, their methods, and their ultimate victory. It was a great period, and the average respectable citizen of those days no more thought of criticising the Church than he thought of criticising the Derby. Nothing is so respectable as success, and the Church was held to be succeeding rapidly.

Such was the attitude of the middle class. As for the proletariat, most of them regarded the Church as a useful friend that looked after their children, tried to relieve their poverty, and helped in a variety of ways to brighten their lives. Class consciousness was still more or less dormant, and working men still admired a gentleman, if he was one, and most of the clergy were still gentlemen. Moreover, the clergy did everything to make religion attractive.

Yet by the close of the century the atmosphere was beginning to change. Subsequent developments have invested with a sinister significance (from the Church's point of view) some events of those years. In 1898 motor cars were first seen upon the streets of London, and in the autumn of the following year the Boers invaded Natal.

The Boer War is to be regarded as the first shock endured by the Victorian complacency, which was the environment, we must remember, in which the Wilberforce *régime* flourished. But the shock itself was less important than its result, which was a revival of political Liberalism, and this produced fruits which the parochial clergy soon began to taste.

The first of these fruits was the Education Act of 1902, which, though passed by a Conservative Government, was the result of

[1] Founded by Wilberforce in 1868.

the widespread dissatisfaction engendered by the long course of the war. Under this Act the Church suffered two blows. Of these by far the more serious was the complete transformation, which now took effect, of English middle-class education. The old independent grammar schools, which had been in close association with the Church since the Tudor days in which they were founded, were ruthlessly swept away and replaced by secondary schools, where clerical influence of every kind was reduced to a minimum or vanished altogether. The second blow was that the Church elementary schools were faced with expanding numbers of highly efficient competitors, staffed by teachers whom their trade union had made increasingly impatient of clerical control and had invested with an enhanced professional self-consciousness. The result was that the Act of 1902 set both primary and secondary education developing along lines which would bring them, not only out of clerical control, but altogether out of range of Church influence. The schools of both grades were destined to turn out a population indifferent or hostile to the claims of the Church of England which were neither recognised nor understood.

Meanwhile the lives of the masses were being shaped by new influences. During the war a new popular Press had come into existence—the ripe fruit of the previous Education Act of 1870, and which catered for the new literate but uneducated public. Though this new Press was in no sense anti-clerical, yet its influence was a rival to that of the Church by teaching noisily a new set of values. It gave to the masses a new dogmatism of a materialistic and 'this-worldly' type, and its gospel was exclusively, not to say narrowly, nationalistic. The standards of the half-educated were erected into criteria of truth; and the teaching of the Church soon began to appear fantastic and out of date, and people soon lost interest in events more than a week old.

Quite as important as the new education and the yellow Press were certain social developments such as old-age pensions, and above all the Lloyd George Insurance Act, which radically transformed the lives and outlook of the working class by making them look to the State rather than to the Church for the amelioration of their lot. A great proportion of the Church's work in the poorer areas was no longer required: the Church was side-tracked and its charity short-circuited. The place of the parson in the scheme of things was radically altered, and the insurance official reigned in his stead.

But it was not only the charitable and social work of the Church, but also its attempts to brighten the lives of the masses by suitable entertainments, that now became redundant. During the pre-war years of the twentieth century the cinema was as yet in its infancy, but even its beginnings revealed to the more

far-sighted that a rival had appeared which would inevitably displace the old-fashioned lantern services and lectures which were once so popular. Such homely efforts would have to give way to Americanised, large-scale commercialised forms of entertainment of an entirely secular kind, supplying all the latest sensations at a moderate cost, and providing the public with seats far more comfortable than the hard benches of a mission-room, or even than the gallery of a theatre. The old type of parochial entertainment, run by the popular curate and a few church workers, could not compete with the new standardised pleasures. Thus as State aid displaced charity, so the provision of cheap amusements on a commercial basis displaced the lighter sorts of parochial activity, and a great deal of church work was rendered unnecessary. Just as the vicar's grocery and milk tickets were no longer needed, so the curate's piano-playing and the choirman's bass solo failed to draw an audience, save, perhaps, of a few children on their off nights from the cinema. Both charity and amusements were out of demand. Not only had Mr. Lloyd George short-circuited the Church, but the cinema proprietors had cut it out in another way. Thus the elaborate parochial machinery of the Wilberforce movement was being reduced to scrap value.

Much of it was still kept working right up to the war, though at considerably reduced pressure, out of consideration for the feelings of those who had endowed it, and who would have been pained to see it go to ruin. Although the populace deserted the mission churches, they were frequented by groups of devout persons who preferred their quiet atmosphere to the noisy worship of the parish churches. Too often these back-street bethels became parochial caves of Adullam, a centre for parochial malcontents and people with grievances against the vicar. In this way many parishes were rent by factions which were far more wearing than the hard work and incessant rush of the Wilberforce period.

There were, indeed, some futile if well-intentioned attempts to apply a little cement to the cracking fabric. Amongst such we may include the founding of the Church of England Men's Society, which revealed the drift of men away from the Church. Energetic curates strove manfully to stem the tide. The rules of the new society were made as lax and non-committal as possible, but even so the results were meagre and short-lived. Only the less intelligent were roped in, and their enthusiasm was fitful or misdirected. But perhaps the most important omen of these early years of the twentieth century was the suffrage movement, *i.e.*, the beginnings of feminism. The prophet of the new evangel was Mr. Bernard Shaw, and its ideals were far from being identical

with those of the two Church societies for females, the Mothers' Union and the Girls' Friendly Society. Women were being emancipated from the Church with a vengeance, and when women begin to desert a religion the outlook is a poor one. Also, as it was the more intelligent women who involved themselves in the new crusade, the Church societies had to remain satisfied with an inferior residue.

Thus, even before the war, the disintegrating effects of Liberal legislation, secular education, and cheap amusements upon the work of the Church in urban areas had already begun ; but after the war things moved more rapidly. The principle of industrial insurance was further extended, the cinema made gigantic strides, wireless came into popular use, and the cheap motor car and the charabanc began to transform the English Sunday. In the industrial areas, and even in the country, the Church was being more and more crowded out of the lives of the people. Even the middle class, hitherto the stand-by of the Church of England, began to be seriously affected.

Everyone above the 400*l.* a year income level, and a good many below it, now possessed a car, and the lure of the country or the seaside drew them away every week-end. Wireless, too, contributed its quota. Without the trouble of going to Church people could now listen to far better music and sermons than they would get by sitting on a hard seat under their local clergyman who was not confined to time-limits like the man at the microphone. Moreover, if you take your religion comfortably at home, you can shut off the supply when you are satisfied, whereas in church you have to sit it out or have a sidesman come after you with smelling-salts. All this made people eclectic and hard to please, fond of variety, and quite unreliable as regular members of a congregation. Another influence not dissimilar to the wireless is exercised by certain progressive churches and cathedrals which offer services perfect in their kind, and such as no parish church, as things now are, could hope to provide. The public attends these services, partly because they are good in themselves, but also because nothing in the way of parochial or financial responsibility is involved by attending them. You drop a shilling in the plate and your troubles are over.

But of course the real trouble is not that people go elsewhere, but that they go nowhere. There is tennis, there is the car, there is the garden. And even when the weather is bad one has got out of the habit of going to Church, and so one stays at home and reads a novel or the Sunday paper, which offers as much newsprint as will keep one going all day. And it must be remembered that these middle-class families which have so markedly given up churchgoing were the sources of supply for church funds and

church workers. The mothers were the district visitors, the daughters taught in the Sunday school, and the fathers were sidesmen and churchwardens. Without the help of these people a vicar is stranded. Such church workers as now exist are not only of inferior quality, but can only be retained by the most fulsome flattery and protestations of gratitude.

Now it seems evident that in pleading for more clergy the bishops are not fully alive to changes which have taken place in parochial conditions. In the first place, they do not realise that in many parishes the difficulty is not so much one of finding a curate as of finding his stipend. Money is, roughly, twice as hard to raise for church purposes as it was in 1914, and goes exactly half as far. The pre-war curate's stipend of from 200*l.* to 250*l.* presented no insuperable problem, but 300*l.* takes a deal of raising. But even more important than this is the fact, which the foregoing pages have laboured to make clear, that the elaborate parochial machinery which involved the active co-operation of one or two curates, or in some cases of more, has not so much broken down as to become quite redundant. The people who were once served by it no longer want it. The insurance official, the cinema and charabanc proprietor, the B.B.C. have taken on the curate's job.

Meanwhile the position is that the bishops, vaguely aware that the parochial machinery is running down, are making frantic efforts to keep it going at the old rate, oblivious of the fact that the needs which formerly called it into existence have vanished. Blissfully unaware that the parochial system in the towns has completely broken down, they call for men to staff it along the old lines. But if the men were forthcoming, there would be nothing for them to do ; they could only attempt to recondition the effete Wilberforce machinery, and as this was designed to supply goods for which there is no longer any demand, and for which there never will be any demand, the attempt would be futile. It would be like trying to reintroduce the old-fashioned bathing machine.

Our bishops draw heartrending pictures of parishes of over 10,000 staffed by only one man, and of new housing estates which are drifting into paganism because the inhabitants have half a mile to walk to church. But to harrow our feelings in this way is quite beside the point, for the fact is that in numbers, though not perhaps in quality, the clergy are quite equal to the work which they can usefully do. It is true that no single man can provide entertainments—boys' clubs, billiard-tables, mothers' meetings, concerts, dances, lantern lectures—for a population of 10,000 or 15,000. But why should he try to do so ? There is a cinema round the corner, a dance-hall beyond that, and a speed-track a

little further on. The people have all they want in the way of amusement. If they want religion they know quite well where to go for it. The fact, of course, is that very few of them want it, and two or three active curates would not appreciably increase the demand. The real shortage at present is one of laity, not of clergy; and if curates were as plentiful as blackberries it would make no appreciable difference. There is a slump in religion, or at least in church religion, and mutiplying clergy will not cure it. If the cinema should suddenly become as neglected as the church it would not help matters to put up a lot of new cinemas. Cinema proprietors would just have to wait for the tide to turn, and this is the best that bishops and clergy can do at present.

At present the real burden of the clergy, at least in the towns, is the necessity of keeping going an expensive and elaborate parochial plant, the legacy of more prosperous days (*i.e.*, of the bustling Wilberforce period), which is utilised almost entirely for non-religious purposes. It may safely be said that three-quarters of the parochial activity in which the average clergyman is entangled could be relinquished without spiritual loss to the people of his parish. Indeed, the spiritual gain would be great, for then the clergyman would be set free to do the work for which he was ordained, and would not have to waste time over trivialities. The fulsomely advertised ' great scope ' which now attracts an earnest young man to a parish usually turns out to be nothing but running football teams, billiard clubs, juvenile dances, and other such feeble devices for getting hold of young people not interested in religion. These are not activities of sufficient importance to warrant taking a man from useful work as a teacher or ploughboy and paying him to perform them. Futility is written large over all this misdirected, wasted effort. We shall not get the public to take the clergy seriously until they jettison all this rubbish. What a sigh of relief would go up if they did!

But, it will be said, the bishops are a set of highly intelligent and widely experienced men; ought it not to be assumed that they know their own business best? If they are asking for more clergy, and reiterating the slogan that here lies the key to the problem of bringing home religion to the masses, ought we not to conclude that they are right?

But in taking the bishops' measure it must never be forgotten that the parochial experience of most of them (and not all of them have parochial experience) has been almost entirely pre-war; and this means that they know nothing of post-war parochial realities. Nor is this all. We must remember, too, that the bishops' own parochial experience was not only pre-war, but drawn from unusually successful parishes where conditions were exceptionally favourable. A man is not brought out of an obscure

slum parish to be a bishop; he is left to spend his days and break his heart there, unless he can contrive to marry a rich woman and so extricate himself.

But do not bishops conduct confirmations and see a good deal of the parochial life in their dioceses? It would not be untrue to say that a bishop on tour in his own diocese resembles one of those idealists who are taken on conducted tours through Holy Russia. They see what they are intended to see, and no more. None of us wants to face facts if he can help it, and why should a bishop? When he visits a church he will not see the nakedness of the land, for a bishop still attracts a congregation of the devout or the curious, drawn from the whole neighbourhood, and if he likes to believe that the full building is a sign of vigorous parochial life no one, least of all the disillusioned incumbent, will care to undeceive him. Rather than undeceive his bishop a vicar will endeavour to deceive himself, and may even succeed, at least for a very short while, in doing so.

What the bishops chiefly need is some diminution of their foolish optimism, and to abandon some of their pathetic faith in organisation and machinery. Instead of crying for more clergy (whom they will not get) they would do well to realise that what the Church requires is not more but fewer clergy, and these of better quality; and the same remark applies to services sermons, and to churches where they take place. To scrap half the churches would not only do no harm, but actually benefit the cause of religion. One full church is better than three or four partially filled; nothing could possibly be more depressing than the average church service to-day—a few depressed persons crooning together under the direction of a harassed clergymen conscious of an overdraft at the bank.

In the present state of affairs what is needed is not a dilution of man-power by the hurried ordaining of a number of inadequately educated men who by the time they are forty will be a liability and not an asset to the Church. It would be wiser to realise that the elaborate machinery that these men are being ordained to keep going is ripe for the scrap-heap, and that the vitality of the Church would be all the more vigorous without it. What our Church needs is not organisation, nor 'efficiency,' nor bricks and mortar, nor business management. All this cheap Americanism and practicality has no bearing whatever upon religion, and only indicates a real bankruptcy of the spirit. What saves an institution is, not machinery, but men, and not *quantity* of men, but *quality*. We want, not more, but far better clergy—better educated, more intelligent, with a wider outlook and, above all, with freer minds.

Can the bishops supply this need? Can they offer conditions

of ordination which will lift the boycott which the educated classes have evidently placed upon entering the ministry of the Church? For is it not a strange and lamentable fact that when the bishops are asking for money to educate ordinands, the middle classes are spending more money upon education than ever before, and every profession except that of the Church is overcrowded?

J. C. HARDWICK.

INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND PUBLIC HEALTH

INDUSTRIAL Psychology is now a recognised subject—alike as regards academic study, research, and practical application. It has its own university diploma, its university lecturers, its research-workers, and its field-investigators. In certain aspects of public health at the present day a knowledge of *part* of the field covered by industrial psychology is already clearly necessary. And, as will be shown in this article, with the ever-widening conception and scope of public health, the *whole* of industrial psychology must ultimately enter into the equipment required for success in its fuller future aspects.

In the course of time we shall come to recognise that the maintenance and promotion of public health is not confined to Government or municipal officials. So long as any person is concerned in maintaining and promoting the health of a definite *group* of people within a given geographical *area*, primarily for the benefit of the general community, he will be regarded as engaged in public health work, whether he be appointed by a Government department or local authority, or by a large industrial concern. The *group* may be only a small one—students in a school or workers in a factory—or one far larger. The *area* may be so large as to embrace even the whole civilised world, as in the internationally co-operative regulation of epidemic diseases. And the worker in public health may be medically or legally qualified, or expert in only some narrower aspect of the subject—in after-care, almoner's work, water analysis, etc.—or in industrial psychology ; his salary need not be paid out of public funds.

It is one of the principal duties of medical officers of health, as described in 1925 by the Ministry of Health,[1] 'to acquire an accurate knowledge of the influences, social, environmental and industrial, which may operate prejudicially to health in the area, and of the agencies, official or unofficial, whose help can be evoked in amelioration of such influences.'

Now, not only is industrial psychology primarily concerned in

[1] *Memorandum on the Duties of Medical Officers of Health in England and Wales* (H.M. Stationery Office).

the study of and improvement of many of these 'influences, social, environmental and industrial, which may operate prejudicially to health,' but there are two 'agencies' existing in this country, the one official, the other unofficial, whose staff of industrial psychologists 'can be evoked in amelioration of such influences.'

It must be realised at the outset that industrial psychology is neither concerned merely with *industry* nor merely with *psychology*. The word 'industry' here means *any occupation whatever*; moreover, it relates not only to the occupation itself, but also to preparation for the occupation—covering, *e.g.*, pre-vocational education, vocational guidance, vocational selection and vocational training. By vocational guidance is meant advising a person as to the most suitable occupation for him; by vocational selection is meant choosing the most suitable of occupants for a given vacancy in any occupation. And the word 'psychology' includes relevant 'physiology'—the higher embracing the lower, just as physiology includes relevant chemistry and physics; for living body and mind are so closely and inextricably related that their separate study in the intact organism is quite impossible.

Industrial psychology, therefore, is fundamentally concerned with occupational life. Its aim is to determine and to institute conditions which will yield the best possible combination of physical health and mental happiness with physical skill and mental efficiency.

Of the two 'agencies' concerned in this work, one is called the Industrial Health Research Board, a Government body working under the Medical Research Council and employing a staff of research workers and investigators, most of whom have been trained in industrial psychology. Within a given industry, or throughout industry generally, a single subject is selected for their investigation—*e.g.*, the problem of monotony, illumination, rest-pauses, posture, or the psycho-neuroses in industry; and a report on it is finally issued by H.M. Stationery Office.

The other 'agency' is a purely voluntary association, the National Institute of Industrial Psychology—voluntary in the sense that it is dependent for its support entirely on outside assistance, receiving no financial aid from the Government. It is likewise engaged in conducting and publishing research work, which so far has been mainly in relation to vocational guidance and selection. But, in addition, it carries out private investigations and examinations for industrial firms, Government departments, and private individuals, for which it receives payment. Thus part of its staff of industrial psychologists is occupied in determining, and in actually introducing, conditions which will improve the efficiency, health, and contentment either of the workers in a particular factory, mine, mill, office, or (as when

vocational guidance is given) of a particular individual who applies for advice.

Much of the complete history of public health is bound up with the history of voluntary organisations which, as their value has been proved, have been subsequently taken over by public bodies. The field of work of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology is proving so successful and so important that a similar development will probably arise. The 'public' bodies taking over this work may often be the firms themselves. For in these days of extensive rationalisation and of boards of management where the interests of the employees, and (as in public utility concerns) even those of the consumers, are coming to be represented the huge amalgamations of industries do not differ widely in many respects from public bodies. Such enormous concerns, each giving work to many thousands of persons, are as deeply interested as any health authority in promoting both mental and physical health—*e.g.*, by the employment of welfare workers, the provision of dental and ophthalmic clinics, and attention to conditions of the nose and throat; for they recognise that mental and physical health is essential for industrial efficiency.

Thus it is that firms are beginning to turn to industrial psychology—taking on the National Institute's investigators to fill the higher ranks of management, sending members of their staff to be trained at the Institute, or even starting special departments for industrial psychology in their own factory. In this country such departments have been concerned mainly in the selection of personnel for different kinds of work and in determining the best methods of work and the fairest rates of payment. But in the United States industrial psychology has been also of late applied, by two large concerns at least (a big store and an important electrical company), in ascertaining and remedying the mental maladjustments of the workers—their grievances, imaginary and real, and the causes of their irritation and anxiety, both industrial and domestic; that is to say, in studying and alleviating (largely by judicious conversation and by ease or removal of the causes of conflict) all those signs and symptoms which make for unrest and 'nervous breakdown.'

It is not adequately recognised how often bodily disorders, labelled and isolated as organic diseases, are really 'psychogenic' and are hence remediable, in their early stages at least, by psychotherapeutic measures. Many cases of asthma, cardiac and digestive disturbance, and menstrual disorder are illustrations of this fact. Miner's nystagmus is rarely observed in well-lighted mines; it is undoubtedly related to the fear and anxiety produced by the dangerous conditions and the mental strain, which are associated with the wretched glimmer of the miner's safety-lamp. Again,

telegraphists' cramp occurs with negligible frequency in the United States, although the speed required from the telegraphist is said to be higher in America than in Great Britain. But there telegraph companies rank like any other private industrial concerns, and consequently the anxious or unhappy maladapted telegraphist is free to escape from engagement in one company to engagement in another company or to any other occupation, instead of being virtually bound and tied, as in this country, to the 'safe' but restricted career of a servant in one narrow branch of the Civil Service.

So long as industrial psychology is employed, as it is, not to speed-up the worker, but to study the obstacles, physical and mental, that prevent him from giving his best, so long as it is employed, not to place the physically or mentally unfit on the scrap-heap, but to improve and to maintain his physical and mental health and to direct him into occupations for which he is best fitted, it is carrying out, in the first place, work which will be approved by all classes of the community, and, in the second place, what is, in essence if not in name, public health work.

At present, so far as the occupational selection of individuals is concerned, the actions of our Government are limited to compelling the rejection of women and young persons under sixteen who are *physically* unfitted for employment in factories and workshops, and of men who are *sensorily* unfitted (*e.g.*, through colour-blindness) for certain employments, namely, locomotive driving and seamanship. It is only just beginning to enforce the elimination of some of those (notably the maimed, the semi-blind, and the epileptic) who are obviously unfitted to drive a motor vehicle. But hitherto it has done little or nothing in regard to other causes of unfitness for various kinds of employment.

Public health has not yet recognised, and education has done relatively little yet to prevent, the vast disturbances in mental and physical health which arise from the 'square peg' being forced into the 'round hole.' In a recent address to the Public Health Congress the Minister of Health rightly stressed the importance of clean air, clean food, clean water, and clean streets. But public health has yet to appreciate the value of a healthy mind, how much can be done to improve its healthiness, and how closely it is interwoven with bodily health, not merely in being produced by, but also in producing, a healthy body.

Public health has not recognised, nor attempted to deal with, the vast number of industrial accidents that arise, not from unsafe physical and mental conditions, but from the employment of individuals who are especially prone to accidents. It is now known, thanks originally to the work in this country of Professor Major Greenwood, that accidents are not distributed uniformly

over those of the working population who are equally exposed to accidents. In a sample of 200 men of ample experience and maturity in the service of the Boston Elevated Railway Company one-half of all the accidents happened to only one-fifth of the motor men. Accidents are, therefore, largely confined to certain 'accident-prone' individuals, who should be early detected and eliminated as a danger, not only to themselves, but to their fellow-workers and others. Such procedure for accident reduction is as important a part of 'preventive-surgery' for public health as any branch of 'preventive medicine.'

Public health performs a useful service in reducing the dangers of machinery by fencing it with guards; but, in the experience of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, the remedy may sometimes be worse than the disease. For not infrequently the workers do not like these guards and try to 'get round' them; in a considerable number of cases they are an irritant and a hindrance to the worker. They might be very much better contrived, and often *are* much better contrived after various trials and errors —and risks of accident.

Apart from these actual dangers which it should be the duty of the machine designer to anticipate, too commonly the latter neglects, when he designs his machine, the worker's efficiency, health and comfort by placing controls and pedals in positions which involve an awkward, or even an unhealthy, posture on the part of the worker. At least one case is on record of a machine in which one lever was placed at one end of it and one at the other, and the worker was forced to walk up and down all day between the ends of the machine to manipulate these controls; whereas with a little care in design there should have been no difficulty in placing both levers midway. But the designer had not thought of the worker who had to use the machine. Again, in the case of presses, it is quite common for the pedal to come down with a sudden jar on the ground. The shock thus received several thousands of times daily by the worker could easily be remedied, and is sometimes remedied, but in many cases it remains neglected. Here, as elsewhere, no hard and fast line can be drawn between extreme discomfort and actual danger to health.

It is said that only one-third of industrial accidents is attributable to machinery, and of this third only one-third is said to be preventable by guards. If this be true, one might argue that some 90 per cent. of industrial accidents involve the human factor—at all events, to some extent. Consequently the importance of the study of the worker can hardly be over-emphasised, and the directions of this study will now be indicated.

The first is the study of the 'accident-prone.' How is it to be

conducted? A highly interesting series of inquiries have been recently conducted in America, where careful studies of each accident-prone individual have been made. What kind of accident, it is asked, is that particular man or woman likely to have? Often the accident is found to be of a special kind for a special person. What is the cause of this peculiarity? To determine this the 'accident-prone' is investigated on the medical side, the social side and the psychological side; and with the information thus provided, instead of straightway removing the men, the management tries to re-educate them. This has been done by the Cleveland Railway Company in America, where the accident rate has thus been reduced by 42·7 per cent. And on the Milwaukee Electric Railway, where similar investigations have been conducted, thirty-three accident-prone men have now 81 per cent. fewer accidents than before—surely a very satisfactory result.

The second direction of study is that of general accident frequency. As may be well imagined, accidents are found to occur most commonly among the least efficient of the workers, and hence among the beginners. Mr. Eric Farmer's investigation, which is published in the 55th Report of the Industrial Health Research Board, indicates a striking correlation between frequency of accident and ill-success in some of the selection tests which he applied. He finds a difference of 48 per cent. in accident rate between those who 'passed' and those who 'failed' in certain combined tests. Thus it would appear that such selection tests are valuable as a means of eliminating not only those who are likely to be inefficient, but also those who are likely to have accidents, at their work. Mr. Farmer also finds that when the criterion is a combination of the selection tests and of the entrance examination, the accident rate of the worst 25 per cent. is about two and a half times as great as that of the remaining 75 per cent. Similar results have been obtained abroad. On the Berlin Tramways, for instance, fifty drivers who had been selected by psychological tests showed in one year 40 per cent. fewer accidents than an equal group not thus selected. And on the Milwaukee Electric Railway selection tests reduced the frequency of men discharged for accidents from 14·1 to 0·6 per cent.

Last comes the study of the best methods of training beginners, they being, as we have seen, especially liable to accident. Here the demonstration of danger-points and of dangerous situations and instruction how to act in specified emergencies are clearly of great importance.

Industrial psychology, which, as I have shown, includes industrial physiology, is also concerned in the study of effective illumination, temperature and ventilation. The relations of these

to general health and to accidents need no stressing. It is not merely the *amount* of illumination, not the mere mechanical, *physical* candle-power which needs to be considered, but also the *psycho-physiological* effects of glare, contrast, angle of incidence, shadows, etc., and the adequate illumination at the actual working point of the worker. The contrast between stepping out of the powerful lights of a railway yard into their dark surroundings clearly constitutes a danger-point for accidents. Even in the best artificial lighting more accidents occur than in good daylight. In one factory, where the accidents occurring between 5.30 and 6 p.m. were compared with those occurring between 3.30 and 4 p.m., the former were only 16 per cent. more frequent than the latter in summer, but were 128 per cent. more frequent in winter; and the only important difference here conceivable is that of the duration of daylight.

Not less interesting is the discovered dependence of accident frequency upon the temperature of the environment. In one factory accidents were fewest at 67 degrees F., but were increased by 30 per cent. at 77 degrees and by 17 per cent. at 56 degrees. In another works probably the same fact is indicated by the observation that during the six winter months there were seven times the number of accidents that occurred during the six summer months.

It is hardly necessary to allude to the importance for physical and mental health of screening the worker from exposure to excessive heat or from exposure to obnoxious or disagreeable fumes and dust. Our ideas of ventilation have been profoundly modified within recent years by the work of Sir Leonard Hill. We now know that it is not so much the *composition* of the air as its *movement* that is all-important for effective ventilation. The study of illumination and ventilation necessitates a training in the use of such apparatus as the photometer and the kata-thermometer. In their use certain public health officials doubtless must in the future, if they do not at present, receive instruction.

But in other fields of industrial psychology public health officials are at present wholly untrained. The medically qualified officer—indeed, the medical student generally—usually receives no training whatever even in *normal* psychology. The normal mind—all that we know about it and about its many important departures from normality—might be non-existent, so far as medical education is concerned. Yet, the very day after he has qualified, the young practitioner may be confronted with the problem of a definitely or doubtfully mentally defective patient!

The factory inspector is at present expected to look into the general working conditions and into the provisions for welfare in a factory which he visits. But in the future, as public health

advances and as instruction in industrial psychology spreads, is it not certain that he will be required to declare that in certain 'shops' of certain factories there is over-speeding, or muscular or mental overstrain, or ill-designed machinery, or badly arranged hours of work, or mental maladjustment due to bad working conditions, any one of which is dangerous to the health of the little community engaged there? We have already psychologists appointed by educational authorities, and we are likely in the near future to see careers masters and expert vocational advisers attached to schools—all with the object not merely of increasing efficiency and diminishing waste of time, effort and material, but also ultimately with the object of improving public health. What holds for educational psychology surely holds, likewise, for its intimate neighbour, industrial psychology. It, too, is assured in the future of an increasingly important *rôle* in the field of public health, especially when the latter is conceived in the wide sense in which it is here defined.

CHARLES S. MYERS.

POLITICS IN PITCAIRN

1790. January 23d. H.M. Ship *Bounty* burned at Pitcairn Island.

So begins the Pitcairn Island Register, and so began a parody (or was it a parable ?) of the political animal and his works ; as if this little island had been created to stage a caricature of Christendom and a nightmare vindication of Machiavelli. The actors were a band of mutineering desperadoes in flight from the vengeance of England : the stage was hidden in the remote wastes of the south-east Pacific.

Eighteen years passed away. The world was at war, and the *Bounty* was forgotten. At last an American sea captain blundered upon Pitcairn, and found there a pious community of native widows and half-breed children, and ' a worthy man ' whom they acknowledged as ' father and commander of them all ' : ' He might be useful to navigators who traversed this immense ocean,' reflected the captain. But for six years no navigators came. Then two English men-o'-war appeared, hunting for American privateers. The captains landed, and the worthy man stood once more before the King's uniform. He stood with his hat in his hand and smoothed his scanty locks, as was the fashion of sailors in olden times ; but it pained him to answer questions about the mutiny and the mutineers, and the captains ' forebore to press him on the subject.' For here was no criminal to be punished : here was a repentant sinner, who had put away the old Adam of Alexander Smith, mutineer, and had put on the new John Adams, of pious manners and a correct sense of religion. John Adams appealed irresistibly to that new race of evangelical sea-dogs who had so marvellously ousted the hard-swearing and hard-driving captains of the eighteenth century—the Edwardses and the Blighs. Enthusiastic naval officers marked how he asked a blessing before every repast : once only he took a mouthful of food before grace ; ' but before he swallowed it, he recollected himself, and feeling as if he had committed a crime, immediately put away what he had in his mouth, and commenced his prayer.' On Sundays the island community gathered early in the church, where Adams reverently conducted the service of morning prayer, and, ' fearful of leaving out any

essential part, read in addition all those prayers which are intended only as substitutes for others.' There was also a sermon, which, 'lest any part of it should be forgotten, or escape attention . . . was read three times.' In almost half an hour after the sermon the people were called to prayers again: they must attend church five times a Sunday. Every Wednesday was an Ash Wednesday, every Friday a penitential Good Friday. Adams himself christened the children, and married men and women with a ring. The good captains were humbled before the severe beauty of his piety, and could not 'refrain from offering the opinion' that Pitcairn was 'well worthy the attention of our laudable religious societies.' Might not Adams and his family be a heavenly instrument for propagating the Christian religion among black Polynesians, weltering in superstition and cannibalism and heathendom?

How had this blessed reformation come about? What marvellous train of events had permitted and inspired John Adams to introduce the Golden Age in Pitcairn? The most sensitive of His Majesty's sea captains could not altogether refrain from questioning him, even if their questions gave him pain; and, as Adams realised that he need have no apprehension for the future, he became more communicative about the past. But to each of the captains he told a different story. He had to account for the disappearance of eight mutineers, six native men, and a few women; and for the appearance of nearly three score young men and maidens. There is a version according to Captain Folger, a version according to Captain Pipon, a version according to Sir Thomas Staines, a version according to Captain Beechey. All the captains frequently contradict each other, and all are the amanuenses of John Adams. This conflict of testimony in no wise deterred the gallant historians of the nineteenth century. A story must be told—if possible, it should edify. The old books edify with magnificent improbability. Yet, if island tradition be added to the narrations of John Adams, a story may still be told; and even this sceptical age will expect a moral. Both the story and the moral are implied in these few terse items taken from the island's register of 'Births, Deaths, Marriages & Remarkable Family Events.'

1793. Massacre of the mutineers by the Tahitians. The Tahiti men all killed, part by jealousies among themselves, the others by the remaining Englishmen.

1794. A great desire in many of the women to leave the island . . .

1798, April 20. McCoy distilled a bottle of ardent spirit from the Te root. The copper kettle of the *Bounty* made into a still, frequent intoxication the consequence, McCoy in particular, upon whom it produced fits

of delirium, in one of which he fastened a stone to his neck, threw himself from one of the rocks, into the sea and was drowned.

1799. Matthew Quintal having threatened to take the life of Young and Adams and having made an attempt and was foiled, Adams and Young having no doubt he would follow his resolution came to the conclusion that their own lives were not safe while he was in existence and that they were justified in putting him to death which they did with an axe.

These simple entries cover a very wide range of social phenomena. It is obvious that Pitcairn was afflicted with many of the problems which vex modern society. To mention, first, two of the less important: there was the drink problem, and the problem of sex antagonism. According to one of the more reputable sources of Pitcairn history, the year 1794, which witnessed the attempted secession of the women, witnessed also two distinct feminist plots to murder the men in their beds. Owing to the previous heavy mortality among the male inhabitants of Pitcairn, society was at that time polygamous, and the women's movement may perhaps be interpreted as a very primitive affair—a revolt of the harem. The folk tradition of Pitcairn is inclined to justify this revolt by recounting incidents like the following: that one day Quintal sent his wife out to catch fish, 'and not succeeding enough to satisfy Quintal, he punished her by biting off her ear.'

More important than militant feminism was the phenomenon of racial antagonism—if that phrase is not a misnomer for an opposition which was at bottom economic and political. The white men began life in Pitcairn with a feeling of their solidarity of interest as a dominant caste: they assumed a right to govern the coloured people, to exploit their labour, and to enjoy their women. Their lack of moderation very soon produced the event of 1793, which may be called the first servile war. After this war the white race for a time maintained its solidarity, for purposes of repression. 'Whenever the Tahitians did anything amiss, they used to be beaten by their masters, and their wounds covered with salt, as an extra punishment.' This is the island tradition, as a mutineer's son recounted it in 1850. But the same account (agreeing with the Register) passes immediately to the most significant of all the Pitcairn phenomena—the failure of solidarity, the *stasis* which all but destroyed the dominant civilisation.

The mutineers had lapsed into a state of nature. They had divided their world into nine parts: each mutineer took his own part, and became his own law. Each established himself as a sovereign, supreme and unchallenged within his territory, combining with his neighbours only for the joint exploitation of coloured labour, or to ensure his own security in face of a rival

combination. The world of Pitcairn was divided into rival alliances: the tiny island became Christendom in miniature. These simple sailors found themselves playing the old game of the 'balance of power' with the zest and resourcefulness of ambassadors or field-marshals. For, as Hobbes knew, the war of everyman with everyman is always and essentially the same, whether those who fight it are primitive human units or powerful sovereign States. And, if Hobbes is right, the world's anarchy can end in one way only—in a world empire. In the Pitcairn microcosm it ended in the empire of John Adams. For the internecine struggles of the dominant race became ever more deadly; black troops were called in, and turned against their masters; there was a second servile war, in which the whole black race was exterminated, leaving the white sovereigns to exterminate each other at leisure. In the end John Adams alone remained, to wield supreme power over a community of native women and half-breed children.

And now occurred the crowning event in Pitcairn's history—the conversion of John Adams, and the consequent foundation of the Pitcairn theocracy. It would be possible to advance a purely political and cynical interpretation of this event. It would be plausible to depict Adams as a political artist who, like Machiavelli, venerated Moses as a supreme master of statecraft, and who understood, with Aristotle, that 'if men think that a ruler is religious and has a reverence for the gods . . . they are less disposed to conspire against him.' But Adams was greater than the professors of political science. He gained the advantages of apparent holiness, because, in all honesty, he became holy. He did what was expedient from motives other than those of expediency, and thereby established his authority upon a base more solid than that which the subtlest calculator could have raised. Conditions hitherto prevailing upon the island had not been conducive to regular habits of Bible-reading and prayer, and it is possible that Adams began his exercises in the Scriptures as a mere refuge from the unaccustomed tedium of peace. Yet in the end they mastered him and overruled him. A simple and ignorant sailor, he had no conscious sophistication to interpose between his imagination and the imposing cadences of the English Bible. They dominated him—overwhelmed him in a conviction of sin and a revelation of the way of salvation.

By the grace of God working through John Adams, Pitcairn became 'the realisation of Arcadia, or the Golden Age—a commonwealth of brothers and sisters.' An ideal commonwealth has no history. Arcadia would not be Arcadia if it were subject to the vicissitudes of ordinary communities. The historian of Pitcairn must therefore give place to the moralist, content to

indicate 'the power and blessedness of the Divine Word, even for temporal purposes,' and to the philosopher, who may illuminate, 'for the guidance of nations,' those principles which 'realised, among the children of outlaws on a wild rock, what Plato and More could but conceive.' The philosophers have been many, and, since the principles are simple and few, humanity may be sure of the road which leads to Arcadia. Unfortunately, the world must multiply its complexities before it can achieve Arcadian simplicity; it must complete the conquest of vast distances before it can reduce itself to the practical dimensions of Pitcairn; it must, like the Pitcairners, struggle to Utopia through the 'nastiness' of the State of Nature. Yet is it altogether beyond the bounds of hope that among the sovereign States which now face each other, like the Pitcairn Fathers, in posture of war, one may be found to play the part of Adams? Quintals and McCoys there are in plenty.

The Pitcairn model is very simple. John Adams solved every problem of society and government by a complete fusion of morals and politics, of Church and State. The good man became one with the good citizen. Society rested on sure Mosaic foundations. Yet, within the bounds of necessary prohibitions, humanity was merry, affectionate, and sociable. No barriers must be raised between man and man. Equality is indeed a stabilising conception, so long as it does not touch the fundamental institution of property. John Adams did not even consider the theoretical virtues of communism. His government was one of moral police, aiming at virtue and stability; and it found a natural ally in the vested interest of family inheritance. Nor (since religion taught men to love their neighbour and not to covet his goods) did the inequalities which arose breed war among the classes and conspiracy against the State. Such inequalities came from God, who to one family sent comfort and few children, and made another fearful for the future with a quiver full of them.

The world, if ever it reaches this Golden Age, will be happier than Pitcairn, for it will be free (so long as godly discipline bridles the fantastic imaginations of science) from the fear of outside interference. John Adams realised with alarm that his kingdom was at the mercy of uncontrollable exterior powers. What if that Majesty which he had outraged should swoop down upon him and hale him off to vengeance? Or what if it should leave his dominions unprotected, a prey to the incursions of rascals like his former unregenerate self? Or what if his own loyal subjects should gain knowledge of that outer world which was so much less happy, so much more alluring, than Arcadia? With magnificent confidence in the submissiveness of his people, he audaciously challenged those cosmological facts of which the

community's mothers, at any rate, had been made aware by experience. The good citizen of Pitcairn must believe that Pitcairn was the whole world, enclosed by the blue impenetrable wall of its horizon. One day, however, the wondering children gathered upon the cliffs to stare at two ships bearing down upon their island. The wind blew from the land, the ships drew away, and passed out of sight. Whence had they come? Whither had they gone? 'Adams,' says the legend, 'allowed them to imagine that the objects they had seen on the water had come through a hole in the horizon where the sun rose.' It was a small concession to intellectual curiosity; yet it was enough to wreck the orthodox cosmography. For what was beyond this hole in the horizon? Whither did the passage lead? What strange creatures would next open the entrance-door of the sun? Guiltily and secretly the community played with its curiosity, and waited; till one day again two great ships appeared and anchored off Bounty Bay. Then the Pitcairners learned that beyond their horizon there were other horizons, and another power, greater than John Adams, called England. They saw John Adams stand before England's messengers, with his hat in his hand, smoothing his scanty locks, as was the fashion of sailors in olden times. They realised, as he did, that he was face to face with a power which could overturn the foundations of their world and his.

That power chose to be benevolent. England's messengers were impressed by a godly conversation and moral behaviour which both shamed and flattered their race. This venerable old man, with the aid of the English Bible and the English Prayer-book and his own native English piety, had made a model Christian community which could not but command the admiring attention of 'our laudable religious societies.' Our laudable religious societies, rejoicing to find a sinner who had so romantically repented, despatched to him in an intermittent stream more Bibles, more Prayer-books, the hymns of Dr. Watts, trousers, iron implements, tracts published by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and food. Even the English Admiralty took a kindly interest in John Adams: Alexander Smith, mutineer, was deliberately forgotten.

His neck was safe, but his work was not yet done. Common tyrannies founder on the rock of the succession: it is the test of the great lawgiver that he should erect his State upon a foundation too strong to be shaken by the accidents of human mortality. Within the breast of John Adams was the ancient wisdom of all the theocracies. Society exists to glorify God by reflecting His eternal stability: the individual is nothing, the institution everything; the priestly governor is but a passing tenant of the chair

and of the throne; he is but a link in the priestly chain, even if he be the first link; he is but a stone in the priestly temple, even if he be the foundation-stone. John Adams thought himself no more. As age advanced upon him he gazed anxiously over the sea, whence alone could come men of the race of priests. Six years before his death he chose a disciple and heir—John Buffett, of the whaler *Cyrus*, formerly cabinetmaker in Bristol and seaman of His Majesty's ship of war *Penelope*. For love of Buffett and of Arcadia a Londoner called John Evans smuggled himself out of the *Cyrus* and hid in the stump of a tree until his captain gave up searching for him and sailed away from Pitcairn. Both strangers accepted land, wives, and the moral order of the State. The succession seemed doubly assured. Yet John Adams was not sure that his work was safe, until, in 1828, there appeared suddenly out of the ocean Mr. George Hunn Nobbs. Immediately Buffett and Evans shrank in their dignity. Mr. George Hunn Nobbs married, taught, preached, healed the sick, and waited confidently for the mantle of John Adams to fall upon his shoulders. For a little while Adams watched and studied him. Then he was content to die.

More than twenty years later the successor of John Adams confessed that he had no right to the name of Nobbs. 'I am, unfortunately, the unacknowledged son of the Marquis of ——.' From early youth he had lived a life of adventure, had served in the Royal Navy and voyaged to the convict colonies of Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, had fought at sea on behalf of the South American patriots, had taken part in that famous naval exploit the cutting out of the *Esmeralda*. In 1822, after two harrowing experiences of Spanish-American prisons, he returned to England. There he found his old mother (who was of noble lineage) at the point of death. She implored him to quit England, to seek out some distant part of the world where her wrongs and his might be buried in oblivion. 'Go to Pitcairn's Island, my son; dwell there, and may the blessing of Almighty God be upon you!' And so it came to pass that, nearly four years later, after many perils and adventures, Mr. Nobbs steered a cutter of eighteen tons westwards from Callao towards Pitcairn. His solitary companion died at the end of a six weeks' voyage; but Mr. Nobbs lived and flourished, and, so he declared, never regretted the determination he had formed on the demise of his beloved parent. Yet his adventures did not end suddenly upon his arrival at Pitcairn.

It would indeed have been strange if some sort of crisis had not followed the death of John Adams. About 1830 an independent friend of Pitcairn became alarmed at a rumour that the British Government intended to break up 'this happy, innocent

little society,' and to consign its members to those sinks of infamy on New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, or else 'to mix them with the dram-drinkers, the psalm-singers, and the languid and lazy Otaheitans.' 'The officiousness of certain meddlers' (probably in our laudable religious societies) had convinced the Government that the population of the island had already begun to press upon subsistence. So it negotiated with Queen Pomaré of Tahiti for a grant of rich acres, and in 1831 sent a ship to transfer the whole colony to its new home. It had not foreseen that these children of Tahitian mothers would find Tahiti torn by civil war, nor had it anticipated the disastrous corruption of their health and morals which would result from contact with the dram-drinkers and psalm-singers. Barely a month after they had been transplanted the Pitcairners fled for home. The godly discipline established by Adams had been sadly sapped: perhaps the godly character of Adams' successor had not altogether stood the strain. The ancient copper kettle of the *Bounty* once again appeared, and seethed devilishly. A visiting naval officer considered that Arcadia needed a clergyman.

Instead, there descended upon the island a temperance reformer, a venerable sexagenarian who called himself Mr. Joshua Hill—or was it Lord Hill? It appears from his own statements that he was a person of considerable importance.

I am aware that pedantry and egotism become no one, and myself, perhaps, less than any. (Prov. xxvii., 2.) But, for certain reasons, the following credentials, as a memorandum, I hope will be pardoned on the present occasion—they are truths. I observe, *in limine*, that I have visited the four quarters of the globe, and that it has ever been my desire to maintain, as far as lay in my power, the standing of an English gentleman. I have lived a considerable time in a palace, and had my dinner parties, with a princess on my right and a general's lady on my left. I have had a French cook, and a box at the opera. I have drove my dress-carriage (thought the neatest in Paris, where I spent five or six years; as well, I have known Calcutta) with the handsomest lady (said) Madame Recamier, to grace my carriage. I have drove a curricle with two out-riders and two saddle-horses, besides a travelling-carriage, a valet, coachman, footman, groom, and, upon extraordinary occasions, my *maître d'hôtel*. I have (at her request) visited Madame Bonaparte at the Tuilleries St. Cloud, and Malmaison. I might thus mention many others of note abroad. I have frequently dined with that remarkable woman, Madame Cabanas, afterwards the Princess de C——. I have had the honour of being in company, *i.e.*, at the same parties, with both his late Majesty George IV., then Prince-Regent, and his present Majesty William IV., then H.R.H. Duke of Clarence; as well as with their royal brothers. I have ridden in a royal duke's carriage, with four horses and three footmen, more than once; and have dined at his table, and drunk the old hock of his late father George III. I have visited the falls of Niagara and Montmorency, the great Reciprocating Fountain in Tennessee, the great Temple

of Elephants at Bombay. I have dined with a prince, as well as with a princess; and with a count, a baron, an ambassador, a minister (ordinary and extraordinary) and have travelled with one for some weeks. I have dined with a Chargé d'Affaires, and lived with consuls, etc. I have visited and conversed with 'Red Jacket,' the great Indian warrior. I have visited and been visited by a bishop. . . .

It is not surprising that this splendid person dazzled the simple Pitcairners. He convinced them that he had behind him the might of the British Government, which would, at his request, send to his aid a ship of the line or a regiment of soldiers. Moreover, he was virtuous.

I am decidedly against the use of ardent spirits (malt liquor may do for those who like it), tobacco, etc. And as for wine, that only at dinner; it even then ought to be good, if not the very best as the *gourmet* would have it, when speaking of Clos-Vougeaut and Romance, etc. (I am not sleeping on a bed of roses now, but in an humble hut or cabin.) After all, what does the foregoing amount to? Vanity of vanities. I will merely add that I have had a year in the church of Christ, and that I am a life member in the Bible Society.

Mr. Hill had been scandalised by what he considered the loose behaviour of the missionaries in the South Sea Islands, and it may be doubted whether he would have been satisfied with the moral order of Pitcairn, even had Adams been still alive. His assault upon the life-work of Adams was all the more dangerous, in that he could launch it under the pretext of reform. His first act was to form the islanders into a temperance society. Such zeal not only won him the support of the godlier Pitcairners, but even imposed upon the credulity of an English sea captain who happened then to visit Pitcairn. Mr. Hill improved the occasion, collected all the arms which were on the island into his own house, and established a brand new Government of elders and privy councillors. He then built a prison, passed a Treasons Act, and brought the formidable machinery of the new law into action against 'the foreigners.' The first offender to be tried was John Buffett, against whom the presiding judge (Lord Hill) pronounced sentence:

It only remains with us to declare the sentence of the law, which is: And this Court doth accordingly adjudge, that you receive three dozen lashes with a cat upon the bare back and breech, together with a fine of three barrels of yams or potatoes, to be paid within one month, or in default thereof, an extra barrel will be required for contempt of Court. . . . Moreover, John Buffett, the sentence of the Court is that, whether with or without your family, you are to leave this island by the first vessel that may present herself; for if you do not, punishment and imprisonment will be the consequence.

The judge then descended from the bench, assumed the office and

weapon of executioner, and went heartily to work upon John Buffett's back and breech. Despite his more than sixty years, Joshua was terribly powerful, and each tail of the cat which he expertly swung was the size of a man's little finger. At last he tired, assumed once again the impartiality of the bench, and on behalf of the Pitcairn judiciary congratulated the executive on its devotion to the peace and tranquillity of the community. Then he reminded the prisoner that a balance of fourteen lashes was still owing to him. John Buffett listened, groaning, until at last he obtained leave to retire. He was carried home and put to bed, where he remained for two weeks.

The turn of John Evans came next. He stood before the judge, bent before the executioner, and retired to bed for ten days. Mr. George Hunn Nobbs had already betaken himself thither in a not untimely indisposition. Would this terrible sexagenarian respect Pitcairn's most venerable back, most sacred breech? Mr. Nobbs trembled to think of the painful affront which might be offered to authority in his person. Providentially, a merchantman put in for water and provisions before the cat o' nine tails had been lifted sacrilegiously against Pitcairn's pastor. Buffett, Evans, and Nobbs all rose from their beds, slunk on board, and left Mr. Hill in full possession of their property and pre-eminence.

Possession was but a small thing. Joshua Hill was not vulgar in his ambitions. He had found it necessary (and not unpleasant) to drive out the men; but he planned nothing less than the overthrow of the Constitution. He laid his axe to the root of the tree. Every Sunday, with a loaded musket beneath his seat and a copy of the Riot Act ready to his hand, he thundered against the damnable errors of John Adams, and vehemently preached the truths of Wesleyanism. Historians of Pitcairn have acclaimed the constancy with which the Pitcairners clung to correct Anglican tenets and maintained the *ēthos* of their State. Yet it may be conjectured whether, without adventitious succours, the foundations laid by John Adams would have withstood the furious blastings of Joshua Hill. And this doubt cannot but suggest a misgiving for the future of the world, if ever it should be organised according to the principles of Adams and the pattern of Pitcairn. This greater Arcadia of the future need not fear, but neither may it invoke, the intervention of an external power. What hope will there be if the foundations upon which the Golden Age has been reared are eroded, sapped, or blasted from within? What would have been left of the work of John Adams had not the outraged breeches of Evans and Buffett, the persecuted virtue of Nobbs, cried not only to Heaven, but to England, for vengeance?

It was the misfortune of Hill that he could not carry through

his experiment in ideal politics in an ideal world. An accident sent to Pitcairn His Majesty's ship *Actæon*, commanded by Lord Edward Russell, with whose family Hill had claimed intimate relationship. Lord Edward wrote indignantly to England. An aristocratic Government could not endure that a 'most exemplary and Christian society' should receive erroneous impressions of the conduct to be expected from connexions of the English nobility. In 1838 the Admiralty despatched a warship to put an end to the usurpation of Hill. The fallen despot was carried off to Valparaiso, where he disappeared. None knew whence he had come, and none knew whither he went.

Never again did the work of Pitcairn's lawgiver have to face so fierce a proof. Mr. Nobbs returned, a chastened ruler, to a chastened island. The foundations of the State still stood firm; it was only necessary to make a few repairs to the superstructure. Over the framework of the theocracy was plastered a constitutional façade of the design which the generation of Lord John Russell and Mr. Hallam constantly and earnestly recommended to Italians, Belgians, Germans, Paraguayans, and Greeks. Moreover, captains of Her Majesty's Navy assumed for the future the obligation of acting as supervisory architects, with the right to authorise necessary additions, alterations, and repairs. Over a joyful Arcadia floated the Union Jack.

The rapid extension of trade within the southern seas trespassed upon the impressive remoteness of Pitcairn. The island became a centre of petty exchange: sinful American whalers put into it for yams or plantains, and departed better men. The island women discarded their mulberry-bark cloth for pretty Lancashire cottons. With an increase in population and in the complexities of life, the social order inaugurated by John Adams underwent inevitable modifications. There were laws developing his great generalisations about property; laws respecting landmarks; laws dealing with the trespasses of dogs, fowls, and pigs; laws systematising the rules of inheritance. There were new prohibitions in the interest of public morals: in particular, young lovers were forbidden to write their mutual protestations upon trees. Even theocracies are subject to the rule of growth, and Arcadias must adapt themselves to the times. Nevertheless, the spirit of the community's great lawgiver still held unchallenged sway. Visitors came to the land of John Adams as to a land of pilgrimage. 'I experienced a feeling on approaching the island,' wrote the devout son of an English admiral, 'such as filled my heart when visiting some spot held sacred as the scene of Biblical relation. . . .'

Each gallant officer who was privileged to make the pilgrimage paid tribute to the genius of John Adams, which still lived and

worked in the almost divine perfection of the little paradise which he had made. Although not given to the melting mood, protested the officers, they found a moisture gathering in their eyes when the time came for them to depart. There was scarcely one of them who did not carry away with him a lock of raven hair from the head of a favourite girl who had garlanded him with flowers, and there was scarcely a girl who did not expect, with every man-o'-war, a whole sheaf of letters from tender-hearted fighting-men. An admiral's son, after spending four blissful days wandering round the island with the happy Pitcairn bevy, was not ashamed to confess that he quite broke down at the parting, and cried as much as they did as he kissed them all round. 'The parting with the men was almost worse. To see big stout fellows crying, and hardly able to look up, was too much. All the officers were deeply affected; and I saw some of the men nearest me, old sturdy seamen and big mariners, not only wipe away a tear, but regularly crying.' Why should not these great-hearted fellows weep with their officers? 'For a man is but a man, whether he hoists his flag at the main-truck or his slacks on the main-deck.'

No community living beneath the British flag could sing 'Rule Britannia' and 'God Save the Queen' with such enthusiasm as the Pitcairners. They even ventured to approach their Sovereign with an address of loyalty and a gift—'a small chest of drawes of our own manifacture from the Island wood: the native name of the dark wood is miro: the bottoms of the drawers is made of the breadfruit tree; our means is very limited; and our mechanical skill also; and we will esteem it a great favour if your Majesty will accept it; as a token of our loyalty and respect to our gracious Queen.' The Queen was deeply touched by their loyalty, and sent them in return a copy of her portrait. Benevolent friends in all parts of the Queen's Empire vied with each other in heaping benefactions upon them. When, in 1856, it was positively announced that the family of John Adams had at last grown too large for its island home, all England was overcome with consternation. Prominent dignitaries of Church and State admonished the Government of its responsibility before God and humanity, and exhorted it to intervene decisively, handsomely, on behalf of a community which was an inspiration to the human race. The Government intervened magnificently. New South Wales had ceased to receive England's malefactors, and the wide acres of Norfolk Island (on to which New South Wales had poured the offscourings of the dregs which she received) were set aside for the marvellously increased progeny of the mutineers. The beautiful island had been known as the Ocean Hell; 'but I doubt not,' declared Bishop Selwyn,'

that eventually the presence of the Pitcairn people will render it what Nature intended it to be—an Earthly Paradise.'

Alas! Utopias will not always bear transplanting. Too much was given to the Pitcairners, and too much expected of them: the attentions of bishops, admirals, and governors vulgarised and divided them as surely as a deluge of Anglo-Saxon tourists will ruin the ancient harmonies of a peasant village. Progressive Pitcairners thought it 'a great advantage for us to be so near the colonies, where we can so easily get what we want': defiant minorities braved episcopal censure and fled from Norfolk Island back to their old homeland. And there they succumbed to the wiles of Seventh Day Adventist missionaries. It would have needed another lawgiver, a second John Adams, to restore them to their uncorrupted polity; but, as Machiavelli says, it is very easy for such a lawgiver not to arise.

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NOTE.—The Pitcairn Island Register Book has been edited by Sir Charles Lucas (S.P.C.K., 1929). It contains an appendix with a bibliography of all the books on Pitcairn. The most valuable ones are those by Brodie, Lady Belcher, Sir George Barrow, Murray, Mrs. C. A. Young, and McFarland.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROWING

Boating is a sport which has long been popular with the youth of the day and which grows in favour the more it is practised and the better it is understood. Not only is it followed as a relaxation and an amusement, but it may almost be said to have become a part of the physical discipline which is now on all hands admitted to be not incompatible with, but positively conducive to that mental and moral training in view of the more serious business of life which forms our natural education.

WITH these words did Mr. E. D. Brickwood, a London Rowing Club oarsman of the 'fifties and 'sixties, open his book on *Boat-Racing* in 1876, a work of sufficient permanence to be still found in the changing-room of the Oxford University Boat Club. There are few undergraduate oarsmen who would not smile if this passage were read aloud to them to-day, and yet there is nothing in the subject-matter with which they could sincerely disagree. It may be that we are less frank than were our grandfathers, for it is certain that we are not less analytical where our recreations are concerned; but, whatever the reason, a book on rowing, or for that matter on any other sport, opening in such a manner would be unlikely to attract serious attention in this country were it published to-day. It is possible, though not probable, that Mr. Brickwood was exceptional in his generation, and merely sought by the weighty sentiment of his opening phrases to balance, and perhaps excuse, a last chapter, more essentially alien to the present generation, dealing with the rules of betting in relation to Boat Racing, in much the same fashion as those writing on the subject of horse racing are wont to stress the importance of the bloodstock breeding industry in the economic life of the nation.

The betting side of amateur rowing has long since virtually disappeared. Crews have not rowed against each other for stakes for upwards of half a century. Before the University Boat Race odds on the race are quoted on the Stock Exchange, but of recent years it has become increasingly difficult to isolate the principals in these patriotic wagers, and even the total of shilling bets between members of the general public, estimated at various huge but probably quite incorrect sums, can scarcely have been increased since the war in view of the fact that one side has won eleven out of twelve contests. And yet the early growth of the

sport in this country was very closely bound up with the betting. The enormous crowd, for those days, of 20,000 who made the journey to Henley-on-Thames in 1829 to see the first University Boat Race was, according to contemporary records, swelled by a paragraph appearing in the *Sporting Magazine* of June 1829: 'There are several matches on the stocks. That which engrosses most attention and has given rise to a great deal of betting is for 500*l*. a side, the antagonists being eight Cantabs *v*. eight Oxonians.' This paragraph was, in fact, quite erroneous; no money was staked by the crews, as Charles Merivale, who was afterwards Dean of Ely, and who was the moving spirit in arranging the contest, assured his mother; but that there was nothing inherently improbable in it is proved by the famous match of June 1831 between the London gentlemen, since identified as the Leander Club, and the amateurs of Oxford for 200*l*. One of the amateurs who rowed in this race was Pelham, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, who had taken part in the first Boat Race. The decline of the custom of crews rowing for stakes was doubtless hastened by the establishment of Henley Regatta in 1839, followed in 1843 by the Thames Regatta, which, however, only had a life of five years. Indeed, it was in the early 'forties that the old attitude of the 'bloods' of the time towards rowing obviously underwent a complete change. Till that time they had been content to play second fiddle to the watermen, to whom boat racing was a serious training for their profession, as well as an ancillary means of livelihood when backers were available. It was Thomas Selby Egan, the Cambridge cox of 1839, who discovered that the amateurs had nothing to learn from the professionals. It was he who through the 'forties fought the battle against professional coaches and professional steerers, and such became the pride of the amateur oarsman in his sport, which to this day has remained the only one in which the amateur reigns supreme, that stakes ceased to be needed to stimulate the interest of the competitors, and the definition of an amateur drawn up in 1879, of which Mr. Brickwood himself was one of the authors, prohibits an amateur from rowing for a stake.

With the ascendancy of the amateur rowing as a sport began to have an interest wider than the purely intrinsic, for, as Mr. Brickwood suggests, it has played no small part in the education of the upper middle classes during the last three-quarters of a century. It is hot given to every young man, even when gifted with physical strength, to excel at ball games, but with reasonable physique he can become a fairly successful oarsman, providing he is willing to persevere and is not frightened of physical discomfort and exhaustion. Hence the large proportion of under-

graduates to be seen at Oxford and Cambridge during the cold winter afternoons propelling in laborious and ungainly manner those heavy clinker-built eights in which it is customary for them to serve their apprenticeship to the oar. There is little that is graceful in elementary oarsmanship, there is still less that is comfortable, unless it be in the fact that rowing is the only vigorous sport which is prosecuted sitting down, but it may well be that for these very reasons the British people retained their supremacy in rowing for so long. None but a phlegmatic race could endure the tedium of learning how to row in the style in which the amateur established his supremacy, or maintain that physical control which is necessary to enable a crew to get the best out of a boat in the heat of a race. Since the war the United States of America, where rowing is far more widely practised than in this country, have, with that patience and pertinacity which have distinguished their representatives in all branches of sport, produced crews equal if not superior to the best of English crews in the past, but until 1914 the prestige of English oarsmanship had remained virtually unimpaired. It is true that in 1906, 1907, and 1909 a series of remarkably well-drilled crews from Ghent succeeded in winning the Grand Challenge Cup, but the period from 1901 until the appearance of the Veteran Leander Olympic crew in 1908 was one of degeneration in English rowing. The Latin temperament does not appear on the whole as well suited to rowing as to other sports—the Belgians are sufficiently mixed in origin to share the phlegm of the English—while the almost military discipline of pre-war German crews, on the other hand, proved too rigid to permit them to withstand an unexpected challenge in the last part of a boat race when they were utterly exhausted. Our most serious rivals in the days before the war, therefore, were our own Dominions of Australia and Canada, and Australian rowing at least had its root in the Mother Country.

Up till 1872 all rowing was done on fixed seats, but in that year the London Rowing Club introduced the sliding seat from America. This necessitated considerable modification of the amateur style, of which Dr. Warre had been the chief teacher during the previous decade. The focus of rowing, indeed, was diverted from Eton to the Tideway, until in the early 'eighties the new technique was perfected and adopted first at Cambridge and subsequently at Oxford, where the doubts at first expressed by Dr. Warre as to the wisdom of varying the style associated with his name prevailed for some years.

Since that time there have been few, if any, changes of importance in English rowing until the last five years. The adjustment of technique completed, Dr. Warre continued to influence by his *Grammar of Rowing*, either directly or through those coaches

whom he himself had coached, two whole generations of oarsmen. In so long a time it was possible for rowing to become institutionalised to a degree uncommon in other sports. In clauses 4 and 5 of the amateur definition, which are based on the definition of 1879 excluding anybody 'who has ever been employed . . . in manual labour for money or wages,' or 'who is or has been by trade or employment for wages a mechanic, artisan, or labourer, or engaged in any menial duty,' we see plainly the influence of a scholarly squirearchy which is something of an anachronism to-day. So much so, indeed, that an American coach writing of English rowing after the war says: 'In England rowing is a gentleman's game, and the blooded crews are not allowed to compete against artisans, labourers, mechanics, etc.'; and, like a good democrat, adds as an explanation 'that such classes by making a business of muscular toil have an advantage of muscular development over gentleman amateurs, whose more sedentary vocations give them less opportunity for developing muscle.'

The gentlemen amateurs who freed themselves from professional watermen in the 'forties, and have since prided themselves on their superior skill, are scarcely likely to fear that the mere muscular mechanic will humble their pride, and as yet the National Amateur Rowing Association, which has had to be formed to classify the genuine artisan amateur, has not produced any crews of any pretensions to first-class pace. Whether it will do so the future alone can tell, but it is worthy of remark that neither the Trent nor the Severn, nor the other smaller rivers, has ever produced eights fit to compete with the University or metropolitan clubs since the Royal Chester Boat Club won the Grand Challenge Club in 1856.

Even the Tyne, for so long the home of professional scullers of the first rank and of Mat Taylor, the boat builder, who when the Oxford crew won in his boat in 1857 oracularly declared 'Cambridge would have won too if they had used my boat,' has never produced a really first-class amateur crew.

No other sport, excepting perhaps cricket, has remained so static in the level of achievement as rowing. Exceptional heroes there have been in the past. Brooks jumped 6 feet 2½ inches in 1876, but the standard of athletics has improved enormously in the last forty years. The time for the 120 yards hurdles averages 10 per cent. better now than then. Golf and lawn tennis are more recent developments. Bobby Jones may have had his equals when Braid, Taylor and Vardon were in their prime, but the standard of the game has enormously improved; and which lawn tennis players of the early years of this century, with the possible exception of the Doherty brothers, would to-day rank

in the last eight at Wimbledon? Even in the sister sport of sculling the standard of achievement has improved surprisingly.

It is now regarded as practically impossible for a man who is handicapped by rowing in the same regatta to win the Diamond Sculls, and to attempt to do so after a few days' training on Midland waters, as Lowndes did in 1880 to 1882, would be looked upon as waste of time. And yet the record time for eights over the Henley course established in 1891 has never been bettered, nor do the times recorded by the University crews on the tideway show substantial improvement on those of the 'eighties and 'nineties after due allowance has been made for acceleration of the flood by the extension of embankments.

There is a temptation to draw from this the conclusion that the lack of progress in the art of rowing is really retrogression, inasmuch as the constantly improving achievements recorded in other sports are due in part only to the modern scientific study of movement, and in part to the improving physique of the participants. Support to this view is lent by the fact that crews to-day are very much heavier than those of forty years ago. Sir Theodore Cooke pointed out that the men who rowed for the Universities during the decade 1890 to 1900 were half a stone heavier than those who rowed between 1860 and 1870, and drew a parallel between this and Admiral Rous's statement that the English thoroughbred averaged half an inch taller every twenty-five years. But the increase of the average weight of oarsmen between the 'nineties and the present decade is relatively negligible, and the conclusions of Sir Theodore Cooke are probably incorrect as regards the men available, even if not as regards those chosen.

Before the advent of the sliding seat the rate of striking in a rowing race was some five strokes a minute faster than afterwards, and in the days of the professional style it was higher still. In the late 'fifties a Yale crew, rowing, it is true, with 10 feet 10 inch oars, won a race by rowing 46 at the start, raising the stroke to 50 to pass Harvard, and finishing at 60 strokes a minute; and it is probable that such feats were not unparalleled in this country. Then it was far more necessary than now, when sliding seats are used, that the wind of the competitors should be beyond reproach. In 1864 the Spartan discipline established by G. Morrison resulted in a crew of men averaging over 6 feet in height coming to the post weighing 11½ stone per man. Such training, for which rowing has indeed become notorious, originated in the time-honoured observances of the prize ring, where it was laid down that 'if the person trained after the second week exhibits signs of irritability, he must be bled and purged well and take a dose of a powerful cathartic. Vomiting may be used when the stomach is foul to get rid of the crudities not cleared by purging. This

radical cleansing is absolutely indispensable to bring the organs of digestion to a healthy state of action.'

Though rowing men may never have resorted to bleeding on those occasions when to-day they would call for half a bottle of champagne, certainly they did follow a most rigorous diet. In the 'sixties Mr. Maclaren recalls having seen men swallowing their almost raw steaks ' with as much repugnance as if they were taking physic, never sticking their teeth into it, but bolting it in pieces.' The Oxford system of training permitted meat and stale bread crust at breakfast and the same for lunch and supper, with perhaps a jelly or watercress at the last meal.

Fluid was strictly limited to two pints of beer, but vegetables, butter and, as far as can be gathered, everything else were strictly prohibited. Small wonder that the rowing man was a victim to boils. Such a system died hard, and persisted long after the need, if ever there was need for it, had gone. Even up to recent times the foolish limitation of fluid has been advocated. Just after the war matters for a time were allowed to drift too far the other way, and some rowing men were allowed to drink and eat so much that they could scarcely refrain from stertorous slumber between their practices. Finally, a freshman rowing in the University race was so ill-trained that he could not last the course, and since then more care has been exercised.

It is rather to the alteration in the condition of the men rowing than to any increase of frame or physical strength that the greater weight of modern crews must be attributed ; indeed, it is possible that many large men, who are considered too slow to row in first-class crews to-day, might be reconsidered did they first undergo the same rigorous training of olden days. The static condition of the sport, thus cleared of the charge of retrogression, can only be explained by the fact that our grandfathers, moved by the aspirations described by Mr. Brickwood, devoted to rowing an enthusiasm which was not then fashionable amongst the followers of other sports, and early achieved in it a standard of excellence which it has been left to the systematic American to emulate in other directions fifty years later.

The English crews of the 'eighties and 'nineties may not have been quite so fast as the best of American crews in the past decade, but they have never been surpassed in this country, and are not outclassed, even to-day, in America. Indeed, the fear amongst most old oarsmen has been lest the standard of those days should not be maintained. There was a degeneration after 1900, as has been remarked, and it was not until the veterans up to forty-two years of age had been called out of retirement to defeat the Belgians in the Olympic Games of 1908 that the principles of what has come to be known as orthodox English

rowing were relearnt and displayed by the crews of Oxford University, Magdalen College, and Leander. Once more the style became abused, and in 1914 the unprecedented occurrence of two American crews, a German crew, and a Canadian crew fighting out the semi-finals of the Grand Challenge Cup was witnessed at Henley Regatta.

Since the war the attempts to revive the true orthodox style have proved short-lived, probably owing to the fact that most of those who knew it well have been too long out of a boat to prove entirely in sympathy with the crews they coach.

It is not unnatural that the focus of public interest in rowing in this country has centred in the University Boat Race, and the Universities have, with justification, arrogated to themselves the premier position in the sport. Except during the ten years following the introduction of the sliding seat, University eight-oared rowing has been supreme, judged by the crews which the Oxford and Cambridge colleges and Leander Club, whose members are almost exclusively drawn from the Universities, have sent to Henley Regatta. But of recent years there has been a distinct challenge to University rowing from the metropolitan clubs, and with the establishment of the 'Head of the River' race it is possible that public interest in rowing will no longer be monopolised by the Universities and the sport will be permanently established on a different and wider basis.

While Oxford have twice had longer winning sequences than the present series of Cambridge victories, such inequality of competition must, if it persists long enough, impair the standard of winning as well as losing crews. In 1928 the Head of the River race for the first time was rowed on the afternoon of the Boat Race, and three of the competing crews returned a faster time than the winning Cambridge crew. Forgetting that the south-westerly wind prevailing that day made conditions on the ebb anything up to a minute faster than those on the flood, certain metropolitan rowing supporters claimed that all these crews were faster than the Universities. Had they limited their claim to Oxford it would not have been far from the truth; and as things are going it is only a matter of time before metropolitan crews do definitely prove their superiority, even if they are not perfectly trained at this time of year. A University Rugby football team is not ashamed to be beaten by a good club team the members of which make up for their lack of leisure by their greater experience and the strength of absolute maturity. Nor should the University crews be ashamed to be proved definitely inferior to a good metropolitan crew from time to time, even if the difference in opportunity of training is more marked than with Rugby football teams. It is, however, open to doubt whether the University

crews have not something with which to reproach themselves in the average standard of skill which they attain considering the seriousness and length of their training and the individual excellence of the men available. It is possible that there has long been justification for such doubt, but it is only recently that it has been provoked by the improved standard of metropolitan rowing.

It has long been remarked that college crews have rarely been successful in summer eights or May races when overweighted with 'Blues.' Three is the maximum that can be carried with comfort; with five they are almost doomed, and the heavier and stronger the 'Blue' the more he is likely to prove an efficient anchor rather than an efficient propeller of the boat. For some time 'staleness' was blamed for such a state of affairs, but this theory will scarcely bear close examination.

Stateliness is a more plausible explanation, and the fact that such men justify themselves again at Henley after an unbroken association with sprightlier if lesser oarsmen proves that it is often unfair to blame staleness, a condition which the old-time prizefighter would have called 'irritability' and cured by bleeding and purging, but which is the stock excuse for the failures of the modern athlete.

There is rather a suspicion that these stately University crews with their 'stride' are often not as fast as they look, and that, even after making allowances for the stiffness of muscles in the winter months, some first-class college crews would lead them by so much at Hammersmith as to afford to paddle over the rest of the Championship course with the stately crew behind losing its stride and rhythm in a vain attempt to recover too much lost ground.

The principles on which the University training is based are that in the first week the main features of the composition of the crew should be settled; the next four weeks on home waters the men should get fit by slow pieces of rowing without becoming overtrained; the last week at home and the time spent on the Upper Thames they are supposed to devote to the finer points of rowing free from anxiety about their places. On the tideway they are expected to accustom themselves to the lively water and the course of the race and to bring the stroke to racing pitch.

The causes of the failure of Oxford crews since the war are to a great extent fortuitous. In no other sport is individual excellence so dependent upon practice in good company, and it so happens that except in 1921, when an unusual opportunity was lost, there have not been in any Oxford crew two absolutely first-class heavyweights. Two such men can found a tradition of rowing. One alone is always inclined to take too much upon his own

shoulders. Again, Oxford coaches have not been fortunate in finding strokes. The stroke of a crew exercises a greater influence on its success than the captain of any team, and a stroke with one race to his credit at Putney has half won the next. It is probable that many potential strokes are never brought to light. The stroke of the excellent London crews of 1929 and 1930 was almost unknown at Oxford, and Oxford presidents in the future would be well advised to scan the bows as well as the sterns of college crews, not for good oarsmanship nor physique, but for that almost musical sense of rhythm which marks a stroke.

Another general influence favouring the athletic supremacy of Cambridge has been her relatively greater numerical superiority since the war, amounting as it does to 30 per cent. ; but a particular and more important factor of the same nature was the temporary diversion of good athletic material to Cambridge through the earlier abolition of compulsory Greek for Little-go there. Even though Oxford did not long remain a home for this particular lost cause, the influence of the good company of oarsmen which became established at Cambridge while she was, has persisted till to-day. Nor does the immature mentality of the outstanding schoolboy athlete make him prone to redress the balance. With questionable judgment he is ever more confident of securing inclusion in the stronger side than of his ability to re-establish the weaker.

All these causes, except that of numbers, which can only be effective on balance, will pass away. Indeed, for the last two years there have been signs that the Cambridge tradition of rowing from 1920–30 has almost spent itself ; but to some extent the long list of Oxford failures must also be attributed to the training system not working out quite as intended, and this must be rectified if Oxford is to take advantage of the fact. In the first place, such is the keenness of those likely to be included in the crew that the retention of their place is uppermost in their minds for six weeks until the crew is settled, and, if the regrettable precedent of changes right up to the eve of the race becomes established, it may remain so longer still. Consequently many men row with a lack of confidence and a desire to impress the coaches with their keenness and strength, than which nothing hampers the uniformity of a crew more. Secondly, the continual paddling at a slow rate, with each man striving as if each stroke were his last, tends to make a crew so ponderous in the middle stages of practice that it can never recapture that liveliness essential to first-class pace. The men become muscle bound and slow, while their respiration is not trained for the high rate of stroke without which no crew can go really fast. Finally, they are so unaccustomed to rowing a four-mile course that they approach

it too apprehensively to do themselves justice. In America crews often row through a season without change and compete in several first-class races without breaking training. In Australia some crews, training for the inter-State races, have rowed the three-mile course daily, so that they are at racing pitch weeks before the race. Last year the London Rowing Club crew for many months rowed the Boat Race course weekly on the ebb, and even if the University crews do row harder the two or three times they complete it, they still have to learn to treat it with familiarity as many metropolitan crews do to-day.

The moving force in the renaissance of metropolitan rowing, and, what is more important, in the consequent democratisation of rowing, is Mr. Stephen Fairbairn, an Australian, who rowed for Cambridge in 1882 and 1883 and again in 1886 and 1887, and, so it has been stated, was in his time a very correct orthodox oarsman, an accusation which he would deny most vigorously. From the time of his return to England in 1905 he has coached Jesus crews continuously with astonishing success, and since the war he has also devoted much time to popularising rowing through the Thames and London Rowing Clubs.

It would be tedious to describe at length the points at which Mr. Fairbairn's method of teaching rowing conflicts with that of the orthodox school. Dr. Warre and his successors desired to make of the racing boat a high-compression machine, whereas Mr. Fairbairn favours a low-compression machine. Until this year it had always been maintained that Mr. Fairbairn's methods could produce all but absolutely first-class crews. The performance of the London Rowing Club crew which won the Grand Challenge Cup and subsequently the Empire Games Race at Hamilton has effectively disposed of this contention. Supporters of orthodoxy must find refuge in the belief that they had eventually become a high-compression crew in a different way, for it is plain that no materially faster crews have rowed at Henley. Indeed, the differences between Mr. Fairbairn and the followers of Dr. Warre are differences of method rather than differences of aim. The ideal oarsman of any school is the ideal oarsman of all.

But if the methods of Mr. Fairbairn do not produce absolutely first-class crews as frequently as those of the orthodox coaches, they produce fast second-class crews of poor material more frequently. If the Universities still are willing to aim at the highest, it is best that they, and therefore the colleges and schools their nurseries, should not change their methods of coaching. In the case of Oxford, however, heroic measures will soon be needed, and a revolution in the method of training might be attempted with advantage, as it was when F. Menzies

in 1842 and G. Morrison in 1861 inaugurated previous series of victories. Experience could be gained with such a spare crew as Oxford brought to Putney this year.

It would be interesting to train it at first in the manner of a college crew, to settle its order definitely the first week and at the end of a month have it rowing 40 and 36 over the home course. It would be given long uninterrupted periods of light paddling, in the manner of Mr. Fairbairn's and American crews, in place of the short periods of hard paddling now favoured, and on leaving home waters would be made to row four-mile stretches frequently at three-quarter pressure. Such a system might not prove satisfactory as a whole, but it would be strange if in some respects it did not prove superior to the present one.

The disciplinary side of rowing referred to by Mr. Brickwood may be well enough at the Universities, where the undergraduates have leisure, but to learn rowing in the orthodox style after a hard day's work in an office is an intolerable burden to all but the stoutest-hearted city clerk or young professional man, and the hours spent in forcing their bodies into what to all but unusually supple men are unnatural attitudes on fixed seats do not commend themselves to young men whose notions of comfort have advanced at least as rapidly as their desire for outdoor exercise. It is this which hindered rowing from becoming really popular except amongst a leisured class which becomes narrower every year. Whatever its demerits, Mr. Fairbairn's method of teaching provides 'rowing without tears,' and the two brief books he has published on the subject are so distinguished from their kind by a racy humour as to encourage the pupil still further. The bank clerks, insurance clerks, and sedentary workers who may now be seen in scores of eights rowing the long dreaded championship course in the Head of the River race have Mr. Fairbairn to thank for teaching them to row in comfort first and to attain speed afterwards. Such speed as the best of them attain may force the University oarsmen to recapture the true orthodox style, to try, if they so wish, to assert again for England that supremacy which for the moment has passed to America; but it will be a still better thing if an easier method of apprenticeship induces a larger proportion of our city workers to indulge in the most healthy and the most unselfish of pastimes, and one which is so peculiarly suited to the national temperament.

SEBASTIAN EARL.

FAKED PHENOMENA AT SÉANCES

THE article containing an account of a sitting with the medium Mrs. Garrett and the return through her of a spirit purporting to be that of the late Sir A. Conan Doyle, which appeared recently in a contemporary magazine, has, no doubt, taxed the credulity of many people besides myself. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that many people who read the article in question will be convinced that Sir A. Conan Doyle did actually speak through Mrs. Garrett, while Mrs. Garrett was in a trance. It is, I have noticed, the custom of spirits, when speaking through mediums, to use terms and expressions that they were not in the habit of using when in possession of their own bodies, and therefore the free and easy, not to say familiar, tone adopted by Sir A. Conan Doyle in his conversation, through the medium, with Mr. Harry Price, the organiser of the sitting and the author of the article containing an account of it, did not surprise me greatly. In reply to a question put to him by Mr. Price, Sir A. Conan Doyle states that he is living, in bodily form, in a world considerably like the world he has just left and that he is occupied in doing many of the things he used to do before he 'passed over.' This testimony relating to the world of spirits is like and yet different from that of the majority of spirits at séances, who, by their statements, lead us to suppose that the world in which they now carry on is overrun by would-be wits and braggarts, chiefly concerned in consuming cocktails and brandies to an even greater degree than the world from which they have departed.

It also appears, according to the majority of *revenants*, that drink can be obtained in their domain at any hour of the day and night, and this being so, I would remark in all seriousness that those of us who are none too soberly inclined, and therefore, perhaps, none too evenly balanced, should refrain from attending séances lest they should be tempted to enter this delectable land (of spirits !) without a passport. Should my seriousness be doubted, let me affirm that I speak advisedly, knowing that certain suicides have been attributed, and in my opinion rightly, to the allurements of the 'other side,' as set forth at Spiritualistic meetings.

However, for the normal person attending such séances, pro-

vided he retains his normality, there is the interesting spectacle of a credulity which is almost inconceivable and which would be amusing but for the disasters which, as I have just stated, may, and sometimes do, result from it. Most of us are, perhaps, prone to believe anything we want to believe, but unfortunately the credulity in some of us is of such an illimitable nature that it cannot be overstepped. Hence, fraudulent mediums, who are aware of this illimitable credulity on the part of some, at least, of their clients, go on from one puerile and sometimes pernicious deception to another, and snap their fingers in the face of exposure.

Turning to the history of modern Spiritualism, we see that it began in fraud. It was born thus, in 1848, in the house of John D. Fox in Hydesville, New York State. The phenomena were physical—rappings and tappings in the room occupied by Margaret and Kate Fox, aged, respectively, eight and six and a half years. The rappings, for which the two children declared they were in no way responsible, answered questions in accordance with a code. Professing to be much puzzled by the whole thing, the Fox parents informed their neighbours of it, and they, by informing others, so spread the news that, in a very short space of time, thousands of people got to know of the knockings, and many flocked to hear them. They were never heard save in the presence of Margaret and Kate Fox, a fact which in itself ought to have roused suspicion, and they were most often heard when the two children were in bed.

It is a popular belief, probably as old as humanity itself, that hauntings are nearly always due to some deed of violence, usually either murder or suicide, and so what was more natural than that one of the children should inquire of the supposed spirit if a murder had at any time been committed in the house. The reply was an emphatic 'Yes.' An equally emphatic 'Yes' also being accorded to the question, was the murder committed by a former tenant of the house. The credulous listeners instantly declared the murderer to be a former tenant of the house named Bell; and Bell, accordingly, was boycotted and subjected to every sort of ill-treatment, until by a stroke of luck he succeeded in establishing his innocence. Had he failed to establish it, he would probably have been arrested and executed.

Thirty years later Kate Fox published a confession in which she declared the rappings heard in the presence of herself and her sister were no spirit rappings at all, but rappings they themselves produced by trickery. They had, she said, planned this trick, in the first place, merely to frighten their parents and to create a sensation; but afterwards, upon seeing that they could make money by it, they had practised it for gain.

The methods they employed as children, such as, for instance, fixing an apple to a piece of string, and by means of the string bumping the apple on the floor (this trick they performed most successfully when they were in bed), were very crude, but not too crude to deceive their parents and thousands of other people. Later on, however, Kate made a discovery; she found that by a certain use of the muscles attached to the tendons of her foot she could make her toe joints produce sounds just like rappings, and that by a similar use of the muscles controlling her hand she could make the muscles and joints of her fingers do likewise. All other methods of producing rappings were now, of course, discarded, and Kate, by means of this new method, henceforth continued her imposture, practically free from the fear of detection.

Being challenged, after her confession, to give a public demonstration of the method she had latterly employed to produce 'spirit' knocks, Kate, at the Academy of Music in New York in 1888, before a large audience, bared her feet and produced the rappings with her toe joints. Yet, despite this demonstration confirming Kate's confession of imposture, there were people who persisted in declaring that Kate and her sister were genuine mediums.

These people, the people who still believed that the rappings at Hydesville emanated from the spirit world, then became known as Spiritualists, and ever since it has been chiefly by means of rappings that Spiritualists have professed to communicate with the spirit world.

Referring now to my own experience. Again and again I have attended séances conducted by some well-known medium, but never once have the rappings I have heard, on these occasions, seemed in the least degree unearthly. The ordinary séance, which consists of a number of people seated round a table, with their hands resting lightly on it, the little fingers joining so as to form an unbroken circle, is, as a rule, held in the dark, and in the dark much may be done. For instance, the medium might deftly and unnoticed withdraw one of her hands from the table (keeping the circle intact with her other hand), and with the hand thus freed produce raps in a variety of ways. Or, with even greater ease and less risk of being found out, she could produce the required raps with her feet, knowing that some, at least, of her sitters, in their eagerness to get results, will declare any slight and scarcely audible sound to be a distinct rap.

Some years ago I investigated a case of alleged haunting in a vicarage near Shepherd's Bush. The vicar informed me that nothing was seen there, but that rappings were heard in one of the rooms, whenever a certain lady was present. 'She is a medium,' he said. At my request he invited the lady to tea one

afternoon, and when we were all seated round the table, and he had said a few preliminary prayers, the rappings began. The vicar and all present, save myself, called them rappings, but they really were tappings, very gentle tappings coming from the direction of the medium, who sat facing me.

After various questions had been asked by the medium and very obligingly answered by the spirit, I asked why the tappings always came from the same direction, why they did not come sometimes from my side of the table, and the reply, through the tappings, was 'I cannot move. I have to stand in one place.'

After this I thought I would add a few tappings of my own, and did so, whereupon several of the sitters exclaimed, 'It is on your side of the table now.' The medium said nothing. What could she say! She knew, of course, that I was tapping, but she could not say so without giving herself away; she continued for a time to ask questions, but the replies now were of such a nature that she soon excused herself and went.

The sitting, however, did not break up, and as the tappings, thanks to me, went on uninterruptedly, the sitters were fully convinced that the alleged spirit was still standing by me and that the mantle of mediumship had, for the time being at least, fallen on my shoulders.

Having noticed that, during the whole proceedings, a dog had been lying on the floor sleeping soundly, I remarked to the vicar, 'Does your dog always keep quiet like that whilst a séance is going on?'; and he replied, 'Yes. Why?' 'Because,' I explained, 'a dog in the presence of psychic phenomena, in a genuinely haunted house, invariably shows signs of uneasiness and sometimes fear. I regard dogs and horses as infallible psychic barometers.'

'But this spirit is not evil; it is merely troubled,' was the response.

'The angel that stopped Balaam's ass was not evil, and yet,' I said, 'the ass was frightened.'

I then told him, as tactfully as I could, what I thought of the sitting we had just concluded, and, in order to convey my meaning the more delicately, described certain phenomena produced at séances at which I had been present with my friend Mr. William Marriott, the well-known psychic expert and magician. On these occasions, I said, addressing myself to those who had just 'sat' with me, really wonderful psychic phenomena apparently occurred which were entirely due to Mr. Marriott's professional skill. But on this point I could not convince my hearers, who declared that the phenomena I had described to them must have been genuine spirit manifestations, and that

Mr. Marriott must be a medium no matter what I, or he, might affirm to the contrary.

In order to test human credulity once more, some years ago I gave an entertainment in a studio, said to be haunted, in Chelsea. Although only about fifty persons had been invited to this entertainment, over a hundred came, and the studio, in consequence, was uncomfortably crowded. Amongst those who were invited and came were Mr. Marriott, of whom mention has already been made, the late Nathan Dean (Mr. Marriott's occasional collaborator and art editor of Messrs. Pearsons), one or two other well-known magicians and several mediums; but, in consequence of the room being densely packed and many of the uninvited guests, in anything but a serious mood, conditions did not appear to be very favourable to psychic manifestations. All the same, it was not long before one of the mediums, rising from her seat, announced that she saw many spirits in the room, who were friends, they told her, of certain of those present. As, however, every one of these spirits bore some such ordinary name as Tom, Mary, Daisy or Dick, and was described by the medium loosely and elastically as, for instance, 'not particularly tall but not very short,' and 'not very fat yet not noticeably thin,' anyone might have claimed acquaintanceship with every one of them, and needless to say in not one case was an identity logically established. Nor was the psychometrist who gave an exhibition of her powers and worked on much the same lines as the medium any more successful. William Marriott then contributed his share to the entertainment. After pacing up and down the floor for some minutes, blowing on an Indian pipe, he asked a lady to give him a hair from her head. She wonderingly obeyed, and the instant she handed him the hair it was transformed into a real live snake, that fell, wriggling and twisting, to the floor. Some of the audience shrieked and one or two became hysterical. It was, of course, a trick that even a tyro in the art of the magician could perform. Yet there were not a few among the spectators who declared that Mr. Marriott was a sorcerer and that he had turned the hair into a snake, through his knowledge of the Black Art.

Yet, another instance of credulity to which there is seemingly no limit. A year or two prior to the incident just narrated I was invited by a Journalists' Club to a magical entertainment (there was no claim that any spirit agency would be at work) given by Marriott and Dean in an hotel in Southampton Row.

I went and I 'sat' with Marriott, Dean, and one other person at a table in the midst of the audience. We placed our hands on the table in the orthodox way, and after we had sung or chanted, in accordance with custom, the table started moving, and presently rose right off the floor. When it had settled down again,

we heard rappings upon it and then, from one corner of the room, which, not absolutely dark, was bare of furniture, came the direct voice, very audible to everyone present.

After a brief interval Marriott announced, to an already thrilled and mystified audience, that he would now proceed to give them an apparent materialisation. After being searched by three members of the club to ensure that he had nothing secreted on him, he sat down on a chair placed in an alcove in full view of the audience, and soon went off, apparently, into a trance. The lights were then lowered a little, but not sufficiently to prevent Marriott being seen, and the curtains on either side of the alcove drawn together. Then, after a brief interval, the curtains which had concealed Marriott's head, shoulders and body, but left the rest of him in full view of the audience, parted, seemingly of their own accord, and we saw a tall figure draped in white, with a skull-like head and face, standing in front of him, in mid air. It completely hid his head and shoulders, but as we could still see his legs and feet we could swear that they had not moved, and it seemed perfectly obvious that he, Marriott, was still seated in the chair. A shudder ran through the audience. Again the curtains were drawn to, and when they next parted Marriott, to everyone's relief, was seen sitting in the chair, smiling but very pale. When he arose a snake was seen in the chair he had vacated.

As before, it was in vain I asserted that Marriott was merely a clever magician ; the majority of those who witnessed his performance declared him to be a medium, and as many believed him to be a wizard also, I have no doubt but that the snake seen in his chair was termed, by a few, at least, his 'familiar.'

The credulous were just as easily spoofed by the 'masked medium' who made such a sensational appearance in Holborn soon after the war. I was among the many who were invited and went to her performances.

As both she herself, and those responsible for her appearance, at a later date candidly admitted, her 'manifestations' had no connexion whatever with the spirit world ; and yet many, including the late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, were, I believe, obviously impressed, though they did not actually commit themselves by expressing an opinion. Not every Spiritualist, however, is so discreet, for when I witnessed the masked medium's materialisations I heard all around me remarks such as 'How wonderful! She's another Eusapia Palladino'; and 'That's ectoplasm. She'll be the greatest medium in the world.' And these remarks were made, I learned upon inquiry afterwards, by Spiritualists of some note. Whether there were any level-headed people present on this occasion or not I cannot say, but I heard

no one remark upon the fact that nothing had been done by the medium that could not have been done by trickery. Credulity was equally omnipotent in the case of Mdlle. Eva, another medium who specialised in materialisation. Of those on the committee of investigation that held a séance with this medium in June 1920, Houdini was, apparently, the only one thoroughly satisfied that she was fraudulent. According to him, all that happened at the séance was this: After a long wait, a white filmy substance came from the medium's mouth (Houdini's fellow-members of the committee, none of whom were so expert in magic as he, thought it came from her nose) and rose to the height of several inches, when it became stationary, and something resembling a face appeared on it. The medium, asking and obtaining permission to use her hands, took some of the substance from her mouth and held it between her fingers. She held it thus for some minutes, and then it vanished. All the members of the committee were, it seems, more or less mystified save Houdini, who, as I have already intimated, was convinced, and could demonstrate to the satisfaction of most people, that the famous Mdlle. Eva's performances were of a no more psychic nature than his own.

Eusapia Palladino, the most famous of all mediums, after 'taking in' scholars and scientists galore, was proved to be fraudulent by W. S. Davis, another magician. And here let me remark that to form a committee, for the investigation of séances and mediums, composed exclusively of scientists and scholars, although a committee thus composed would appear to be adequate enough, is the height of folly, since it by no means follows that a man is an expert in matters relating to the non-physical world because he is a professor of physics, or that a man is an adept in the detection of trickery because he is eminently successful as a student of the classics. The scientist and the scholar, past-masters though they may be in their own line, are, as the history of Spiritualism shows, veritable fools when faced by a problem that, in the main, depends for its solution on a knowledge of the psychology of women coupled with a knowledge of ordinary magic. And yet, despite the utter futility of it, when we suspect trickery in mediumship, instead of employing a magician and a man of the world, in addition to the scholar and scientist, to detect it, we allow our committees of investigation to be composed entirely of scientists and scholars, who (if the medium be a woman, easily become biassed in her favour), and one or two others, who, one cannot help thinking, may have a financial interest in keeping Spiritualism alive.

To refer again to Eusapia Palladino. She first became prominent in 1893 when Professors Shiaperelli, Brofferio, Finzio, Gerosa, Charles Richet and Lombroso investigated certain alleged

phenomena produced by her. While her hands were being held by two of the above professors, and while she was being closely watched, so it was said by them all, the table, a heavy one, round which both the medium and her investigators sat, rose some inches from the floor. The learned professors declared it was quite inexplicable, and all of them, saving Richet, who in this instance seems to have acted with more caution than the rest, declared that Eusapia was a genuine levitation medium and that in her case, at any rate, there was no question at all of any mechanical contrivance.

When, however, fresh tests were made with her by the same people and precautions were taken to prevent any part of her from touching the table at which, during the levitation séance, she sat, no ' phenomena ' occurred.

In 1894 Professor Richet again sat with Eusapia, this time at his own house near Hyères, for the purpose of investigation, but he again made the mistake of sitting with a committee consisting of scientists and scholars, such as Duochorowicz, Professor Oliver Lodge and F. W. H. Myers, and consequently at these sittings, conducted in semi-darkness, Eusapia was able to produce, without let or hindrance, such phenomena as the winding up of a musical-box by invisible hands, the placing of small articles on the table by some invisible agency, and the occasional moving of heavy pieces of furniture, apparently by super-physical means. As at the previous séances her hands were held, but they were not held by people well versed in trickery, and Eusapia, seated, in the dark, at a table with her hands close together on it, and held, each one respectively, by the hand of the person seated next to her in the circle, in order to release one of them could easily have resorted to a trick practised and explained by Moncure Conway, the Maskelynes and other famous magicians. I have been present at a séance at which this trick has been successfully performed, and I might add that, compared with many of the tricks performed by Houdini, it appears to be almost elementary. It has been remarked that Eusapia Palladino's left hand was abnormally strong, and that she could lift fairly heavy objects with it.

Mr. Podmore, whose experience with mediums was extensive, was very sceptical with regard to Eusapia's performances and did not believe any of them were due to spirit agency. He believed that her great physical strength, combined with the practice of some such trick as that to which I have just alluded, enabled her to produce levitation, and that her powers of physical endurance, as well as her deftness, assisted her greatly in producing the shadowy forms that seemingly emanated from her, but which were, in reality, objects composed of indiarubber or some other

such material equally responsive to inflation. Her much discussed ectoplasm Mr. Podmore also attributed either to indiarubber concealed in her mouth or on her body, and inflated either by her breath or by other means; and Houdini, who investigated 'ectoplasm,' as manifested by Mdlle. Eva, endorsed Mr. Podmore's views with regard to it.

To revert, however, to Eusapia's sittings in Professor Richet's house. Professors Oliver Lodge, Richet, Myers and others of the sitters continued to have confidence in Eusapia's professed supernormal powers, and she went on deceiving the victims of erudition all over Europe. It was left, as I have stated, to W. S. Davis and his brother magicians to expose her.

Mr. Weatherley, the famous magician, who investigated most of the spiritualistic phenomena of his time, once said, 'There is a simplicity of intelligence, just as there is a simplicity of ignorance,' and this I believe to be a truth of vital interest to mediums, who have taken the fullest advantage of it and reaped the greatest benefit from it. Indeed, it is to the simplicity of the scientist and of the scholar that the woman medium, who is fraudulent, owes both her *début* and her career. Fully aware of the blind homage the public in most countries pay to all men of science and of letters, she converts them, through their faith in her, to a faith in Spiritualism, and henceforward, under their ægis, practises her deception with impunity.

In 1920 I held a séance in a studio in Clifford's Inn. The place was crowded and many of the Press were present. Among the spirits that were invoked by me and which very obligingly came were those of Virgil, who chanted some Latin verse, Dickens, and W. E. Gladstone. Seen in the semi-darkness they certainly looked somewhat spectral, but I did not suppose any of those present would really believe them to be *bonâ fide* denizens of another world. Yet, to this day, certain of those who saw them maintain that they really were spirits.

At this same séance the late Nathan Dean produced 'spirit writing' on a slate, in imitation of Dr. Slade, the renowned Eglington, and other mediums of the past, whose 'spirit writing' was declared to be genuine. He did not pretend that the writing he produced was genuine spirit writing, yet more than one of those who had witnessed this faked phenomenon went away stubbornly maintaining that Dean was a medium and that the writing on the slate was that of his spirit friends. The notorious Dr. Slade was detected in trickery by Professors Lankester and Donkin and prosecuted; and Lionel Weatherley, the chief witness for the prosecution, showed to the court exactly how the writing which Dr. Slade had attributed to spirits was obtained. Slade was then sentenced to three months' hard labour, but,

owing to some flaw in the legal proceedings, he succeeded in getting his sentence quashed. He fled immediately afterwards to America, and thus evaded the fresh summons that was taken out against him. Eglington, too, juggled with slates (among those he deceived was W. E. Gladstone), and Weatherley, getting on his track, challenged him to do slate writing under test conditions. The challenge was accepted, albeit under protest, and, as Weatherley anticipated, Eglington, under his surveillance, failed to get any result whatever. The Seybert Commission, composed of members of the University of Pennsylvania, all of whom declared themselves to be quite unbiassed with regard to Spiritualism, investigated, among other so-called psychic phenomena, that of spirit slate writing, and Slade, for the second time in his career, was caught tricking. An account of his exposure, together with a demonstration of the trick as he performed it, was subsequently published.

Once, accompanied by several of my friends, I attended a séance in Kew, presided over by a medium who had been recommended to me by a well-known Spiritualist. On our arrival we seated ourselves by the side of other sitters, in front of a wooden cabinet, fashioned something like a sentry-box, and when the proceedings commenced the medium told us to keep absolutely still, as any movement on our part, however slight, would subject her to the risk of some serious injury. She then entered the cabinet and concealed herself from view by drawing the curtain arranged for that purpose across it. After that, the lights were extinguished, and we sat in total darkness, listening to slight, very slight, and surreptitious noises in the room. Presently something did happen. A tambourine was banged and jingled in our faces, and some of us received playful pats on our cheeks and foreheads from a soft caressing hand.

Wishing to know more of the spirit owner of such a hand, one of my friends made a sudden snatch at it, and the next moment received a resounding smack on the face, delivered by a palm, unmistakably composed of flesh and blood. After this the lights were turned up, and the medium, looking very flushed and cross, announced that her daughter would now give us a demonstration of her powers. A girl of about fifteen years of age then laid herself down on the floor, at full length, keeping her arms close to her sides and her feet together. Presently she closed her eyes and breathed heavily. 'She is in a trance,' the medium proclaimed triumphantly, 'and when she is in this condition it is impossible to raise her, because the spirits are holding her down. Will you try?' she added, addressing a somewhat decrepit old man; 'you may do so.' The old man, accepting this invitation, made a feeble effort to raise the girl's head, and failed. A middle-aged

lady, who was the next to be invited, likewise tried, and she, too, failed. One of my friends, a hefty young man, upon asking if he might try, was not encouraged to do so, but, as he persisted, his request was at last reluctantly granted. To overcome the determination not to be lifted merely required the skilful use of a little muscular strength, and my young friend, being equal to the occasion, raised the girl and set her on her feet, whereupon she sulkily retired and the proceedings terminated, the medium announcing, as she glared angrily at my friend and me, that as there were disbelievers in the room the conditions were unfavourable for any further manifestations.

At séances similar to the above ropes as well as music not infrequently play a part. Nino Pecoraro, the Neapolitan medium, who professed to be controlled by the spirit of Eusapia Palladino, was, at his séances, bound hand and foot with 60 yards of rope, and when he was thus bound and the lights were lowered, Eusapia, it was alleged, came and performed upon various musical instruments. A committee consisting of Dr. McDougall, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, and other savants tested Pecoraro, but without committing themselves by coming to any conclusion, and it was not until Houdini joined this committee and participated in the making of a fresh test that Pecoraro's mediumship was proved to depend entirely upon trickery. When bound hand and foot by Houdini with only 3 yards of rope, not 60, Pecoraro could do nothing ; he could produce no spirit music, no psychic phenomenon of any sort whatever.

Nowadays the trumpet séance is, perhaps, first favourite with fraudulent mediums, since they can resort to trickery in this line with very little fear of detection. Banking, like others of their ilk, on the credulity of their sitters, who are generally confirmed Spiritualists, ready on such occasions to believe anything, trumpet mediums impose their own conditions and then proceed with the utmost confidence. Those possessing some knowledge of ventriloquism probably score best, but much may be accomplished by the use of some kind of wireless apparatus, or simply a gramophone, for no matter what voice speaks, someone will at once recognise it as that of a deceased friend or relative.

Equally safe from detection, perhaps even more so, is the trance medium and clairvoyant, trance mediumship and clairvoyance being forms of mediumship that are peculiarly adaptable to fraud. In order to prove how easy it is to simulate a trance a friend of mine made the experiment at a séance, arranged by me on Midsummer Eve, 1924, in a flat in South Kensington.

Ten people, besides my friend, myself, and a professional lady medium, 'sat,' and when my friend, who was seated next to me, and whom none present, save myself, knew, began to groan and

anyone else), not only is everyone entitled to analyse any information they may have acquired with regard to it through mediums and thoroughly to examine the channels (*i.e.*, mediums) through which such information has been imparted to them, but everyone, I think, should do so, since it is only by so doing that any truth relating to this other world can be established.

Unfortunately, Spiritualism, like certain other cults that were once a craze, encourages falsehood by denying to the man in the street the right and the opportunity to test the truth of it for himself. It does, of course, as I have already shown, permit investigation of mediums and phenomena, but as on the committees chosen for this purpose there are always persons whom the Spiritualists themselves have appointed, and who would seem to be biassed in favour of Spiritualism, or interested financially in keeping it alive, the result of the investigation is *nil*, and the whole subject remains *in statu quo*.

Finally, I would remark that as the survival of Spiritualism undoubtedly depends largely on the man in the street, it seems to me somewhat short-sighted on the part of those who would like to see it last to allow the man in the street to continue, as at present, unsatisfied and unconvinced.

ELLIOTT O'DONNELL.

ARNOLD BENNETT

I

For years I had known a good many people who knew Arnold Bennett ; that I never met him until the beginning of last year was partly because my visits to London had been infrequent, and partly because my friends were shy of asking me to meet a famous man about whose books my criticisms had not always been entirely respectful. That I should, after an acquaintance of barely a twelvemonth, feel that by Bennett's death I have lost a friend is a great tribute to his charm, his modesty, his tolerance, and his genius for friendship. I find it very odd that those of my friends who knew him told me many things about him, but never told me that he was a man whom it was not possible not to like. It is true I have heard that at large parties he was sometimes difficult ; but I am not sure that this alleged difficultness was not merely the expression of surprised fatigue which all intelligent people feel at large parties. Anyway, the important thing is how a man behaves with a few people ; and at a small party, whether he were host or guest, I have known few men so tactful, so considerate, so pleasant as Arnold Bennett.

It was characteristic of him that his first invitation to me was to lunch with him at the Savoy Grill. It was equally characteristic of him that all subsequent invitations were to come to his club or to his home. If he accepted you, he accepted you completely ; he must have had multitudes of acquaintances, but he preferred to pass quickly out of the acquaintanceship stage. We met more or less formally ; I had accepted a position on a paper of which he was a director—on a paper in which I had said saucy—though not, I think, undeserved and never, I hope, ill-tempered —things about Arnold Bennett the critic. I discovered from casual remarks later on that he had supported my claims to the position, and he lost no time in making me feel almost embarrassed by his insistence on my qualifications for it. Also he let fall, as we saw more of each other, little hints that he had not failed to observe and remember my unfavourable criticisms ; and that, far from bearing any ill-will, he took them as additional evidence of

my fitness for my business. I had become really attached to him when he published a new book which I thought it my duty to review; no candid critic will deny that one reviews the books of friends with a different emphasis from that employed towards the books of strangers. It is not only natural; it is right. One has more material; one knows more, and so one's judgment will be different and not necessarily worse. I met Bennett two days after my criticism had been published. He said nothing about it until we were half through our luncheon; and then, with the hesitancy which overtook his speech more when he was tired or moved, he said, 'I liked . . . the notice. It was . . . just.' Some friends of mine had told me I had been unduly and foolishly severe on the book, and that he would be displeased; they thought they knew Arnold Bennett, but they were quite wrong.

I was lucky in my first meeting. I happen to share one of Bennett's fads—a passion for punctuality, especially for punctuality at meals—and I was waiting in the Savoy lounge four minutes before the appointed time. He came out of the grill-room—he had been making sure of his table—a minute after, and I introduced myself to him. He was alertness itself He gave me the impression of walking a little ahead of himself, in an eagerness to miss nothing; but behind the quickness of the eye and the vivacity of the step was the fine thought in the brow. I discovered to my amazement that Arnold Bennett was shy—no one had ever told me that; and long before that meeting was over I felt sure that he could be teased. The distinction between the real great and the sham great is there: the real great do not mind being teased. I could see he was pleased at my promptitude. I expect I had heard that he was a demon for punctuality, but I had not thought of it; my early arrival was due to my own addiction to that same virtue. His other guest was not absolutely punctual. I caught Bennett's eye on the clock, and said, 'It's a bit fast, isn't it?' 'No . . . it's right—but he's only . . . a minute and a half . . . late.' And suddenly there was that sidelong look, as if to say, with a most flattering inclusion of me, 'Ah! we know that punctuality is a matter of minutes, don't we?'

I had heard from friends of his and mine that Bennett had read articles of mine about him; and I was not sure whether he supposed that I was prejudiced altogether against his work. As I say, he was a man to whom one took instantly. I had not imagined him so sensitive nor so evidently modest. I was anxious—it seems very stupid in the light of my future knowledge of him—to show that for much of his work I had a great liking. Never, I suppose, will a time come when the critics will realise how little the great creative artists bother about them. They live

in the countries of which the critics can only make maps. Still, there it is; and I silently vowed to myself to let Bennett know, when and if I could, that I was not unappreciative of his genius, even of its lighter aspects. The opportunity came during luncheon. He had an omelette; and remarked on its excellent quality. 'It may be good,' I said, 'but I know of a better.' Bennett rushed to the defence of his Hotel Milan. 'No,' I said, 'there have been better omelettes—much. I am sure what you are eating cannot touch a certain kidney omelette, made by one Helen in a kitchen in a Five Towns house.' For a moment he was at a loss. After all, *Helen with the High Hand* was written more than twenty years ago, and is one of his lighter books. Then he saw the reference, and, beaming, stammered across the table, 'I . . . get you.' There was the pleasure at once of a boy and of an artist. I suddenly saw the formidable 'Jacob Tonson,' the pontifical causerist on things of which he knew little, as Tom Sawyer of Staffordshire, who kept secure in his triumphs the capacity for enjoyment that those only possess who remember how to be surprised, how to be grateful, and the need for some expression of their gratitude and surprise.

During the last year of his life Arnold Bennett and I met a good many times—on social and on business engagements. In these days of slack manners it is not otiose to say that Bennett kept to the standards of an old-fashioned courtesy; he was easy, but not without punctiliousness. He never forced his interests on his friends, but was very glad when he found a similarity of taste: we talked mostly of authors, books, places we knew, food and wine. About food he was rather conservative. Once at luncheon at his house I admitted that my only breakfast had been a bunch of grapes and two glasses of Pommard, and I can still hear his startled 'Good God!' as he received the news of this dietetic indiscretion. In his talk about books he was always entertaining. I cannot agree with Mr. Aldous Huxley that one could accept Bennett's condemnation as final. He was too narrow in his range, and too governed by his boyhood's predilection for French and Russian novelists, for his judgment even on his own art to be invariably sound. Also, when I knew him, Bennett was far too kind to almost all his rivals, especially the younger men. He could be extravagant about Lawrence, though he admitted that it was a serious drawback to a novelist to have made so few notable characters as had Lawrence; and in his noble passion for the freedom of the arts he was apt to be too favourable to authors who were free to be everything except self-controlled. I can never be sufficiently glad that I heard Bennett speak about books; because I thereby found the key to the sharp, positive style which he generally employed in his critical writings. They

were not written—they were spoken, and they read quite differently if the reader has heard Bennett talk and can supply the pauses which were often so effective in his spoken judgments. It is true that he wrote pontifically because he thought a critic in the popular Press had no business with the niceties of discussion; but it is unfortunate that he went on repeating his adverse criticism of authors with whose books he was not really well acquainted. He admitted more than once that he had read only two of Henry James' novels, and a few short stories; but this did not prevent him from considering and condemning James as a novelist. Similarly with a far greater author, he had no real basis for his unfavourable judgment of Dickens—a judgment which I am inclined to believe sprang from an unconscious suspicion that he himself would have been a better author had he followed Dickens rather than Balzac and the French naturalists. I think it is the same unconscious feeling that he had taken the wrong path which impelled him, in 1928, to his bitter reference to the 'swollen balloon of Gustave Flaubert,' who in *The Truth about an Author* of 1903 is, with Turgenev, Maupassant, and the Goncourts, one of the masters of his allegiance.

His own readiness to criticise on insufficient evidence makes him at times very unfair to the great critics of his generation and of the preceding. It is true that some scholars do become 'text-bound,' and never appreciate what they study; but Bennett's attacks (when he was writing the Jacob Tonson columns in the *New Age*) on such critics as Dr. Saintsbury were merely silly. He has evidently read very little of Saintsbury; admits that the essays on Balzac are extraordinarily 'right,' but insists that Saintsbury cannot really understand literature because his own style is so wild that 'it would be corrected in Carmelite Street.' An ebullition of this kind, I realised when I had known Bennett for a week or two, was quite unrepresentative. He had an excessive admiration for scholarship, and was apt to credit with its possession those whose knowledge may have been a little wider but was no more profound than his own. He had felt, I suspect, as a youth that criticism was too much in the hands of the pundits, the mandarins: I know that long before his death he was inclined to lament its decline into the keeping of brisk young men and women whose lack of general knowledge was not in any way compensated by any exquisiteness of taste or originality of thought.

Occasionally Arnold Bennett and I talked of religion. I had often criticised him for his incursions into the region of religious speculation. He had quite an untheological mind; but I felt ashamed, when I knew him, not to have seen more clearly the genuine religious feeling in him. I made the same sort of mistake

that he made about Saintsbury: I could not understand how a man who was content to be so ignorant of the science of the subject he was discussing could have any true appreciation of its qualities. I was wrong. Bennett had in him a real desire for religious experience. It remained undeveloped. In a curious way, as he shows in his essay *My Religious Experience*, he remained here, too, Tom Sawyer; he was influenced by childish prejudices and childish memories. The Methodist Saturday afternoon religious school still blocked, for Bennett, the Beatific vision. Yet no one who knew him can doubt the sincerity of his confession, in that same essay, on the heart of the Christian faith; and those of us who profess a more orthodox religion than did Arnold Bennett may well wish that we could from our hearts repeat his firm adherence to the Johannine revelation:

> In a book so full of terrible pictures of the deity as the Bible, the phrase 'God is love' may appear strange, even out of place. Nevertheless, this phrase, for me, contains all divine wisdom and is the key to the conduct of life. If we are all part of God, we must all love. Love means charity, humility, forgiveness, self-forgetfulness, kindliness. To think kind thoughts of others, and never to think unkind thoughts, is, for me, the summit of righteousness, the secret of happiness, and the only gateway to any success worth calling success. The oftener I read the Sermon on the Mount the more deeply am I convined that here is the final practical wisdom. I disagree with the view that Christ's moral teaching will not stand the test of modern conditions. I think it will. But immense courage is needed to follow it, and exceedingly few of us have the necessary courage. It may be, and ought rightly to be, a counsel of perfection. Yet what other counsels should we seek?

His attitude to poetry was not unlike his attitude to religion. He did not, so far as I know, much practise the reading of poetry, but he held firmly that it was the highest kind of literature, and in his admirations—for Bridges, for Yeats—he chose the best with no hesitancy. There was no greater mistake than to suppose that Bennett lacked an inward sense of proportion. He was more candid than are most in his liking for comfort and luxury; he remained more youthfully impressionable than most of us in his delight in the more spectacular expressions of luxury, but he did not in the least mind if you refused to take this seriously. To judge from some of his apothegms about dress and deportment one might imagine he would be as conventionally severe as Andrew Lang, who refused once to be seen walking in Bond Street with Stevenson when R.L.S. was dressed too picturesquely; but in practice Bennett seemed quite oblivious to bad tailoring, and would offer the hospitality of his car, an open one, through the West End without a trace of condescending embarrassment. Here, perhaps, was his strongest personal genius. He never stooped.

He could be rather aggrieved if younger men treated him too respectfully, and was actually annoyed—both at the solecism and the implied obeisance—at those who would call him 'Mister Bennett.' I asked him once whether he would mind, in the years to come, when the very young addressed him, as they infallibly might, if aught of Victorian manners survived, as 'Sir.' 'No . . . I shouldn't . . . mind. . . . But I shall never be old enough.'

He never was.

II

It is important to remember that the Arnold Bennett, solicitor's clerk in London, who began to write in his middle twenties was a bibliophile. In a charming passage in *The Truth about an Author* he tells us of that love of his, a love which he never lost.

> Another clerk in the office happened to be an ardent bibliophile. We became friends, and I owe him much. He could chatter in idiomatic French like a house on fire, and he knew the British Museum Reading Room from its centre to its periphery. He first taught me to regard a book, not as an instrument for obtaining information or emotion, but as a *book*, printed at such a place in such a year by so-and-so, bound by so-and-so, and carrying colophons, registers, water-marks, and *fautes d'impression*. He was acquainted, I think, with every second-hand bookstall in the metropolis; and on Saturday afternoons we visited most of them. We lived for bargains and rarities. We made it a point of honour to buy one book every day, and when bargains failed we used to send out the messengers for a Camelot Classic or so—ninepence net; this series was just then at the height of its vogue. We were forever bringing into the office formidable tomes—the choice productions of the presses of Robert and Henry Stephen, Elzevir, Baskerville, Giunta, Foulis, and heaven knows whom. My discovery of the Greek *editio princeps* of Plutarch, printed by Philip Giunta at Florence in 1517, which I bought in Whitechapel for two shillings, nearly placed me on a level with my preceptor. We decidedly created a sensation in the office. The 'admitted' clerks and the articled clerks, whom legal etiquette forbids as a rule to fraternise with the 'unadmitted,' took a naive and unaffected pleasure in our society. One day I was examining five enormous folios full-bound in yellow calf, in the clients' waiting-room, when the senior partner surprised me thus wasting the firm's time.
>
> 'What's all this?' he inquired politely. He was far too polite to remonstrate.
>
> 'This, sir? Bayle's *Dictionaire Historique et Critique*,' I replied.
>
> 'Is it yours?'
>
> 'Yes, sir. I bought it in the lunch-hour at Hodgson's.'
>
> He retired abashed. He was a gentle fellow, and professed an admiration for Browning; but the chief thing of which he had the right to be proud was his absolutely beautiful French accent.

No one with that passion for books will approach authorship in quite the same spirit as a man, of whatever natural genius, who

heeds nothing of the great traditional legends of the printing press and the library. It could be argued without any undue excursions into the fantastic that the shapeless, formless works of genius have been written by men who were ignorant or careless of that tradition, and that no one aware of it will fail in that craftsman's comeliness which it is the aim of a great printer to give to a great book. The beauty of literature can be enhanced by its setting just as can the beauty of jewels; and a man who is aware of that will be careful from the first of the form he gives to his work. Unfortunately, Arnold Bennett first recognised form in the fiction of France and in the novels of George Moore; and he remained an ardent advocate of the supremacy of the Russian novelists, though the disorderliness of Dostoevsky is to the disorderliness of Dickens as the 'superb perfection'—as Bennett called it—of Turgenev is to the perfection of Fielding. I believe that Bennett's preference for the foreign masters of fiction sprang partly at least from his passionate desire to find shrines that were neglected in Bursley, Knype and the rest. After all, there were men in the Five Towns, perhaps even Methodists, who read Dickens; but if they had heard of Maupassant or Zola they thought of them as pornographic writers. Bennett was never so truly English as in his love for the Continent, a love which in its enthusiasms and zeal—as shown, for instance, in the essays on Portugal in one of his 'interested' books—reminds me of the great early days of Continental travel, when Henry Mathews was an invalid or William Beckford was visiting the monasteries of the Peninsula, or even when the great Bristol was making that reputation which survives, to puzzle the tourists of to-day, in his innumerable eponymous hotels.

So when Bennett began he accepted, as he says, the canons 'of Turgenev, the brothers de Goncourt and de Maupassant.' Yet, in spite of his 'gods,' he remains obstinately English, even in *The Old Wives' Tales;* and he never contrives to keep up that pretence of objectivity which is the mark of naturalism. (No novelist, of course, ever succeeded in being perfectly objective: sometimes I think George Moore in *Esther Waters* came nearest to it. For the rest, who could confuse Zola with Maupassant, Maupassant with Céard, Céard with the Goncourts, or the Goncourts with Huysmans? The most retiring of creatures is known by the way he removes himself from the scene; and in effect Zola is as much on the stage with his puppets as Thackeray with his.) If Bennett is to be compared with the French novelists, he reminds me first of Balzac and then of Alphonse Daudet. He is like Balzac in his passionate interest in occupations. The Balzacian zest for such things as the stock exchange is quite different from Zola's slow absorption in the life

of shambles, farmyard or laundry. Zola gets involved in these worlds of his creatures because it is his duty; Balzac has a flaming interest in them. It is here Bennett is his true follower. The account of the way in which Sophia Scales runs her boarding-house during the Paris siege, and then runs the English pension; the keen description of the Clayhanger printing and lithographic works; the insight into Earlforward's bookshop and, in some ways the most absorbing of all, the elaborate analysis of the Imperial Palace—all of these are undertaken by Arnold Bennett in a spirit which is one with the spirit of the original workers. What tremendous gusto there is in the account of Denry Machin's enterprise at Llandudno, when The Card makes his great coup with the lifeboat and the chocolate remedy—the chocolate soaked in lemonade. Those chapters, and indeed the whole of *The Card*, have an immediacy, a stereoscopic quality which are characteristic of Bennett's novels at their best. He may have been too fond of 'telling' people in his critical work; in his best fiction there is no telling, but a direct, three-dimensional presentation. I never have tested the chocolate remedy, but I always believe I have when I recall that graphic description of its success:

Llandudno was next titillated by the mysterious 'Chocolate Remedy,' which made its first appearance in a small boat that plied off Robinson Crusoe's strip of beach. Not infrequently passengers in the lifeboat were inconvenienced by displeasing and even distressing sensations, as Denry had once been inconvenienced. He felt deeply for them. The Chocolate Remedy was designed to alleviate the symptoms while captivating the palate. It was one of the most agreeable remedies that the wit of man ever invented. It tasted like chocolate and yet there was an astringent flavour of lemon in it—a flavour that flattered the stomach into a good opinion of itself, and seemed to say, 'All's right with the world.' The stuff was retailed in sixpenny packets, and you were advised to eat only a very little of it at a time, and not to masticate, but merely permit melting. Then the Chocolate Remedy came to be sold on the lifeboat itself, and you were informed that if you 'took' it before starting on the wave, no wave could disarrange you. And, indeed, many persons who followed this advice suffered no distress and were proud accordingly, and duly informed the world. Then the Chocolate Remedy began to be sold everywhere. Young people bought it because they enjoyed it, and perfectly ignored the advice against over-indulgence and against mastication. The Chocolate Remedy penetrated like the refrain of a popular song to other seaside places. It was on sale from Morecambe to Barmouth, and at all the landing-stages of the steamers for the Isle of Man and Anglesey. Nothing surprised Denry so much as the vogue of the Chocolate Remedy. It was a serious anxiety to him, and he muddled both the manufacture and the distribution of the remedy, from simple ignorance and inexperience. His chief difficulty at first had been to obtain small cakes of chocolate that were not stamped with the maker's name or mark. Chocolate manufacturers seemed to have a passion for imprinting their Quakerly names on every bit of stuff they sold. Having at length obtained a supply, he was

silly enough to spend time in preparing the remedy himself in his bedroom! He might as well have tried to feed the British Army from his mother's kitchen. At length he went to a confectioner in Rhyl and a greengrocer in Llandudno, and by giving away half the secret to each, he contrived to keep the whole secret to himself. But even then he was manifestly unequal to the situation created by the demand for the Chocolate Remedy. It was a situation that needed the close attention of half a dozen men of business. It was quite different from the affair of the lifeboat.

One night a man who had been staying a day or two in the boarding-house in St. Asaph's Road said to Denry:

'Look here, mister. I go straight to the point. What'll you take?'

And he explained what he meant. What would Denry take for the entire secret and rights of the Chocolate Remedy and the use of the name 'Machin' ('without which none was genuine')?

'What do you offer?' Denry asked.

'Well, I'll give you a hundred pounds down, and that's my last word.'

Denry was staggered. A hundred pounds for simply nothing at all—for dipping bits of chocolate in lemon-juice!

He shook his head.

'I'll take two hundred,' he replied.

And he got two hundred. It was probably the worst bargain that he ever made in his life. For the Chocolate Remedy continued obstinately in demand for ten years afterwards. But he was glad to be rid of the thing; it was spoiling his sleep and wearing him out.

III

Arnold Bennett's place in English literature will depend on his novels and short stories. His desire to be a dramatist was never quite strong enough to conquer his conviction that writing plays was an easy business compared to writing novels. I often wonder what Ibsen would have said to that theory. His critical studies will be read by those who, liking his novels, desire to know more about the taste and opinions of the author. His reputation with posterity, however, must depend on his fiction. I have myself a great liking for Bennett's lighter work; not only are his thrillers some of the best that our time has produced, but his comedies—*Helen with the High Hand*, *Buried Alive*, *The Card*—have a 'go,' a darting, swift certainty of attack which will ensure their popularity with those who are not deaf and dumb to the humour of other days. Of the serious novels we must dismiss *The Roll Call*, *The Price of Love*, and *Mr. Prohack* as unlikely to survive long beyond our generation. Also I find myself quite unable to share what used to be the author's opinion about the importance of *The Pretty Lady*. He was right in thinking that the absence of a novel in English about the courtesan was a gap in English fiction; he was wrong in believing that he was the man to fill that gap. *The Pretty Lady* is at once sentimental and timid; it is as if, when Bennett came to the point, he did not dare

picture either the dulness or the danger of Christine's profession. She remains a kind of very pale copy of the incomparable Manon, whose portrait by Prevost exhausts the possibilities of the picturesque treatment of light love—exhausts them precisely by the superb demonstration that, whatever else it may be, light love is not light.

There remain, then, as Arnold Bennett's greatest work, *The Old Wives' Tale*, *The Clayhanger Family* (comprising three novels), *Riceyman Steps*, *Imperial Palace*, and a handful of short stories. One would be tempted to say that his best work was that in which he kept to his Five Towns, if one did not immediately remember the Paris scenes which Sophia Baines so magnificently dominates, the brief Brighton life of George Cannon and Hilda Lessways, and the superb reconstruction of Clerkenwell and Islington, dignified in their decay, in *Riceyman Steps*. Also memorable because it sums up so much of Bennett's interest in life's elaboration, and in the simplifying of that elaboration, the ungeographical world of *Imperial Palace*. The interest of that book will never be so strong for most readers as that of the other three; for few men can escape the feeling that the subject is in a sense unworthy of the detail which Bennett has lavished on it. The fascination exercised on him, all his life, by the operation of luxury is distasteful to some. It must not be forgotten, however, that Bennett did not enjoy it because it separated the rich from the poor, still less did he enjoy it as a privilege of caste. It was because he, Arnold Bennett, was enjoying it, and through his own exertions had earned the means to enjoy it, that his books are so full of luxury. He wanted everyone to have it and enjoy it, though he would have admitted that an incapacity to enjoy might belong to people who understood the art of life as well as, though differently from, himself. He is always aware of the cost of these things, and only thinks it worth paying, because he hoped for a state of society in which the cost would not be so unequally distributed. He was continuously aware of, and resented, the injustice of modern society. He makes Frith-Walter, in a minor novel, *Accident*, meditate, after he has paid his cabman:

> Alan thought longer of the cabman than the cabman thought of Alan. The cabman, Alan reflected, was old and bronchitic, and fated to spend his last years in affronting the sunless inclemency of the London climate; and for far less money a week than Alan would squander on a fancy dressing-gown. Whereas Alan, in excellent health, was away for a Continental resort. Something wrong somewhere; something wrong!

It is no accident that, though Frith-Walter dismisses these fancies as foolish, the theme of the book is a wealthy man's quarrel with his wife caused by his determination to stand as a Labour candidate for Parliament. Bennett's anger at social

injustice, though it is never hot and inflamed like Gissing's or expressed rhetorically like Upton Sinclair's, is an important element in all his chief work. That masterpiece of narrative, *The Old Wives' Tale*, is full of it. The brief, bitter, deeply cut etching of the servant's life in a provincial middle-class house in 1863 has the virtue and the sympathy of Dickens. It would have vexed Bennett, I fear, but it is of the spirit of Dickens and Daudet that I am reminded when I read the story of Constance and Sophia Baines, his first great novel, for the composition of which he prepared characteristically by writing some dozen other books. It is a great romantic story, this essay in French naturalism ; the humour—as in the great scene of Mr. Povey's tooth—and the pathos, in the sketch, for instance, of poor Fossette, the poodle, and her reception in Bursley, are not the dry, preserved qualities we meet in Zola nor yet the incomparable pattern in icicles that is, too often, the picture made by George Moore in his naturalist fiction. Bennett makes us love his people, and loves them himself not because he has that perfect control over them that his method demands, but because, in spite of the control, he enjoys them as if they were free agents. At times, indeed, they are ; but I think the end of Constance and Sophia, and the manner and the time of it were too early predetermined ; and that a touch of Thackeray's or of Dickens' carelessness might have revealed to her creator unsuspected reserves in Constance and unsuspected generosities in her son Cyril Povey.

For this reason the three Clayhanger books, especially *Hilda Lessways*, will always appeal more to readers who care for characteristic spontaneity. Bennett was as naturally spontaneous an author as Flaubert and Gissing were not : Flaubert realised that he could turn this defect into a quality by a method of writing which had much of the advantages of Greek tragedy. We know Madame Bovary's life from the start : it could not have been otherwise—there is an absolute and complete parallelism between her fate and her character. This is not true of *The Old Wives' Tale*, nor of any of Bennett's books ; and in his other books he, unconsciously perhaps, recognises that it is not so. Hence the whole episode of Hilda and Cannon has an exuberance that excites the reader like a fantastic picture might on a wall hitherto undecorated. The writing, especially in the early part of *Clayhanger* and in some of *Hilda Lessways*, and in the account of the party in *These Twain*, has a liveliness which enhances the novels' general gravity.

By the time he came to write *Riceyman Steps* (1923) and *Imperial Palace* (1930) Bennett had, I think, ceased to be so scrupulous about the method of the novel. There are at least two stories in *Imperial Palace*, besides the story of the hotel

itself, and we do not mind, because their interest is great enough to hold our attention. In *Riceyman Steps* Bennett once more played the part of a showman to a new country. Londoners had never known about the Five Towns until he told them; London had forgotten Lloyd Square, Granville Square, Exmouth Street, Myddleton Square—and he, from the North, had the excitement of showing them that there, too, in spite of their decay and desolation, were exciting lives lived, and hard fortune encountered, and disasters overcome and accident victorious.

It is for his abundance that we remember Bennett. He not only wrote a great many books—fifty novels and books of short stories and some fifteen plays—but in all of them, whatever may be the weakness of some, there is generosity, zest, an absence of stinginess and stinting. His gusto is extraordinary. No doubt it will always, in some of its manifestations, offend highly refined, thin-blooded people; but gusto and an apparent ease in creation are the qualities for which we admire all the world's greatest imaginative artists. Bennett rarely combined them, as do the very greatest, with subtlety or that intuitive insight into mortal things that is the very source of our deepest emotion; but neither did he have with it that clumsy, obtuse cruelty towards his fellows, that sterile and sinister egotism which make some modern achievement of great technical interest seem vapid and dust-collecting. Arnold Bennett was an intensely social being, and never more successfully than in his conviction that the best art is one of man's highest and noblest social activities.

R. Ellis Roberts.

TENNYSON'S UNPUBLISHED POEMS

III. AFTER 1840

IN this article I shall include unpublished material dating after 1840. This is very scanty in comparison with what remains from the preceding years, and I will set out the poems, which are all short, so far as I can, in order of date.

'HAIL BRITAIN'

The first version of the following lines occurs as the beginning of a long unpublished poem probably dating from the 1830's. The copy from which the stanzas are printed is in the handwriting of Emily, Lady Tennyson, and evidently of a much later date. It is interesting to note that some other stanzas of the long poem were used, with slight adaptations, in *In Memoriam*, the *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* (published 1852), and *Lines to the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava* (published 1889), forming in each case some of the most effective lines in the poem concerned.

Hail Britain! In whatever zone
Binds the broad earth beneath the blue,
In ancient seasons or the new
No manlier front than thine is shown;

Not for the wide sail-wandered tides
That ever round thee come and go,
The many ships of war that blow
The battle from their iron sides;

Not for a power that knows not check
To spread and float an ermined pall
Of Empire, from the ruin'd wall
Of royal Delhi to Quebec.

But that in righteousness thy power
Doth stand, thine Empire on thy word—
In thee no traitor voice is heard
Whatever danger threats the hour!

God keep thee strong as thou art free,
Free in the freedom of His law,
And brave all wrong to overawe,
Strong in the strength of unity.

'LISTEN, BELLS IN YONDER TOWN'

Handwriting and paper suggest that this poem is of a date probably not later than the early 'forties. The refrain of the first stanza reappears in the line 'The mellow lin lan lone of evening bells,' in *Far—Far—Away*, which was written in 1888 and published in the 'Demeter' volume of 1889:

Listen! bells in yonder town,
Lin, lan, lone,
Over dale and over down,
Lin, lan, lone,
Now the year is almost gone,
Lin, lan, lone,
Dying, dying, almost gone,
Lin, lan, lone,
Almost, almost, almost gone.

Listen how the bells begin,
With a lin, lan, lin,
For the old year out and the new year in,
With a lin, lan, lan and a lan, lan, lin,
And the old year out and the new year in,
With a clash and a lin, lan, lin.

Put out the lights and let us go to bed,
The baby year is born, his father's dead,
And, settling back after that storm of sound,
From all the starry circle overhead
Hard silence drops upon the stony ground.

Considerations of style and mood suggest that the following lines were written at about the same date as *The Talking Oak* and *Will Waterproof*, both of which were published in 1842. The poem appears to be incomplete. By 'Dan' and 'Joe' are meant Daniel O'Connell and Joseph Hume. (*Cf.* Sonnet quoted in a previous article.) It is interesting to see how, in the few words of Greek, the poet follows English accent and not Greek quantity:

Oh what care I how many a fluke
Sticks in the liver of the time,
I cannot prate against the Duke,
I love to have an idle rhyme.

The muse would stumble from the tune,
  If I should ask her ' Plump my purse,
' Be for some popular forenoon '
  ' The leading article in verse.'

So gross a murmur in her ear
  Would make her dull as Davy's sow,
And with a sudden mildew sear
  The rathe fruitblossom on her brow.

For, though she has her hopes and fears,
  She dwells not on a single page,
But thrids the annals of the years,
  And runs her eye from age to age.

What's near is large to modern eyes,
  But disproportions fade away
Lower'd in the sleepy pits, where lies
  The dropsied Epos of the day—

The day that rose like ours sublime
  In dreaming dreams and planning plans,
That thought herself the crown of time
  And took her many geese for swans.

Oh so, when modern things are thrust
  By death below the coffin lid,
Our liberal sons will spurn our dust
  And wonder what it was we did—

However, you have spoken well,
  But, now the summer sun descends,
Unbroach that flask of cool Moselle
  And let us drink to all our friends.

But if you prate of ' In ' and ' Out,'
  And Dan and Joe, who'eer they be,
Then ''Οιη φυλλων ' will I spout
  ' 'Οιη περ φυλλων γενεη.'

As stretched beside the river clear
  That's round this grassy foreland curled,
I cool my face in flowers, and hear
  The deep pulsations of the world.

In a notebook which also contains fragments of *Boadicea* (published 1864) occurs the following ghostly and dramatic fragment, which seems worthy of preservation :

Do you not hear him knocking ? beard and ruff !
Thou art not of our century thou sad face.
O pale sad face, cold breath that makes me cold,
And waving of the lean magnetic hands—
What is it thou hast done in the far years ?
What is it makes thee dark and keeps thee down ?

The following sonnet is from a large notebook which contains drafts of *Queen Mary*, and was evidently intended as a prologue to that play.

SONNET

Guess well, and that is well. Our age can find
The shower that fell a million years ago,
An ever-vanish'd ocean's ebb and flow
Rock-written ; but no man can send his mind
Into man's past so well, that he can form
A perfect likeness of long-vanish'd souls,
Whate'er new lights be let on ancient scrolls
And secular perforations of the worm.
Courage, old Clio ! we have read the rocks,
You see the past dilated thro' the fog
Of ages ! do your best, for that remains.
More will you do. We are more than goat or ox,
More than the long-descended horse and dog,
Whose one dumb record is their limbs and brains.

The MS. gives the following alternative for the last six lines :

Let him that writes our annals not abuse,
Far as he knows, the deeds that once have been :
The playwright hath more license to confuse
This date with that and make a busy scene.
I do command the voices that I use,
And am not Froude or Freeman, Hook or Greene.

The lines which I will next quote were evoked by the almost simultaneous publication in 1870 of two works by a now forgotten littérateur, James Haines Friswell. Friswell was a successful journalist, whose most popular work was probably a collection of essays called *The Gentle Life*, published in two series in 1864 and 1866 and republished in one volume in 1870. In the same year he brought out an unfortunate book entitled *Modern Writers Honestly Criticised*. This contained an essay on Tennyson, of a kind best calculated to arouse the poet's wrath. The essay followed very much the line of attack adopted by Bulwer in the

New Timon, and elsewhere in the book this famous controversy was referred to. Friswell began his 'criticism' as follows: 'Alfred Tennyson—is he not the luckiest man of letters in this very lucky age, this day of small things, this money seeking, veneer loving time?'

Then followed a sneering description of Tennyson's personal appearance and a most disingenuous or ill-informed reference to his fortunate connexion with a wealthy family, a method of attack calculated to cause the sensitive poet the most acute irritation,[1] having regard to his real family history and early struggles. Passing to his poetry, Friswell speaks of this as smelling of *The Keepsake* and *Friendship's Offering*, a class of publication which Tennyson disliked intensely and to which, in fact, he seldom contributed. 'They write of him,' says the egregious essayist, 'as one who lies all day on the sofa and smokes cigars. He has a softness and effeminacy which is altogether false.' In fact, Tennyson never smoked cigars, preferring a pipe of shag, and was a man of tremendous physique and amazing intellectual and physical activity up till the end of his long life. The poet's work is then passed in disparaging review. For example, the critic can say no more of *Maud*, which he evidently regards as Tennyson's most successful effort, than that it 'certainly has more passion of the kind felt by the Baker Street and Westbourne Park misses than any other of his pieces.' He is said to be 'sugar sweet, pretty pretty, full of womanly talk and feminine stuff,' having produced nothing worthy to rank with (for example) Coleridge's *Geneviève*. Finally, this 'half-hearted and polished rhymester' is likened to 'the lady who did not want to look frightful when dead, and so put on the paint and the fucus,' and it is prophesied that he 'will take no deep hold on the world.'

Other essays in the book contained slighting references to Tennyson. Nor was he the only author attacked. G. A. Sala brought an action for libel against the publishers for the article on himself and recovered 500*l*. damages. To do Friswell justice, this book appears to have been an isolated indiscretion, the *Gentle Life* and his other numerous productions having no vice about them.

Tennyson evidently resented deeply this unjustifiable assault upon him, especially as Friswell had, in 1865, dedicated a rather dull volume of verse called *Francis Spira and other Poems* to 'Alfred Tennyson D.C.L. Poet Laureate, by permission.'

The above is necessary to make intelligible Tennyson's epigram, which, of course, he never published, and which was,

[1] For the effect of a similar reference in the *New Timon* fourteen years earlier, see Memoir, p. 204.—C. B. L. T.

therefore, merely a letting off of steam. The metre chosen is the 'hendecasyllable.' (*Cf.* 'Oh ye chorus of indolent Reviewers.')

The whole story is worth telling as an example of the malicious and stupid criticism which Tennyson had to put up with, even at the zenith of his fame.

'THE GENTLE LIFE'

'Gentle Life.' What a title! here's a subject
Calls aloud for a gentleman to treat it.
Who has treated it? Who? the would be Poet,
Buzz-well, Bizz-well—an ass beyond redemption!
Oust him, down with him, all the holy Muses!
Oust him, Muses, a liar and a twaddler,
Brutal, personal, absolutely blackguard.

EPIGRAMS

I have chosen the following examples from a series of short poems of an epigrammatic nature, which have little counterpart in Tennyson's published work. Some of them express a mood of irritation, others sum up the poet's experience in an almost proverbial form, others express a point of view or a moral criticism. All are markedly personal in character.

The last of those included here must have been written after—and probably soon after—1870, as the quotation which forms its title is from Swinburne's *Pilgrims* (*Songs before Sunrise*, first published 1871).

The remaining epigrams are mostly from a notebook which contains fragments of *Lucretius* (published 1868), *Balin and Balan* (written 1869–70), and the *Northern Farmer, New Style* (published 1869). All appear to have been written at the end of the 1860's. The same notebook contains 'While I live the owls' (Memoir, p. 479), and 'How is it that men have so little grace?' (*ibid.*, p. 465).

What I most am blamed about,
That I least am shamed about;
What I least am loud about,
That I most am praised about.

Birth and circumstance are fate,
Thence have we thief and whore.
Why therefore should we scorn and hate?
We feel there's something more.

You have spite enough, that is plain enough,
But you hide your name for fear of a lashing—
Out with it, skunk! are you vain enough
To think you are worth the thrashing?

I ran upon life unknowing, without or science or art,
I found the first pretty maiden but she was a harlot at heart;
I wandered about the woodland after the melting of the snow,
'Here is the first pretty snowdrop'—and it was the dung of a crow!

We come from monkeys—prove it who can—
But here is a clue to the vices of man.

Somebody being a nobody,
Thinking to make himself somebody,
Said that he thought me a nobody.
Good little somebody-nobody,
Had you not felt I was somebody,
Would you have called me a nobody?

All men born are mortal but not man
SWINBURNE.

Man is as mortal as men,
The cycle sweeps him away;
I am the worm of a minute,
The fly will last for a day;
Both in a minute are gone,
The day and the minute are one.

The following curious little poem occurs only in a very rough draft, apparently of the early 'seventies. It seems to describe a conflict in the poet's mind between the love of tradition and the desire for novelty and change. As the title suggests, the conflict is depicted as proceeding in the poet's brain, and the conflicting tendencies are imagined as lodging in the right and left halves of the skull (referred to as the 'dome') and behind the eyes (or 'windows').

'CEPHALIS'

I have got two wives, both fair, and they dwell with me under a dome
With a couple of windows, and there they both of them have their home.
One lives in a room to the left and one in a room to the right,
And I sit between them and hear them call to me day and night.
'Come' said the left, 'I can teach you the older and truer way'
'Come' said the right, 'She's a beast, I can teach you the newer way'
And they wrangle and babble so that I know not if I be I,
But I hope to be clear'd of the crime of this bigamy—When?
When I die.

It will, I think, be of interest if I conclude this paper with some passages omitted from the published version of a well-known poem, but included in MS. versions. One cannot but admire the ruthlessness of the poet in sacrificing such passages, presumably because his fastidious taste felt them to be too strong in colour or too forcible for their context. No doubt his judgment was right, but it seems a pity that the lines should be altogether lost, and I have, therefore, felt justified in giving a few examples. The practice, which is characteristic of Tennyson's method, could be illustrated from many of his poems, but space will only allow me to deal with one, and I have chosen *The Princess*, of which several MS. fragments survive. For instance, the following interesting vignette of an industrial city occurs in section i., describing the first glimpse which the Prince and his companions receive of King Gama's territory:

> 'We cros't into a land where mile high towers
> Puff't out a night of smoke that drown'd the sun;
> Huge pistons rose and fell, and everywhere
> We heard the clank of chains, the creak of cranes,
> Ringing of blocks and throb of hammers mix't
> With water split and spilt on groaning wheels.'

These lines were omitted, no doubt, because the poet felt them to be too modern for the timeless story which he was presenting.

In section ii., towards the end, after the line

> 'Shall these three castless patch my tattered coat,'

Cyril has a lively speech:

> '"Oh but," he answered, "women's fancies hook
> On rusty props. Remember her we called
> The 'Star of midnight,' how she used to hang
> On that flat headed and bush cheeked baboon,
> Lost to all else and peering up to find
> Her God within that blur he called his eye,
> The greasy casement of a vacant house . . ."'

In Book V. the Prince uses a forcible simile in describing Ida's indignation at the discovery of himself and his two friends in the college:

> 'Had you seen her
> The yesternight, when, rushing on extremes,
> She laid her black mane on her snowy neck
> And neigh'd defiance at mankind.'

No doubt the poet thought the simile too grotesque, especially in the mouth of the Princess's lover, and no doubt he was right, but a less fastidious taste may regret the omission of the lines.

In the last section two omitted passages may be mentioned; the first occurs shortly after

'come down, Oh maid,'

It gives a good definition of the causes of the Princess's failure and of the weakness of her attitude, but it to some extent repeats ideas already expressed a few lines higher up, and Tennyson probably felt that the strong simile at the close of the passage was too rhetorical when put into the mouth of the Princess, the keynote of whose utterances in this section are simplicity and restraint:

'Ah fool to make myself a Queen of farce,
To lapse so far from sweet humility
The mother of all virtues, to desire
Knowledge for power, power more than truth!
When comes another such? Never I think
Till the last fire shall catch and flap from peak
To peak across the world, and the sun hang
Dead in the signs . . .'

The other omitted lines in the last section were evidently considered for inclusion in the famous passage which maintains the essential spiritual dissimilarity of the sexes. They contain a foreshadowing of much later sex psychology:

'And if ought be comprising in itself
The man, the woman, let it sit (apart ?)
Godlike, alone, or only rapt on heaven—
What need for such to wed? or if there be
Men-women, let them wed with women-men
And make a proper marriage.'

No part of the poem gave Tennyson more trouble than the modern setting. It will be remembered that the story of the feminist Princess and her princely lover is told, not directly, but as a 'tale from mouth to mouth' by the guests at a country house-party, who are watching from a ruined abbey in the park of their host a village *fête* in progress on the distant slopes, the actual describer of the whole scene being a Cambridge friend of the host's son. This setting, which was added after the completion of the main part of the poem, is, in the final published version, confined to an introduction and epilogue, with one brief episode interpolated in the middle of the story. It is evident from the MSS. that Tennyson thought of carrying the idea still

further and putting each section of the poem into the mouth of a different narrator. This idea he abandoned, no doubt, because he felt that it would interrupt the narrative too much and rob it of continuity and force. The descriptions of the various narrators which survive in the MSS. contain some very interesting sketches; the teller of section iv., for instance, is doubtless a Cambridge portrait, though I cannot identify it,

> 'The next that spoke, a wild November fool;
> Twice had he been convened and once had fought
> A bargeman—he was Irish out of Clare;
> For every prize he wrote and failed in all,
> And many a song he wrote which no man knew.
> The cleverest man in all our set was he,
> And something like the Cyril in the tale.'

The speaker of section vi. is of special interest, being obviously, in part, a portrait of Tennyson himself.

> 'The next that spoke was Arthur Arundel
> The poet: rough his hair but fine to feel,
> And dark his skin but softer than a babe's,[2]
> And large his hands as of the plastic kind,
> And early furrows in his face he had:
> Small were his themes—low builds the nightingale—
> But promised more, and mellow was his voice;
> He pitched it like a pipe to all he would:
> And thus he brought our story back to life.'

Rough hair, dark skin, hands and facial furrows are all unmistakable.

For section vii. there seems to be another Cambridge portrait, and a charming one, but here again I cannot suggest the sitter.

> 'The last that spoke was one we used to call
> The lady: lady-like he read the parts
> Of Viola, Beatrice, Hermione:
> We thought he fancied Lilia: who could tell?
> He coloured at the name of any girl.
> He plucked a flower that like a moral grew
> From *miserere* on the broken tomb
> Beside us, and he held it as he spoke.'

The MSS. also provide some very interesting evidence in regard to the production of the famous songs which, as is well

[2] Tennyson used to complain that he was physically as well as metaphorically 'thin-skinned,' and that a single flea-bite would spread over a whole square inch of his body.—C. B. L. T.

known, were not introduced until the 3rd edition of *The Princess* was published.

Of course none of these songs occurs in the early MSS., but trial versions of some exist elsewhere. Hallam Tennyson published one of these variants (an alternative form of *Sweet and Low*) in the Memoir (p. 213), and Tennyson himself included in the 1865 volume of selections (Moxon) what he described as the first versions of *Home they brought her Warrior Dead* and *Thy Voice is heard through Rolling Drums.* This, I think, justifies the publication here of two other versions of the latter lyric which are, I think, of considerable interest. I give them with the first version above referred to and the final version, so that the reader can see with what skill the poet was able to make, out of the same ideas and to a large extent the same words, four poems, differing in metre and rhythm, and each essentially fresh, characteristic and individual. Probably the rather hyperbolical last lines of the second and third versions prevented the poet from publishing them, but I think the merits of the poems, as a whole, easily outweigh such a small defect.

First Version

(*Published in Selections*, 1865)

Lady, let the rolling drums
Beat to battle where thy warrior stands;
Now thy face across his fancy comes
And gives the battle to his hands.

Lady, let the trumpets blow,
Clasp thy little babes about thy knee:
Now their warrior father meets the foe
And strikes him dead for thine and thee

(*Unpublished: probably the Second Version*)

When all among the fifes and the thundering drums
Thy soldier in the battlefield, my Ada, stands,
Thy woman's face, believe it, across his fancy comes
And gives the battle, the battle to his hands.

Then tho' many a fatal bullet may whistle near,
And round him half his comrades may reel, may roll,
Thy whispers, O my life, will tremble at his ear,
Thy kisses, ah my darling, burn within his soul.

When the cannons roar and the trumpets, trumpets blow;
He will hear his young ones call him o'er the sea;
When the word is given, like a fire he meets the foe
And strikes a thousand dead for them and for thee.

(Unpublished: probably the Third Version)

When roars the fight to left and right
And on the field thy soldier stands,
When far and wide the cannon booms,
And shrill the fifes and beat the drums,
Thy face across his fancy comes
And gives the battle to his hands.

When roars the fight to left and right
And round him half his comrades roll,
Tho many a bullet whistles near,
He fears not death, he knows not fear—
Thy whispers tremble at his ear
Thy kisses burn within his soul.

When roars the fight to left and right,
He sees his young ones at thy knee.
The word is given; the trumpets blow;
The word is given, and on they go;
He heads the charge, he meets the foe
And strikes a thousand dead for thee.

FINAL VERSION

Thy voice is heard thro' rolling drums,
That beat to battle where he stands;
Thy face across his fancy comes,
And gives the battle to his hands:
A moment, while the trumpets blow,
He sees his brood about thy knee;
The next, like fire he meets the foe,
And strikes him dead for thine and thee.

C. B. L. TENNYSON.

(To be continued.)

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 *&* 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.2.*

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

THE

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AND AFTER

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THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. DCLII—June 1931

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

After a relatively peaceful interval of ten years following the repeal of the Lloyd Georgian land taxes, the owners of land in Great Britain are again threatened with penal taxation. This was announced by Mr. Snowden in his Budget speech, and the provisions for the new tax are embodied in the Finance Bill for the current year, although the tax is not to come into operation until April 1, 1933 The reason, for thus ante-dating the imposition of the tax, is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer wanted to obtain authority at once to set in motion the machinery for valuation of the land that is to be liable to the tax. It would of course have been possible to introduce a separate Bill for this purpose, and that would have been the more constitutional course. But it would have involved the risk that the House of Lords might reject the Bill, whereas by embodying his valuation scheme in a Finance Bill Mr. Snowden escapes that risk. Such a device may be welcomed by the members of the Labour Party and of the Liberal Party, who are in league over the question of

taxing land values, but to the Englishman who puts the interests of his country before the interests of any political party this piece of parliamentary manœuvring only demonstrates how greatly we need a second chamber possessed of full legislative powers.

Mr. Snowden's scheme is superficially a good deal simpler than the scheme which Mr. Lloyd George fathered in 1909 and abandoned in 1920. In place of three taxes—the Undeveloped Land Duty, the Increment Value Duty, and the Reversion Duty—Mr. Snowden proposes only one tax, the 'land value tax,' which is to be levied 'at the rate of one penny for each pound of the land value of every land unit.'

After this very concise statement the Finance Bill proceeds to give detailed definitions together with detailed instructions to the official valuers. These occupy more than twenty pages, padded out with the jargon of words that parliamentary draughtsmen delight in. The ordinary layman will do wisely not to struggle to understand these complicated technicalities. It is sufficient for him to know that the main purpose of the Bill is to put an annual tax of a penny in the pound on the selling value of any piece of land, so far as that selling value exceeds the agricultural value of the land. On purely agricultural land there is to be no tax. In addition, separate units of land with a capital value of less than 120*l*. are to be exempted from the tax. This latter exemption, as Mr. Snowden with cynical frankness explained to the House of Commons, is granted for the purpose of relieving the working man, who possesses a small bit of land, from the obligation of paying a tax upon it. The Labour Party does not want to tax its own supporters. With various other exemptions of a minor character set forth in the Finance Bill, all land in private ownership is to be subjected to this new tax.

The obvious purpose of the tax is to penalise landowners just because they own land. This revival of the dogma that the ownership of land is a crime requiring fiscal punishment may fairly be attributed to the political embarrassments of the present Ministry. Possessing only a minority of votes in the House of Commons, the Labour Ministry is doomed to an early death if it cannot obtain support from the Liberal Party. The taxation of land values is the special hobby of Mr. Lloyd George, and it is fairly obvious that he has made a bargain with the Labour leaders to keep them in office if they will back his hobby. The making of this bargain has doubtless been facilitated by the personal attitude of Mr. Philip Snowden, who has long had a leaning towards the taxation of land values. In addition, the general body of the Labour Party probably regards an attack on the ownership of land as a strategic move in aid of their general attack on the private ownership of all forms of capital.

Owners of movable capital will do wisely at the outset to recognise this aspect of the political situation. If penal taxation or other confiscatory schemes were to be permanently limited to land very few Socialists would support the present proposals. Socialists derive their dogmas from Karl Marx, whose attack was specially directed against industrial capital. The dogmas of the land taxers are an inheritance from Henry George, the American apostle of the creed that the private ownership of the rent of land is the root cause of all the world's troubles. Henry George had no complaint against the private ownership of other forms of capital. On the contrary, he was an ardent defender of the capitalist. Indeed, one of the merits that he claims for his proposed confiscation of rent is that—in addition to 'raising wages,' 'abolishing poverty,' 'lessening crime,' 'elevating morals' and 'carrying civilisation to yet nobler heights'—it will 'increase the earnings of capital.' [1]

There is thus a fundamental divergence between the creed of the land taxers and the creed of the Socialists. Their temporary coalition in the House of Commons is merely a political move. The Liberal land taxers gain because they will get the machinery established for the confiscation of land values; the Labour-Socialists gain, primarily by being enabled to retain office, and in the second place by securing a step forward towards their programme for the confiscation of all forms of private capital.

That this step forward will be secured by the Socialists if the present scheme for taxing land values becomes law there can be no question. The essence of the scheme is that the owner of any piece of land is to pay a tax on the capital value of that land. But owners of land and owners of other forms of capital are constantly changing places. A man may to-day be owning a site in Bloomsbury or Belgravia; a few weeks later he may have sold it and invested the proceeds in Government stock or some industrial security. He may have sold at a very good price; but under Mr. Snowden's scheme it is not he who will be taxed, but the purchaser of the land who has paid that price to him.

The injustice of such a form of taxation is so glaring that, if it should ever become law, the Socialists would promptly demand —and with a fair show of reason—that the same tax must be extended to all owners of capital. It is well that the public should realise this essential feature of the taxation of land values. If once we permit the imposition of an unjust tax on one form of property, every form of property will become liable to the risk of similar injustice.

The general argument of the land taxers is that private

[1] Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 288 (authorised edition).

property in land means that a minority of individuals are able to use the land of the country for their personal benefit to the injury of the rest of the community. In the more rhetorical phraseology that the apostles of this doctrine have inherited from Henry George, 'the people are denied the right of access to the land that God gave them.' As a matter of fact, over a large part of England the land that God gave to the people would have been worthless if the owners for centuries past had not improved it. Nor would it be possible for the owners of land to derive any benefit from the greater part of their possessions unless they allowed other people to have access to the land as tenants or as labourers. The owner of 10,000 acres would not have a very comfortable life if he remained alone in the centre of his estate with a barbed wire fence all round it.

It is perfectly true that some landowners have sometimes used their position in a manner injurious to the reasonable interests of other people. Landowners are not the only people who have thus failed in their moral obligations to their fellow-men; but where this abuse of the power of private ownership does occur, surely the proper way of dealing with it is by such alterations in the law as may be required to meet the actual situation. As a matter of fact, in the last twenty years several Acts of Parliament have been passed which strictly limit the rights of landowners where they may possibly conflict with the general interests of the community. If, for example, a local authority requires land for some public purpose—a school, street improvements, housing schemes, allotments, and so on—it can with the consent of a Government department take the land it wants, and the owner, under an Act of 1919, cannot receive more than the price at which the land would be valued for estate duty. That is fair to both parties, the general public and the private landowner, and practically disposes of the alleged grievance that landowners can prevent the community from having access to land.

Another point which advocates of the special taxation of land values constantly urge is that the landowner profits by the increased value which his land acquires owing to improvements made by public authorities. In particular stress is laid on the increased value added to agricultural land by public expenditure on new roads. That is a reasonable point, though it overlooks the fact that in some cases these new roads may lower the value of land in particular regions by making it less attractive to persons seeking a residence in the country for the sake of rural quiet. At any rate, this matter is being fully dealt with in the Town Planning Bill now before Parliament. This Bill provides that where land has increased in value owing to expenditure by

public authorities the full amount of that increase is to be taken from the owner. This method of dealing with the matter at least has the merit of being direct and straightforward.

How are these two problems of private ownership affected by the proposed tax on land values? In neither case has the new tax any direct relation to the problem which the advocates of the tax pretend that it will solve. Take first the case of land that is wanted by a public authority. The proposed tax on all land having an urban value—with the exception of the specially favoured small properties—would fall with equal severity on an owner who was willing to sell his land at a reasonable price, and on an owner who was holding back his land and refusing to sell except under compulsion. It is true that the tax might induce the latter person to change his mind; but his land could in any case under the Act of 1919 be acquired by the local authority at a just price. So that the local authority would gain nothing from the new tax, and the man who had refused to sell voluntarily would lose nothing. The only person to lose would be the owner who was willing to sell; he would be subjected to a penal tax for all time.

As regards the second point, that some owners of land profit unfairly from increased values due to local improvements paid for by local authorities, the Snowden tax again fails to deal with the matter. In the first place, the tax as now proposed—namely, an annual penny in the pound on the capital value—would only intercept a portion of the extra value accruing to the land, thus leaving untouched the greater part of the unfairness involved in a private owner profiting by public expenditure. Worse still, the same tax would fall with at least equal severity on owners whose property had received no benefit from the public improvement, and even on owners who had suffered losses as the result of that improvement.

Thus two of the main arguments for the special taxation of land values are seen to be entirely irrelevant to the real facts.

The land taxers may reply that at any rate the proposed tax would have the effect of inducing many people to sell their land rather than face the continued burden of the tax. This is true, but is it fair? Is it fair to select a particular form of property and to subject the owner of it to a special tax because somebody else may want to buy that property? If this device is to be used to bring land into the market at lower prices, why not also apply it to houses? To most people the house is much more important than the piece of land on which it rests. Except in a few very highly valued areas in London, and other large towns, the cost of the site is insignificant in comparison with the cost of the house. The only way to cheapen houses is to reduce

the cost of building. That means reducing either the interest on capital, or the profits of the builder or the wages of the work-people employed—or all three.

As regards the relative insignificance of the cost of land in housing schemes, the present writer, speaking in the House of Commons in March 1906, gave a concrete illustration which may here be quoted. It was a case of a then recently completed housing scheme near London. The land cost 400*l.* per acre, and seventeen houses per acre had been placed on the land at a cost for building of 300*l.* apiece. Taking interest at 5 per cent., the yearly cost of the site of each house works out to 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, the cost of building to 15*l.* Since those days the cost of building has risen enormously, and the cost of land has not in most places risen to anything like the same extent, so that the relative insignificance of the value of the site compared with the value of the house is even greater now than it then was. It is therefore perfectly futile to suggest that the cost of housing could be appreciably lowered by the taxation of land values.

Indeed, in some cases the proposed tax might have the opposite effect. Under present conditions it frequently happens that land in country districts can be acquired on very moderate terms for building purposes. But if a new tax is to be imposed as a permanent charge on the site value the speculative builder, or whoever else is responsible for the housing scheme, will naturally be inclined to pass on the charge to his tenants.

In many other directions the proposed tax will have an injurious instead of a beneficial effect. By universal agreement one of the most regrettable features of modern building developments is the way in which our countryside is being spoilt by the erection of cheap and ugly houses along the edges of main roads. The process is known as 'ribbon development,' and protests, which are entirely ineffective, are constantly being made against its continued extension. But the proposed new tax will certainly aggravate the situation. That tax is to be levied on the difference between the purely agricultural value of land and its value for urban purposes. The ribbons of land adjoining main roads undoubtedly now possess a distinct urban value, and will therefore become liable to the new tax. The result will be to give the owner an additional motive for selling as quickly as he can, and more and more miles of our roads will be spoilt by ribbon development.

Similar considerations apply to the equally important matter of the preservation of private parks and gardens. Our parks and gardens stand out among the glories of England. No other country possesses on the same scale such treasures of peaceful beauty. They are the product of the Englishman's love of

flowers and trees and grassland. Many of these beautiful possessions, though they belong to private persons, bring pleasure to the general public. Most landowners allow the public to have free admission to their private parks, even though that privilege is sometimes shamelessly abused by the depositing of litter. As regards private gardens, these often face on to a public road, so that passers-by are able to get more than a glimpse of the flowers.

Will these treasures remain if Mr. Snowden's tax becomes law ? The owners of parks and residents in country houses are not people of unlimited means. At present they are able to keep up their properties because there are no special tax burdens upon them. Local rates press upon buildings rather than upon gardens or parklands, and income tax, Schedule A, is only charged upon the estimated annual yield of the property. The new tax is a very different matter. It is an annual tax upon capital values. Many of our most beautiful parks are within easy distance of towns or of districts where building is in progress. The official valuer would therefore be bound to record that a large part of the park, or perhaps the whole of it, had an urban value which was taxable. In the same way the owner of a country house whose garden sloped down to the road would become liable to the Snowden tax on the site value of his garden.

The Snowden tax sounds small at first utterance—only a penny in the pound. But the penny is levied, not on the annual, but on the capital value of the property. Taking interest at 5 per cent., that means a tax of 1*s.* 8*d.* on the income supposed to be derivable from the land. In the case of parks and gardens no actual income is received, but the owner would have to pay every year this new capital value tax on the figures set down by the official valuer. It is fairly certain that when faced with this additional burden many owners of parks and gardens would succumb to the temptation to sell their property for building sites. And this would happen most frequently just in those very regions where the preservation of open spaces is most needed—namely, in the vicinity of towns ; for there the valuation of the land would be higher and the tax would be heavier.

As a particular example of the grave dangers that this tax involves, the case of the Temple Gardens has frequently been referred to in the Press. These gardens bordering on the Thames Embankment are one of the glories of London. They might be described as a bit of Hyde Park on the edge of the City. For building purposes their value must be immense. They would form a magnificent site for a towering block of commercial offices. Consequently a tax on the capital value of this ground would mean a very serious annual charge upon the finances of the Inner

and of the Middle Temple. The charge might be so serious that the Benchers would feel compelled to sell.

A similar consideration applies to Gray's Inn Garden, facing on to Theobald's Road. This is a beautiful stretch of green grass and graceful trees which has not only scenic but also historic value, for the garden was laid out in the days of Queen Elizabeth by Francis Bacon and still contains a catalpa tree that he planted. The garden used to be shut off from Theobald's Road by a high brick wall, but a few years ago the Benchers of the Inn, out of public spirit, pulled down the brick wall and substituted iron railings, so that passers-by might look in and get a whiff of the beauties of the garden. The north end of this garden would provide a splendid site for commercial buildings, and if the Inn is to be taxed year by year on this valuable site the Benchers might find it necessary to sell the land in order to escape the tax.

Another matter which the enthusiastic land taxers seem to have altogether overlooked is the question of privately owned playing-fields. According to a statement made by Sir Lawrence Chubb, secretary of the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society, there are within the area of Greater London alone no fewer than 13,000 acres of privately owned land used as playing-fields. The site value of this land is certainly considerable, and if it is to be taxed on that value much of it will have to be sold. On the other hand, where land used as a playing-field is owned by a public authority it will be exempt from the new tax. This means that people are to be penalised for playing upon open land unless it has been previously bought up by some public authority. Mr. Snowden has apparently overlooked the fact that, if the public authority bought the land at a commercial value, the private owner has already got away with the loot.

That the threat of the new tax will induce many private owners to part with their land is certain, and if they succeed in selling it to a public authority the State will get no revenue out of the tax. In the same way, if owners of big estates break up their land and sell it in plots valued at less than 120*l.*, the tax will cease to be operative and the State will obtain no revenue. In any case, the effect of the tax, if ever it comes into operation, must be to lower the value of all privately owned land. For, though purely agricultural land may for the moment be exempt, the spreading of urban life into rural districts is now proceeding so rapidly, owing to the development of motor traffic, that land which to-day is exempted as purely agricultural may five years hence be officially recorded as having an urban value, and taxed as such.

To appreciate the full meaning of the new tax it has to be remembered that the tax does not end with the penny in the

pound formulated in the present Finance Bill. Both Mr. Snowden and Mr. Lloyd George made it clear that they regarded the new valuation, which has to precede the new tax, as an instrument to enable local authorities to transfer their rates to land values. The idea that the whole burden of the rates could be transferred to the bare land, apart from the buildings upon it, may be dismissed at once as a fantastic dream. Even a tax of 100 per cent. on land values would not suffice to provide the revenues required by local authorities. But this fact would not deter some local authorities from shifting a large portion of the burden of local rates from house property to land property.

At the same time it is more than probable that a Labour Government, backed by Lloyd Georgian Liberals, might at any moment increase Mr. Snowden's penny to twopence or threepence or more. Thus, with the double risk of an increased charge for local rates and an increased national tax, the owners of land values would do wisely to prepare themselves—if Mr. Snowden's scheme becomes law—for an even heavier burden than the extra income tax of 1*s*. 8*d*. which his scheme involves. It is important, moreover, to add that the figure of 1*s*. 8*d*. is only reached on the supposition that the land to be taxed is actually yielding a revenue of 5 per cent. on its assessed value. In many cases it would be yielding a much smaller revenue than this, and in some cases no revenue at all; but the tax of a penny in the pound on the capital value would still be payable year by year. Even if hundreds of millions of pounds were to roll into the Treasury as the result of the tax, that would not justify such absolute disregard for fair play.

As a matter of fact, the revenue that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is likely to get from his proposed new tax is quite insignificant in comparison with the total expenditure of the country. So far as figures are available, a penny in the pound on all the capital land values brought within the scope of the tax would not yield more than about 5,000,000*l*. a year; our national expenditure in the current year will approach, and may even exceed, 900,000,000*l*. Nor will the 5,000,000*l*. be a net figure. The country will first have to pay the cost of valuation.

The Financial Memorandum attached to the Finance Bill states that the valuation 'will be a work of magnitude, the cost of which cannot be estimated with precision,' and goes on to put the figure for the cost of the professional and clerical staff that would have to be engaged at something between 1,000,000*l*. and 1,500,000*l*., spread over the current year and the next two years. The Memorandum also states that there would have to be some additional staff employed in the administrative and legal departments of the Board of Inland Revenue, but that the cost of this

would be relatively small. This is certainly a very modest estimate. According to Mr. Snowden's own statement, the number of separate hereditaments which will have to be valued is between 10,000,000 and 12,000,000. If these figures are accurate, then the official estimate of something between 1,000,000*l.* and 1,500,000*l.* as the main cost of valuation means that the work of valuing each separate piece of land would cost only about half a crown. When one takes account of the enormous complexity of the valuation, under the conditions laid down in the Finance Bill, such a figure is absolutely grotesque. The proposed valuation is more likely to cost 10,000,000*l.* than 1,000,000*l.* In addition, a very heavy burden will be placed upon private landowners, who in numberless cases will find it imperative to employ technical advisers to deal with the figures set down by the official valuers. Frequently, also, cases will occur in which legal appeals will be necessary.

No sound financier—and in many ways Mr. Snowden is one of the soundest of our financiers—would dream of imposing such a burden as this upon the country for the sake of such a small revenue as his particular tax might yield. The real purpose of the scheme, as he made clear in his Budget speech, is to prepare the way for the complete nationalisation of the land of the kingdom. But if it is desirable to nationalise land, surely the present owners are entitled to receive a full and fair price for the land they are compelled to part with. Twenty-one years ago, as Lord Dynevor has pointed out in a letter to *The Times*, this was Mr. Snowden's own view. Speaking in the House of Commons on July 4, 1910, he said:

> If we, as Socialists, had complete control of the matter of formulating the legislation submitted to this House, we should endeavour to secure revenue, not by increment upon land or taxing land values or monopoly value of licensed premises, but in a much more effective way that would not inflict as much hardship upon the individual as is attempted by means of taxation. I would give the present landowners every penny of the present value of their land. The State would then resume the ownership, and you would have settled for all time the question of future increment.

It is curious that Mr. Snowden should have so completely changed his views in twenty-one years. Perhaps the explanation is that, just as he foresaw in 1910 the practical defects of Mr. Lloyd George's scheme for taxing increment values, so now —with the responsibilities of the national exchequer upon his shoulders—he sees the financial disasters that would follow if the State were to buy up all the land of the kingdom and try to manage it. To avoid that disaster he now proposes a scheme of frank confiscation. Owners of land are to be picked out for penal taxation which may amount to anything up to 100 per cent. of

the value of their property, although their rights of ownership are derived from social customs and civic laws established for centuries. They are to be taxed not only on that portion of the value of the land which might be attributed to the growth of the community or to public improvements, but also on the improvements which they themselves have made at their own expense.

Nor has this gigantic scheme of robbery even the merit of being universal in its application. Again in defiance of his previous opinions, Mr. Snowden proposes that the smaller landowners are to be exempt from his tax. What he said on this point in 1913 was set out in a leading article in *The Times* on May 6 last. In condemning the proposal which Mr. Lloyd George was putting forward at that time for the exemption of small properties from the still existing land value duties, Mr. Snowden then said:

> The Land Taxes were recommended to us because it was intended that they should tax something which was not the creation of any individual but the creation of the community. . . . What we are going to say now is that it is not wrong for a man to steal from the community, provided his income is not more than 3*l*. a week, but the moment he gets beyond that point he is a thief.

Yet to-day Mr. Snowden is doing exactly the same thing himself. His land tax scheme is based on the assumption that it is justifiable for the State to confiscate the property of all owners of land, except those whose property is valued at less than 120*l*. The poor man may 'steal' from the community and keep his plunder; the rich man will be compelled to surrender to the State all that he has 'stolen.'

It is curious that a man with Mr. Snowden's clear brain should have been compelled by political forces to produce a scheme which violates, not only the fundamental principles of equity and fair play, but is even inconsistent with the principles of the creed to which it professes to give effect. Neither on historical, nor moral, nor economic grounds can the new tax be justified.

HAROLD COX.

SEA TRAINING: THE NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT

To the United Kingdom the British seaman has ever been of first consequence; for has he not proved in himself to be the active instrument in overseas exploration, conquest, settlement and commerce, with the consequence of an Empire expansion and world-wide influence? May it not be truly claimed that the history of our Empire is in fact that of its seamen, and in accordance with their relative superiority over foreign contemporaries so the fortunes of our Empire waxed and waned? In the periods of the Spanish Armada and the Battle of Trafalgar, when the fate of Great Britain hinged on the issue of a single sea action, the enemy's numerical advantages of fleet tonnage, guns, and men were outbalanced by the superiority of the British personnel—namely, the officers and men of the Royal Navy and the merchant service working together. History repeated itself at the Battle of Tsushima, when, under the leadership of Togo (an old *Worcester* cadet), the better manned Japanese fleet conquered its numerically stronger Russian opponent. It was the men, and not the material, that gained the day.

> Walled towns, stoned arsenals, and armouries, good races of horses, chariots of war, elephants and the like . . . all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and war-like. (BACON.)

The Empire was built by deeds, not words. Neither treaties nor formulæ prove reliable substitutes whereon to stake the great heritage of which we are trustees. 'In the event of any conflict Britain's Navy is Britain itself,' said the Prime Minister (October 11, 1929), and he might have added, by reason of our diminishing warship tonnage, that in a future conflict an integral part of the senior service is Britain's merchant fleet. The Red Ensign on the Cenotaph speaks for itself: 'For military service rendered.'

In the late war 18,000 merchant officers (of all branches) and 70,000 men (seamen and firemen) served in His Majesty's ships: 941 of the former and 5452 of the latter were killed. Over 3400 merchant craft (including trawlers and yachts) were commissioned under the White Ensign: 2197 ships under the Red

Ensign were sunk by enemy action and about a further 900 damaged; 15,883 members of their crews perished. The extent of military dependence of the nation on the merchant service personnel, therefore, must be envisaged in the curriculum of future officers. The Royal Naval Reserve, established in 1853, is indeed a qualified recognition of this basic fact; though it must be admitted that merchant officers have been given naval training hitherto with a view to their possible recruitment into the Navy, not because such special training was considered necessary for normal service in merchant ships during a war period. But, as all the world knows now, the merchant ship is the one target all the time, and need be the only target if unarmed or inefficiently manned. But the Royal Naval Reserve is not yet, in December 1930, with its 1140 officers, at the strength of June 1914. On June 1, 1914, Royal Naval Reserve officers (executive) numbered 1255; on September 30, 1918, 5570. This latter figure should be the minimum trained for future emergencies.

To the lay mind considerations of training apprentices and cadets are limited probably to mere navigational competency plus such administrative ability as requisite for transaction of ship's business. If nothing further is required, a prescription could be very easily made up; in fact, the present Board of Trade examination for officers might be deemed sufficiently comprehensive, but to the experienced mariner, as presumably likewise to the student of history, training must envisage in addition to routine responsibilities those of an exceptional nature which arise in times of national emergencies, and hence the degree of efficiency of the foreigner in every respect must be ascertained and compared with our own before a training system can be devised. The seaman competes—more so than in any other vocation—directly with the foreigner. A lawyer, doctor, or tradesman may lose his custom to his better mannered or more competent countryman and the business remain in the country, whereas the seaman would lose the business and profits to a foreigner. Father Neptune knows no favourites of country, creed or colour, and within his domain simply rules that, in the words of Gibbon, 'the winds and waves are on the side of the ablest navigator.' Passengers and merchants patronise the best disciplined ship regardless of national flags. Despatch, cleanliness, civility, prompt and unpilfered delivery of cargo reflect the quality of those in charge of the ship, and likewise that of those who are responsible for the appointment and training of officers. Confidence or condemnation follow in accordance with the degree of merit displayed in the performance of these tasks, and herein lies the reputation of the respective countries. Seamen are the nation's standard-bearers. Trade follows the flag. Thus the

attainment of a higher degree of training than that of any competitor should be the accepted criterion. Hence, quite apart from any consideration of possible wars, this purely economic factor compels a comparison of foreign systems with that of our own.

Since the Great War in all countries native ownership of the means of transport has been regarded as a crucial national problem, and the near future will witness unexampled rivalry in this respect. Dependence on alien transport services would be as disastrous as dependence on alien military protection. Moreover, evolution in warfare compels merchant ships to embody in themselves the spirit and means of their own defence. This is in fact already in evidence abroad, as the curricula of foreign training systems testify, and must be recognised without reservation as a competitive responsibility to be fulfilled, or prospective defeat tacitly admitted. No nation in the world's history was ever so critically dependent upon merchant ships for the bare necessaries with which to sustain life as is Great Britain to-day.

The British merchant fleet cannot thrive without discrimination of those who enter it. It cannot afford to enlist those who simply drift into it as a last resource, nor to lose those who voluntarily and eagerly desire the life but nevertheless throw it up by reason of incompatible conditions or shipmates. Conscious effort from the outset is the keynote to success. The psychological or personal equation in ship-work dominates all others. In no other sphere of human activity does the word of an individual to similar extent and so instantly affect life and property.

Here it is advisable to view the prospect through youthful eyes. An ample recruitment of the best type may surely be assumed : that the racial aptitude is unimpaired was sufficiently demonstrated in the late war. But we must cater for youth as the Creator has fashioned him—or fail. The youngster lives in the present rather than in the future : his immediate environment decides his path. A fair wind to anywhere because the wind is fair captures his fancy ; destination is of lesser consequence so long as the going is good. The exceptional characteristics of sea life instantly react on the beginner and bias his attitude and outlook towards the career before a chance may be afforded him to grasp realities and opportunities. He is in his most impressionable age—responsive, quick to learn, easily disillusioned. A seaman finds his place of business and home identical one with the other : his business colleagues and playmates one and the same.

A seaman is not simply a member of a calling ; he is one of a team, or, in small ships, you might say a member of a family. In a human group such as a ship's company, where circumstances compel all to eat, sleep and work within constant visual contact with each other, one black sheep seems a multiplied evil and creates

friction among the best of ship's companies, who have to bear with his moods and share between them his spell of duty without extra remuneration if he is indolent or sick. In brief, the seaman on or off duty has no choice of society outside the circle of his fellow-workmen; hence technical efficiency alone is an inadequate criterion of suitability. Temperament and character and physique are inseparable major considerations to comfort, efficiency, and even to the safety of the ship's community.

An increasing percentage, over 23 per cent., of future officers are at present serving the preliminary four years' qualifying service before the mast. Throughout this initial period and at his most receptive age the prospective candidate should be freed from example and influences which can but engraft habits and language unsuitable to higher status. Obviously no facilities exist in a ship's forecastle for these youngsters' education, recreation, or companionship suitable to their age. Their duties of uninspiring manual labour can only tend to dwarf body and mind. Again, man and boy before the mast must, by the existing convention between the Shipping Federation and the Seamen's Union, be a trade unionist—a condition which the writer has no wish to criticise; but that embryo officers should have a trade unionist's psychology is objectionable, in that it may subordinate ship discipline to the dictation of sectarian interests and render the operation of the ship inefficient and uneconomic, even to the loss of the entire merchant fleet. In several countries—Russia, Australia, the United States, France—the combined action of officers and men in organised disputes can be attributed to the consignment of the future officer to a prolonged intimate association with those whom he was destined to command. The officer candidate, usually on entering fifteen to sixteen years of age, should not be subjected at this period to outside pressure any more than a student at college. He is but a schoolboy not yet ripe for enforced enlistment into a combative sect whose power is proportionate solely to its numerical strength. It is the duty of those who expect from him loyal service to see to it that he shall acquire in the first instance the rudiments of professional knowledge and practice and that he shall be enabled to further his general education. It is instructive to note that Russia, the United States, and France have recently radically revised their training systems so as to include the innovation of sea-going schools, selection before entry by preliminary medical examination of those who wish to become officers, continued education and ample provision for sport—in fact, a conscious effort to obtain the best of the breed and make the most of it. One of our most important recommendations is, therefore, that officer candidates for the British merchant service should live entirely apart from

the men from the beginning of their sea career in groups no smaller than the number required for two football teams !

The duties of the officer on the navigation bridge require first-rate physical qualities, particularly visual and aural. Rapid changes from tropical heat to wintry blasts try even a sound constitution. In the fast-moving vessels of to-day approaching and crossing the congested trade routes the measure of safety is proportionate to the keenness of sight or hearing of the man who orders the turn of helm and the speed as occasion requires. Speedy transit is the demand and as much an obsession in ocean travel as on land or in the air. Multiple screws, stream-line rudders, echo-sounding, wireless position finding, and automatic steering are primarily intended to negative resistances or causes for delay and maintenance of continuous full speed. Modern invention, in simplifying certain navigational problems, has nevertheless amplified others. It has augmented the responsibilities of the navigator in charge. From him to whom much is given, much is expected !

> It is not until about middle age that the importance of a sound constitution becomes most evident, when a shipmaster, for many consecutive hours or even several days, may have to con his ship along a foggy coastline or through Atlantic ice. Likewise, in the event of salvage, damage to ship or cargo by sea, fire or collision, it is obvious that if the master or his officers lack physical stamina to sustain long strenuous hours, no matter how excellent the crew may otherwise be, the issue must inevitably be unsuccessful, if not disastrous. Probably in no other vocation does the safety of so much life and property hinge on the correct exercise of an individual judgment in the course of daily routine as in that of a shipmaster or officer on the bridge.[1]

At present an eyesight test (including colour vision) is the sole physical test, regarding which the Secretary of the Board of Trade said in reply to a question in the House of Commons, June 23, 1924: 'It is possible that a candidate may pass the Board of Trade sight test even if blind in one eye.'

An exceptional recorded instance of official attention to physical fitness is the recent animadversion—since removed on appeal—on the Nelson Line owners and their steamship *Highland Hope's* master in that the latter was seventy-five years old[2]: 'a man whose age was such that he could not reasonably be expected to withstand the mental and physical strain . . .,' etc. Hence the Board of Trade acknowledges the need of physical fitness, but declines the responsibility[3] of ensuring it in

[1] *R.U.S.I. Journal*, August 1923.

[2] *The Times*, May 8, 1931.

[3] The Board of Trade is, under the Merchant Shipping Act, alone authorised 'to facilitate the making of apprentices to the sea service.'

officer candidates. We ask, with respect, why not 'Practise what you preach'? The above stricture is all the more extraordinary since the minimum age of officers was raised last January, curtailing by two years the wage-earning period of the pensionless merchant service officer.

Sight, if simply below the normal and restorable by aid of glasses (permissible in certain foreign countries), is a less insidious danger, in the writer's opinion, than imperfect hearing. The *British Medical Journal*, November 1929, p. 826, states 'that among 100 average people doing their usual work there are 14 definitely sick and 35 others unfit to the extent which prevented them maintaining their full efficiency.' This would seem to be confirmed by the latest Registrar-General's Decennial Report, issued 1927, which states 'that apart from his more than fourfold greater liability to death from violence or accident the [British] seaman's mortality from disease exceeds the average by 48·8 per cent.'[4] Many of the principal companies conduct a medical examination of their own officers and men, but this does not prohibit those rejected from serving in other ships; and safety under the Rule of the Road is dependent on its observance by one ship as much as the other. A medical examination, which is in force in all other countries, is therefore recommended for future British officers.

Navigation is defined as 'the art of sailing on the sea.' It must also be recognised that navigation is an art based on science, and the finest uncultivated genius would no more secure predominance in navigation than it would produce great painting, great statuary, or great music. Its successful practice goes hand in hand with experienced seamanship. Precise calculations based on definitely certain factors are linked with estimations based on personal experience and perception. The direction and force of the wind on the surface current in which the ship travels, the direction and force of the wind on the ship herself in relation to her course and speed, the scend of the waves—all these have to be assessed on the wisdom, the result of the training, of the navigator.

The importance of training is therefore fundamental and the type and scope of education required in cadets and apprentices of the highest moment. A brief comparison of the systems in

[4] Lascars excluded and also British seamen who have left the sea or those who die on shore. I am enabled, through the courtesy of His Excellency the German Ambassador, to quote some figures which show a much lower rate of mortality for German seamen. Of 59,424 seamen insured against sickness in 1929 there were 126 deaths—0·21 per cent. The figures of the general mortality for 1929 are not available, but in 1928 there were in Germany 739,520 deaths—*i.e.*, 0·01 per cent. of the population. Assuming that the general mortality in 1929 did not differ much from that in 1928, the mortality of seamen in Germany exceeded the average by some 20 per cent.—less than half the British figure.

use in Great Britain and in foreign countries is therefore necessary to an understanding of the problem.

GREAT BRITAIN

Compulsory examination was instituted in 1850, since when a colour and distant vision test has been added.[5]

There are two broad channels open to candidates for officers' certificates: one *viâ* any of the recognised nautical schools, and the other by going direct to sea into a foreign-going vessel as apprentice, or as boy before the mast. In the former the period of pupilage is allowed to count as part-time (not exceeding twelve months) of the qualifying four years' sea service necessary before the candidate may sit for examination. Recognised schools are:

(*a*) H.M.S. *Conway*, H.M.S. *Worcester*, and the Nautical College, Pangbourne (fees about 140*l.* per annum), the principal schools for officer candidates, and two years in these count as one year's sea service; also the training-ship *Mercury* (fees about 65*l.* per annum).

(*b*) In the following three to six months' service may be allowed; they are under supervision of the Ministries of Education or Health or the Home Office, and financed, without cost to candidate, out of State or rate funds: Training-ships *Arethusa*, *Cornwall*, *Exmouth*, *Indefatigable*, *Mars*, *Warspite*; and on shore, Lancashire and National Sea-Training Home and Watts Naval School. A continuous full-time education, generally for two years, is provided for pupils from elementary schools. The majority of these pupils enter and remain lower-deck ratings in the merchant service or Royal Navy. They have nevertheless sufficient training and opportunity to become officers if they possess the application. A considerable number in the aggregate, including those from the technical schools in class (*c*), become officers.

(*c*) Technical schools (non-residential) include: Smith Junior Nautical School, Cardiff; Boulevard Nautical School, Hull; Royal Technical School, Glasgow; Watt Memorial School, Greenock; Leith Nautical College; London County Council School, Poplar; Robert Gordon College, Aberdeen; Cardiff Technical College; also others at the principal seaports. There is also the Gravesend Sea School, financed by the Shipping Federation and assisted by a Government grant of 6*l.* per pupil.

The Shipping Federation also assist about 300 apprentices per annum in going direct to sea. According to the *Mercantile*

[5] Boys and ordinary and able seamen are subject to no examination in respect of health or skill. It is proposed to introduce an examination in boat-work. Quartermasters and lookouts in passenger ships are selected by officers from personal knowledge of their suitability.

Navy List for 1930, the number of youths first sent into the merchant service by all training establishments in the United Kingdom during 1929 was 1264. A percentage of these boys, not specified, but not a great one, went into the engineering and catering departments. Upon leaving the above-mentioned schools the ex-pupils and those other boys who proceed direct to sea share a common experience in all respects throughout the necessary qualifying sea service. Those who can afford it go as apprentices, the others before the mast. A premium for apprenticeship is charged in many companies, but a wage is always given of about 2*l.* per month. Certain companies have systems of encouraging the apprentices to keep up the knowledge previously acquired : *e.g.*, Messrs. Alfred Holt in particular study the boy's future on this point.

In his periods ashore he attends Alfred Holt's school of instruction, where the work of his previous voyage is overhauled and preparation made for his next voyage's study. He also attends the signalling school or the rigging loft for further instruction in wire and rope splicing and canvas sewing. (Mr. BRIAN HEATHCOTE, of Messrs. Alfred Holt.)

The New Zealand Shipping Company carry thirty-five cadets in each of their steamships *Devon*, *Northumberland*, and *Westmoreland*. A doctor and physical training instructor are carried. Premium, 50*l.*, of which 44*l.* is returned as wages. The British India Steam Navigation Company carry thirty-nine cadets in their steamships *Australia* and *Nardana*. Premium, 52*l.* 10*s.*; wages given, 2*l.* per month. The British Tanker Company also require study by their apprentices of technical subjects. In no ships, however, is a naval instructor carried, and in about 80 per cent. of ships the future officer, be he apprentice, boy, ordinary seaman or able seaman, is left entirely to his own devices and resources, and his period of sea service is passed doing the same work as the forecastle hands. Two apprentices per ship is generally the number carried. They have cabin accommodation and mess with the officers. Boys are usually berthed apart from the men, but there is no law on this point. Ordinary seamen live in the forecastle.

There is yet a third channel of entry to an officer's position —namely, service as carpenter, sailmaker, cook, steward, etc. The Board of Trade Regulations read :

Candidates whose service has been performed in capacities other than apprentice, midshipman, cadet, ordinary seaman or able seaman—*e.g.* men who have served as carpenter or sailmaker, or as cook in small vessels where cooking is only part of a man's duty—will be required to satisfy the examiner or the Board of Trade that they have, during the whole time claimed, performed deck duties in addition to their own particular work. . . . Such service will only be accepted as equivalent to two-thirds of the

time served as ordinary deck-hand. Wireless operators also, who have performed deck duties in addition, may count two-thirds of such service as qualifying service.

On completion of the four years' service practically every candidate, irrespective of original channel of entry, proceeds to a technical school, when after two to four months' preparation the great majority obtain their certificates (second mate).[6]

FRANCE [7]

'Public opinion was indifferent,' writes Lieutenant Louis Grichard in *Brassey's Annual*, 1930, 'but now has awakened the old keenness for naval life.' The public conscience being stirred, the Government got a move on and appointed a French Minister for the Merchant Navy, who stated in November 1930:

> The problem of the merchant navy is definitely one of the international kind. The creation for the first time in France of a Ministry of the Merchant Navy is the seal set by the Government on the importance of the mercantile fleet to the country in general. It maintains the prestige of the French flag all over the world and helps to incline the trade balance towards the right side. The French people have begun to take a greater interest in maritime questions and to realise the importance of the merchant navy. In some quarters it is an accepted belief that French shipping companies survive on the strength of State subsidies. This is a great mistake; barely 20 per cent. of the total receive subvention, which includes all Government payments for the mail contracts.

Action has speedily followed to bring the training system up to date, and Government assistance was rendered to purchase the new sea school square-rigged *Charles Daniélou* for merchant service cadets and instructors.

The modern French attitude is also illustrated by the action of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, who have fitted out their steamship *Jacques Cartier* as a sea-going school. Their statement reads:

> Eighty cadets are carried. A staff of instructors is carried. The amusements and sports side of the school have not been forgotten. There are wireless telegraphy sets, a piano, and a comprehensive library. Gymnastics, fencing, boxing and swimming are enjoyed. These recreations are in fact really necessary to inculcate discipline and maintain good health in the community of young men upon whom the safe keeping of our merchant fleet will rest in the future.

[6] Candidates from the *Conway*, *Worcester*, and Pangbourne College provide about 13 per cent. of the total number of officers; the forecastle, about 23 per cent.; direct entry and other channels, 64 per cent. 'In 1929 the number of individual candidates examined was 3392, and of these 2596 succeeded after one or more attempts in obtaining certificates during the year' (Board of Trade Diannual Report, 1930). This does not include officers certificated in the Dominions.

[7] **Shipping tonnage (steam)—1895, 571 ships, 903,105 tons; 1929, 1478 ships, 3,302,684 tons.**

There is thus in France, as in every country except Great Britain, provision made for the boys who desire to continue their education and live in a suitable cultural atmosphere throughout the apprenticeship qualifying period.

GERMANY [8]

The late Lord Mersey said: 'I would like us to have the training system that they have in Germany.' Mr. Geoffrey Drage, chairman of the National Committee of Sea-Training in 1911, stated: 'Sea power is the one thing to which the British Empire owes its being. The Germans have acted upon a system which, I frankly confess, seems to me excellent.'

What is the German system that it should be proclaimed an example to be followed? It is nothing more nor less than the British system of the sailing-ship era.

It should be remembered that British nautical schools included many foreign cadets in the 1880's. British officers formed the navigating personnel in the Japanese, Greek, Chilian, Peruvian, Argentine, and other foreign services. The British method, in fact, was that which set the pace, but the British method was evolved from the logic of the situation, wherein, until recent date, our existing square-rigged fleet eliminated nearly 40 per cent. of candidate officers with 'merciless and automatic discernment.' Moreover, while Britain was virtually the general carrier of the world's oversea trade the executive officer's quota in supremacy at sea was not so evident. We accepted superiority in this respect as a birthright, complacently ignored the foreign challenge, and legislated with a view to quantity rather than quality.

It is Great Britain that has departed from her former practice, having sold all her sailing-ships and provided no substitute in which a large number of apprentices could sail together in circumstances where their art was acquired or taught. Obviously the uneconomic aspect of a training-ship is a common experience to all countries alike, and in the case of Germany ships for training purposes were specially built to take the place of the unprofitable sailing-ships dependent on freights.

The British Consul's report, Berlin, July 10, 1930, reads: 'The German Training-Ship Association possesses two new ships —*Gross-Herzogin Elizabeth* and *Deutschland*. The association receives financial support from the Government.' Also the Sailing-Ship Company, Ltd., founded in 1927, is now in operation for the same purpose.

The writer saw the *Deutschland* in 1928 on her maiden trip with about 300 cadets on board. It is easy to imagine that few

[8] Shipping tonnage (steam)—1895, 958 ships, 1,343,357 tons; 1929, 2105 ships, 4,057,657 tons.

of these youngsters would have felt drawn to sea life, or anyhow remained in it, if from the outset they had been marooned in groups of two or three in cargo steamers with only menial work and unskilled labour to occupy their minds for four years, like nearly 90 per cent. of their British contemporaries. They were a happy and healthy community to themselves. The habit of discipline was naturally and permanently ingrained by the nature of the routine team-work in the handling of their beautiful ship. Those of them who proved unequal to the task were automatically discovered, and this principle of initial training produced, as only it could, the type most psychologically and physically suitable for the service.

JAPAN [9]

Admiral Togo, a former cadet in the Thames Nautical College training-ship *Worcester*, informed the writer many years ago of his determination to advocate the British example of an initial sailing-ship training. Japan is now, except for perhaps Germany, the most completely equipped in this respect. H.M. Consul, Tokyo, reports June 1930:

> The Kawasak Dockyard Company of Kobe some time ago received an order from the Minister of Education to build two training-ships, and these two ships, the *Nippon-maru* and the *Kaio-maru*, have now been completed. They are of 2250 tons gross, 260 feet long, 42 feet wide, and 25 feet deep. Fitted with auxiliary Ikegai-Diesel engines, they can maintain a normal speed of ten and a half knots an hour. Their complement consists of 186 persons, including 120 cadets. Both these ships are installed with wireless telegraph and telephone apparatus. Japan has two more training-vessels, the *Taisei-maru*, owned by the Tokyo Mercantile Marine School, and the *Tokushin-maru*, owned by the Kobe Mercantile Marine School at Fukae, near Kobe.

I am indebted to the courtesy of an official of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha for the following additional details:

> Merchant officers of Japan have definite State recognition in the social order. There are twelve official ranks, ranging from the aristocracy, high State officials, to various grades of public departments and professions, including the navy and the army and the mercantile marine. The latter come in the seventh rank, and so far as State functions are concerned take precedence with members of the Consular Service. When they take their certificates they automatically become officers of the Naval Reserve; they are invited to public gatherings and to important municipal functions, and attend these in uniform. They are associated with the commercial interests of employers, and receive two years' training in a ship-owning office, after a certain length of sea service as officers. Before they go to sea as cadets or student-officers preparatory to taking a junior officer certificate, they undergo five years' training with the Tokio Nautical College, and they are generally about twenty-five years of age on comple-

[9] Shipping tonnage (steam)—1895, 339 ships, 279,668 tons; 1929, 2059 ships, 4,186,652 tons.

tion of their training. Out of the five years' study two years are spent in school, the period being divided into four terms. The other three years are spent in—(1) practice of gunnery in the Naval Gunnery School for six months; (2) practice in a training sailing-ship for eighteen months; (3) practice in a steamer as student for one year.

THE UNITED STATES [10]

In 1830 89·9 per cent. of United States ocean commerce was carried in native-owned ships. By 1870 it had decreased to 35·6, and in 1910 the low-water point was reached with 8·7 per cent. In 1920, thanks to the emergency war construction, it increased to 42·7 per cent., but in 1927 had gone back to 30 per cent. A steady campaign inspired by the war revelation of a nation's ultimate dependence on an efficient merchant service has since resulted in the Jones-White Law, enacted in 1928 to stimulate native ship construction and private ownership,[11] by authorising loans at low rates of interest (3⅜ per cent. for twenty years) from a Government fund of 50,000,000*l.* Mail subventions for periods of ten years at rates varying from 6*s.* to 2*l.* 8*s.* per nautical mile, depending on the size and speed of the ships concerned, is a further inducement.

The movement to establish a large and efficient merchant service is the result of the 'Big Navy Party.' The need for efficient personnel to man the prospective fleet has been likewise provided for, and the Merchant Marine Reserve, authorised in 1925, is now taking definite shape as the necessary funds are becoming available. Since August last 1000 officers have been granted commissions.

'The Navy Department are organising groups of reserve officers on board the more important vessels that will be used as naval auxiliaries in war-time. Warrants to fly the Naval Reserve flag have been issued to twelve vessels, so far. The flag is a pennant with an eagle or crossed anchors with a shield with 13 stars and stripes on a blue field.' (*Journal R.U.S.I.*) 'In considering the relative strength of navies the fact must not be lost sight of that a navy is only as strong as its right arm, its merchant marine.' (ALFRED H. HAAG, Director, Department of International Shipping, Washington, U.S.A.)

In 1929 the Government of the United States allotted $4,145,000 to the Naval Reserve: the corresponding expenditure of Great Britain was only 392,000*l.* In addition to the State Nautical Academies of New York, established 1876, Massachusetts 1893, and Pennsylvania 1920, it is intended to establish an Academy for the Merchant Service similar to Annapolis for the

[10] Sea-tonnage (steam and sail)—1895, 3220 ships, 2,164,453 tons; 1929, 3696 ships, 11,835,146 tons.

[11] Since the enactment of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, 1569 vessels have been sold: 452 remain under the United States Shipping Board, to be sold (United States Shipping Board Bulletin, October 1930).

navy with periods of sea service, the cost being borne by the Federal Government. The Act stipulates also that

the curriculum and management of the merchant marine officers should be laid out by steamship and merchant marine people and be administered by them. The superintendent and commandant of midshipmen would naturally remain the head of the entire institution. (Report of Shipping Board, July 11, 1930.)

The Academy would co-operate with a fleet of already existing square-rigged auxiliary training-ships owned by the Government and commanded by naval officers. 'Training in rifle and gun practice is included in the curriculum of these ships.' The Academy will provide a sound general education, specialising in languages and nautical subjects. The several years afloat under further instruction completes, in the writer's opinion, an ideal system of sea officers' training. It would be idle to contend that, except by radical and immediate steps taken in the same direction, the British officer can compete and combat successfully against so thoroughly trained and carefully selected personnel chosen from a so much greater population.

OTHER COUNTRIES

It is unnecessary to state in detail the systems of every country. A sea period of about three years is generally required prior to examination for officer's status. The crucial difference between any foreign system and the British is that the former requires the candidate to submit himself to the examination of a medical officer, and, further, that sea-going ships are provided so that parents who so desire may ensure that their sons will be under supervision and in congenial environment for the apprenticeship period.[12]

[12] The following countries have each one or more square-rigged sea-going schools, the majority of which have an auxiliary engine for use in calms at sea, or to avoid the expense of towage :

		Cadet complement
Argentine	*President Sarmiento*	400
Belgium	*L'Avenir*	70
Chile	*General Banquedano*	50
Denmark	*New Ship Building*	90
Finland	*The Favell*	70
France	*Charles Daniélou*	50
Germany	*Deutschland*	300
Greece	*Ares*	61
Italy	*Cristoforo Colombo*	80
Japan	*Nippon Maru*	120
Norway	*Sorlandet*	82
Poland	*Dar Pormoza*	100
Russia	*Tovarishch*	67
Spain	*Juan Sebastian Del Cano*	31
Sweden	*Al Chapman*	166
U.S.A.	*Nantuckett*	150
Yugoslavia	*New Ship Building*	50

General Conclusions

From the foregoing survey we may draw the following conclusions:

(1) Since 1918 a world-wide appreciation of the national aspect of merchant fleets has arisen.

(2) It has generally been recognised by all countries that a native [but *not* State-owned] merchant fleet is essential, because it is necessary in times of war.

(3) In order to provide for the proper training of officers for the mercantile marine we need the institution of State-aided nautical colleges supplemented by sea-going square-rigged ships.

(4) In the training of officer cadets particular attention should be given to physique.

(5) Training should be carried out in sufficiently large groups to ensure a uniformity which promotes the development of a corps spirit.

(6) There should be a continuous course of selection, supervision, and training from the earliest phase in the officer's career until he is certificated to act as such.

To what degree does the British system conform to these requirements, which have formed the agenda of innumerable conferences in the past thirty years—ever since that period when sailing-ships and square-rigged steamers were fast disappearing, and instead of groups of eight to twelve apprentices in one ship only two or three became the average number?

Judged by these principles, our present system of training leaves much to be desired: first and foremost in the matter of sea-going schools and sail-training. Up to the end of 1929 the total number of officers' certificates issued was 232,679—a yearly average of 2945. In 1895 the number of officers who qualified in sailing-ships was 2731 and in steamships 277. In 1927 out of a total of 2278 the number qualifying in sailing-ships was only 32. It is significant that in 1914 at the outbreak of war probably 80 per cent. of the senior officers in the merchant service were 'sail-trained.' Expert opinion is remarkably agreed on the subject of sea-going schools.

In 1895 a great statesman and shipmaster, Lord Brassey, who initiated the sea schools *Hesperus* and *Harbinger* (under the management of Messrs. Devitt & Moore), said:

> In the preliminary stage most excellent work is done in the school ships *Worcester* and *Conway*.[18] When the young officer trained in these establishments goes to sea there is no organised system for carrying forward the professional and general education so well begun in harbour. It is vain to expect ordinary shipowners to undertake to render special services

[18] The Nautical College, Pangbourne, was founded in 1917.

to the State at a loss to themselves. I say the best training for the sailors is the sea-going ship.

Admiral Sir U. Noel stated at the National Conference on Sea Training in 1911:

> Sails are not in the question except as a means to an end, for which no other could be an effective substitute. Masts and sails beget intelligence, smartness, fearlessness, readiness of resource and activity. The captain who will best handle his ship and fight her with success will be he who possesses the maximum of sea-going.

The Imperial Merchant Service Guild, the largest officers' representative body in the kingdom, as likewise the Master Mariners Club, including hundreds of marine superintendents and commanders of ships, have corporately endorsed the sea-school theory. Numerous testimonies to the value of the sailing-ship as a school for training could be quoted, of which the following may serve as a sample:

> The sailing-ship is still incomparably the best school of training. (Messrs. Alfred Holt, Liverpool, 1930.)
>
> It is a thousand pities that the British lad has nowadays no chance of learning his seaman's life in a sailing-ship. There is no finer school for sailormen, and it is strange indeed that Britain, the premier maritime nation, should not possess a sea-going square-rigged cadet-ship. The importance of training in sail is fully appreciated on the Continent. (*Syren and Shipping* (*Supplement*), 1928.)
>
> Surely a ship under sail is still without rival as a school of seamanship. (*Lloyd's List*, April 29, 1930.)
>
> Why we in Great Britain should lag behind is one of those mysteries incapable of solution. (*Journal of Commerce*, May 3, 1930.)
>
> It is the feeling of many authorities on seamanship and pilotage that it is a blow to our prestige to find no sailing-ship in British ownership . . . the sailing-ship has given to us men who by their fearlessness, quickness and readiness to meet emergencies have distinguished themselves in history. The conditions under which those men worked brought out the finer points of courage and resource. They enabled them to think ahead, to face those perils which follow in the wake of tempest and storm (when a vessel is helpless from effect of fire, collision, or weather), and to develop stern qualities to lead men—and if necessary to drive them—to dangerous and difficult work. . . . Other nations have not been in such a hurry to discard this valuable training agency. (Article 'From a Correspondent,' *The Times*, August 23, 1930.)

The writer can discover no disagreement on this point by a nautical organisation or master mariner who has pre- and post-war experience in command. The consensus of opinion should sufficiently convince those who prefer action to words and intend to establish reform in this generation. Further technical considerations are that square-rigged school ships cost much less to build or purchase. Wages and motive power, harbour and port charges are on a lower scale. Other advantages are the fol-

lowing: greater area of accommodation per ton measurement; cleaner, healthier and constant exercise of body and mind; instruction in nautical evolutions by manual labour only; teaching by observation, wind, wave and current action on ship and ship's course and the effect of climatic change on hull, decks, cargo, boats and hygiene; cultivation of a disciplined habit consequent on the team-work necessitated in sail and yard operation. Moreover, these exercises automatically eliminate the weakling and temperamentally unfit.

Trinity House Bye-laws in regard to licensing of pilots require that one year is served in a square-rigged ship. Many of the world's 2870 sailing-vessels (tonnage, 1,666,919—Lloyd's Table) make calls at the United Kingdom ports, and 'the only ships in which Great Britain's future pilots can learn their profession thoroughly are those owned by foreigners.' [14]

It is abundantly proved that sea-going schools are (*a*) superior and desired and necessary; (*b*) unable to fulfil their purpose without State support. Foreign countries have also discovered this, and have been granted the necessary funds. *The Times* recently stated:

> The Chancellor of the Exchequer has informed Lord Cecil that he is prepared to ask Parliament to increase by 250,000*l.* a year for five years the annual vote of 550,000*l.* towards the cost of maintaining the universities and colleges; [and later] Government propose to make an annual subsidy of 17,500*l.* for five years to the Covent Garden Opera Syndicate.

But sailors are not made in any shore establishment, and their need is greater than any.

A society (the 'Sea Lion Training-Ship') [15] founded by Sir William Garthwaite is authoritatively said to languish for patriotic support, although only a modest 50,000*l.* is wanted to launch it successfully.

The Institution of State-aided Sea Schools is therefore recommended for adoption. With three to four additional educational years in school ships—lost to the youth in the circumstances in which he serves his apprenticeship to-day—a higher general educational test could be applied for certification, including a foreign language and knowledge of the merchant ships' war-time armament. An intimate knowledge of his own ship's construction would also prove an invaluable asset. The actual tutoring of the boy should be subordinate to the practical aspects of the life. Opportunities for practice in exercising command are legion in sailing-ships.

It should be borne in mind that executive ability is the primary

[14] Captain Harry Davis, senior pilot, Gravesend (*Daily Express*, June 10, 1930).

[15] 106, Fenchurch Street, London, E.C. 3.

measure of success in naval life. If you can get a good education also, without postponing the earliest possible entrance into the profession, by all means do so. It will help you along the first rungs of the ladder. But as you approach the top its influence wanes and executive ability becomes the only measure of your value to the service. But this executive ability is fostered—as far as such a quality can be—by broad studies of a so-called cultural nature. History, biography, government, economics, languages, leadership, are studies which give a foundation for the practical experience through which this elusive quality must be obtained.

The major defect of our system, which it is the objective of the Sea Lion Society to remedy, is the complete absence of tuition concurrent with preliminary service afloat, and directed to ensuring that the candidate shall pass his examination at the termination of his four years' apprenticeship. This prolonged hiatus in educational opportunity is not only a permanent handicap in cultural development, but necessitates, for those who wish to pass the officers' examination, months of subsequent study in a technical school to learn navigation, when, without financial resources of his own to pay the fees, the would-be candidate is invariably reduced to exist meanwhile on the dole. It is a hardship and humiliation inflicted whatever may be the economic trade conditions—a fault of the system and a national expense. The above describes the British 'system,' unique in its default of opportunity, such as provided by foreign competitors, to ensure for the officer-candidate a suitable cultural technical and physical status. We simply ensure endless queues of applicants for appointments, which process tends further to eliminate from the career those that the profession can least afford to lose.[16]

To appreciate the situation each of the above facts, obtained so far as possible from responsible sources, must weigh in the decision. The facts, indeed, as stated, speak for themselves and point the direction of needful reform. The maximum requisite number of officers is a known factor, and the problem is surely to devise a system whereby in the interests of efficient service only the cream of those desiring the career are induced to enter it. To encourage boys in unlimited numbers is of no advantage to the service, and, bearing in mind that officers, unlike those in the other branches of a ship's company, can find no vocational employment on shore inflicts great hardship upon the boy. Obviously the fairest method to ensure a limited number of the best applicants is by open competition—the method of entry

[16] It is relevant to note that the number of British ships decreases annually although tonnage increases: 1895, 9227 ships (over 100 tons), gross, 12,117,957 tons; 1929, 8172 ships (over 100 tons), gross, 20,166, 331 tons.

employed by the Air Force. This is the first principle on which our proposed system is based. The other principle, equally important, is to devise a system of training in no way inferior to that of any foreign competitor.[17]

In any vocation the members tend to conform only to the minimum qualifications asked for—unless competitive entry is compulsory and subsequent opportunities invite the ambitious to special effort. Commissions in the Royal Naval Reserve would be a useful incentive. Many positions in the Board of Trade and nautical establishments might also be allotted to experienced seamen. It is remarkable that neither in any of the training-ships for merchant officers or boys, nor in any of the large shore technical schools, is the officer in command one who has commanded a merchant vessel. This is in no wise a reflection on those whose duty it is to select the most desirable from among the many applicants, but it does suggest that, whatever the present training system is, it does not produce, even from among the ex-pupils who have risen to the command of ships, an eligible instructor in his own craft.

Modern facilities for learning warrant a higher general educational test. Assuming the examination standard raised by degrees (introducing the medical examination as an initial step), a reorganisation is suggested of the principle of entry and subsequent training, which should be continued until the candidate is finally accepted or rejected as a certificated officer, under an added condition of a minimum and *maximum* age limit. All future officers should receive at least two years' training in a nautical preliminary school. Every British boy who so desires should be accepted, subject to an examination—competitive in nature, in order to apportion supply to demand—for entrance into

[17] Comparison of the British master's syllabus with the German master's provides a typical illustration: Great Britain: Practical Navigation, Meteorology, Ship Construction and Stability, Ship's Business, Hygiene, Magnetic Compass, Engineering Knowledge, Seamanship, Signals, Visual Test only, English Language. Germany: Practical Navigation, Meteorology, Ship Construction and Stability, Ship's Business, Hygiene, Magnetic Compass, Engineering Knowledge, Seamanship, Signals, Medical Examination, English Language, German Language, two years in sailing-ships, forty weeks in a nautical school.

Holland, Japan, and the United States (1930) without doubt likewise require, and—the consideration which alone inspires these comparisons—provide the means of obtaining, in attractive and scientific procedure, higher cultural and physical qualifications. Also, that some foreign curricula include military training cannot be ignored as of no importance. Any merchant ship with a skilled personnel is a potential commerce destroyer. The *Wolf* after a cruise of 451 days, by direct capture, and through mine-fields she laid, accounted for 120,000 tons of shipping. The *Moewe* in two months captured fifteen vessels, value two millions sterling, and in her second cruise a further 122,000 tons in circumstances more favourable to her enemies than are likely to occur in future warfare, when no assistance of neutral ships or foreign loans can be anticipated.

the nautical preliminary schools for cadet officers. Such schools, to the number necessary, should be reserved exclusively for the preliminary training of cadet officers. Sea-going school ships should eventually be constructed. Apprenticeship should be completed in sea-going square-rigged school ships, with an optional twelve months in a steamer, provided that not less than six apprentices are carried.

The proposals here contained, it is submitted, would reduce unemployment among officers, secure uniformity in training and inculcate a corps spirit, raise the status of the profession, improve efficiency, and fulfil competitive requirements, with a minimum disturbance and without injustice to those now in active service and without prejudice to any existing interest. They should operate a gradual reorganisation with opportunity for amendment as experience may decide, and meanwhile only a negligible expense would be incurred for fresh material.

The training of officers to command the British merchant fleet would be thus removed from the hazard of fortuitous and incompetent direction and unwholesome companionship at the most impressionable age, and would assure to the Empire an officer personnel second to none in the world.

SELWYN M. DAY.

THE TRAGEDY OF INDIA. QUO VADIMUS?

WHY India has become a tragedy and whither our course is tending are the two questions that I set myself to answer in this article. All that I write is written in deadly earnest, based on such knowledge and experience as I have had the benefit of enjoying. It has no kinship with that ugly word ' Propaganda,' which calls up visions of half-truths, exaggerations, suppression of facts inimical to the argument in the effort to produce desired conclusions. Facts are stronger than words. They determine the issue ; they confound theories, but theories are stubborn, and when at last they are confounded it is often too late. Steps have been taken which cannot be retraced, or which most people fear to retrace—perhaps from lack of knowledge, or lack of moral courage, perhaps from sheer obstinacy.

The Indian Ship of State is plunging forward into uncharted seas, on into a veritable archipelago of rocks, shrouded in fog. The men who are sounding are pushed aside and the speed is accelerated amidst the cheers of reckless navigators, while ignorant owners, far away from all knowledge, wireless their instructions and smother the warnings of those who have some experience of the dangers ahead. So presently may come the inevitable crash, and the greatest Empire in the world's history go down in ruin. It is in an attempt to awaken the readers of this Review to the imminent dangers of such a crash, before it is too late, that this article is written.

Let me now drop this language of imagery and come back to the sober, plain, concrete facts that confront us in India.

It is not so very many years ago, when there were many of the older generation alive, that the old men would frequently tell their sons of the evil days before the British came, when life and property were unsafe, and the rule of plunder was rampant in the land, and warn them not to be carried away by the agitation of lawyer-politicians to take sides against the Government. For, they said, you get justice under the British Raj, and these men are only out for their own profit, and care nothing for the troubles of the poor. That fact is not changed by one iota, and that opinion is still the opinion of the vast multitude. Until quite

recently, British citizens were justly proud of the British Raj in India. They recognised that the people of India enjoyed a liberty, a system of justice, and a degree of protection which they had never before experienced in all their long history. British merchants, British and foreign tourists, British and foreign missionaries, testified again and again to the proofs of peaceful progress which they saw around them. The Indians themselves, including large numbers among the educated, held the same opinion, and demanded no change in the system of government.

Nevertheless it was natural enough that as the educated classes increased in number they should wish to exercise an increasing influence in the public affairs of the country, and it is just twenty-five years ago that, under the spur of the agitation over the partition of Bengal, the Congress declared 'Swaraj on the Colonial System' as its objective. It was then also that the wild youth of Bengal started anarchical plots, and began to experiment with explosives. Bomb outrages followed. The Press was full of the demands of 'The Bengali Nation.' The 'Indian Nation' was not then within the horizon. It is only twenty-one years ago that Lords Morley and Minto, in deference to the natural aspirations mentioned above, inaugurated the Morley-Minto Reforms. By that time the Congress had expelled extremists from its fold, and these latter formed a separate cave of their own. These Reforms worked satisfactorily. Representation was by 'classes and interests,' and the composition of the Councils, Imperial and Provincial, was wisely tempered by nomination. Lord Morley had a clearer understanding of the problems of Indian government than his later successor, Mr. Montagu, and he refused absolutely all suggestions for the introduction of parliamentary institutions. To the demand of extremists he said: 'They ask me for the moon, but I have no moon to give them.' Only a few years later came Mr. Montagu, and he had not been in office more than two months when, in the plenitude of his ignorance, he offered them that very moon which Lord Morley had refused. It was a disastrous announcement made under a complete misunderstanding of the necessities of the case. Mr. Montagu then went out to India and, as his own diary shows, browbeat the Government of India and contemptuously dismissed the opinions of all those, Indians as well as British, who considered the demand for parliamentary government to be wholly premature.

Eventually in 1919 the Government of India Act passed into law. Then, as now, sinister occurrences in India, which showed the totally irresponsible character of Gandhi and the Indian politicians, were watered down and minimised for home consumption, lest the passage of a Reform scheme should be

prejudiced. The Reforms went through in the hope that agitators would be conciliated and, in the Provinces, the control of several important departments was transferred to wholly inexperienced Indian Ministers. The extremists, who now began to call themselves Swarajists, at first held aloof, but afterwards entered the Councils for the sole purpose of wrecking the Reforms.

From 1920 to 1922 the Non-Co-operation Movement was in full force, and Lord Chelmsford's Government ill-advisedly left to more moderate elements in the political life of the country the task, which it did not attempt itself, of killing the movement. Anybody who expects moderates, who are always timid, to crush extremists, who are utterly unscrupulous, by mere force of ridicule is obviously courting failure. Why should these men incur odium, abuse, and even personal danger, for the sake of a Government which is apparently afraid to defend itself? Things were at their worst when Lord Reading came out in 1921, and it took him exactly a year before, at the urgent insistence of certain local Governments, he decided to crush the movement. Gandhi was convicted of gross sedition, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. Then, as now, Gandhi and the politicians had been talking of Swaraj as at hand, but with Gandhi's imprisonment the movement collapsed, and over the country at large conditions became normal. Anarchy was confined to its original *nidus* in Bengal, where special legislation was passed to combat it. In the Councils, Swarajists were causing as much obstruction as they could. Their parties and political groups were kaleidoscopic in their changes, and their utter irresponsibility was flagrant, and manifestly inherent in their mentality. It was during this period that the jealousies between Hindus and Mahommedans found vent in bloodthirsty riots which disfigured the peace of several great cities. But, apart from these, the country was quiet and its trade prosperous, and when Lord Reading handed it over to Lord Irwin in April 1926 it was in an infinitely better condition than when he had assumed charge in 1921.

The five years that have followed constitute the 'tragedy' of India, for it is nothing less than a tragedy that a Viceroy of such high ideals and sincerity of purpose should, by his mistaken policy, pursued with almost blind faith, have reduced India from a progressive and peaceful country to the state of turbulence, class hatred, fear of evil conspirators, and contempt of lawful authority in which he has now left her at the end of his term of office. His very virtues will prove to have been disastrous to the British ideals for which he has striven, for an honest rule stands in imminent danger of being replaced by a rule of craft, greed, and corruption. The poor and down-trodden, who had been emerging

from their degradation, are in danger of being thrust back into the slough of despond from which they were steadily being rescued.

Lord Irwin's objective sounds, to those who do not know India well, in the highest degree laudable. It may be summed up: 'As we have promised that India shall some day enjoy "responsible government," the nearest approach we can make to it at once the better. Our goodwill towards India will create equal goodwill in her towards us, and in this way India will comfortably settle down somehow or other to be a contented Dominion inside the British Empire.' A warm admirer of Lord Irwin wrote to me that: 'He is a man whom, if he has once made up his mind as to what he believes to be right, nothing that friend or foe can say will shake him from his purpose.' There could be only one reply: 'Admirable, *but only if he is right.*'

That is the whole crux of the matter.

If he is wrong, then there is little practical difference between the issue of his policy and that of the Madras extremist who exclaimed: 'Come chaos, come anarchy, anything is better than British rule.'

The late Viceroy's policy must be judged, not on *his* merits, but on *its* merits. It is by confounding these two that the safety of the Indian Empire has been gravely imperilled while the British nation cheers when it ought to groan; but the scales will inevitably fall from the eyes of those eminent journalists, divines, intellectuals and politicians who, by their blind admiration for the man, are, however honestly, misleading the nation. Bishops may yet find that the course which they are so warmly approving is leading to the abandonment of India to anti-Christ.

So long as Lord Irwin was battling with difficulties (albeit intensified by his own policy), so long as there was hope that he would become alive to the dangerous results of excessive conciliation, respect for his high office, his high courage and his high character imposed restraint upon his critics. Nothing was said on this side until the Dominion Status announcement disclosed in a flash that the policy which he was pursuing in the hope of saving India to the Empire was just the policy which was most certain to end in its loss. Lord Irwin is now free from his responsibilities, and the time for reticence has passed.

We are now told that the changes in India in the last few years, and particularly in the last two, have been so remarkable that nobody who has left India even for six months is capable of understanding the situation. This is, of course, an easy way to get round expert criticism and to push aside the critics, but is it really correct? Has the psychology of 350,000,000 people, the product of forty centuries of history, changed, as it were, in a

night? To those who have studied India and her various peoples, their psychology, and the motives which influence them, for periods extending to thirty or forty years, in far closer contact than any Viceroy in his short term of office can ever hope to enjoy, there is nothing in the changes that have occurred which is difficult to understand, or indeed which has not been foretold by those who criticise. It is the British attitude that has changed, and the Indian change is the natural reaction of an Oriental country to the change in that attitude. What some enthusiasts call 'the urge and the surge of Indian nationalism' escaped the notice of Lord Reading when he was busy suppressing the Non-Co-operation Movement. The same Indian politicians were singing exactly the same song when Lord Reading considered it wholly premature even to mention Dominion Status; in fact, this wonderful nationalism among people who afford material for twenty or thirty nations, and have not in them even the germs of true coalescence, has discovered itself so rapidly only when a Viceroy was found who placed the conciliation of extremist politicians as so great an objective that all other interests and all other considerations must give way to it. It is, of course, only fair to the late Viceroy to state that the approach of the Statutory Commission was the obvious occasion for such men to put forth the most extravagant demands, and that the situation produced was consequently one of much difficulty. All the more reason why he should be on guard against the danger of excessive complacency towards such demands, particularly as they represented, not the cry of a great genuine common nationalism, but the lust of power and gain on the part of a microscopic section of the whole community which had no right whatever, sacred or profane, to govern the rest of that vast population.

Lord Irwin's unconquerable belief in the goodness of human nature has been traded upon and exploited by the very men who were least worthy of his confidence. He thinks that you have only to trust a man to make him trustworthy. Were that doctrine true, there could be no such thing as a confidence trick in the world. Was it to be expected that men who for years have been plotting and planning to snatch power from the British Raj and destroy it were to be diverted from their purpose because a particular Viceroy who is here to-day and gone to-morrow gives them the help of a thoroughly unmerited sympathy? They will applaud every mention of his name; they will pen a condescending sentence of personal regard at the end of an insolent letter; they will acclaim him as the greatest Viceroy in history, but they will not forego a single iota of their triumph over the British Raj. The shrewd observer in the Indian street who admires the 'God-fearing man' yet says in his own vernacular, 'Bechara bahut

siddha admi!' (Poor, dear man; how simple he is!). The keynote of the late Viceroy's policy was to echo Mr. Baldwin's cherished principle that everything in the world can be settled by men of goodwill. Five years ago the Raj had the goodwill of India in abundance; it is still available if only the loyal are rallied, but it is surely significant that the last two or three years of this undiscriminating conciliation have seriously diminished the volume of that goodwill. Why?

Most people have a sneaking sympathy for the industrious brother whose industry was taken for granted while the prodigal son was received with open arms. But then, the prodigal son was most penitent and humble, whereas the prodigal sons of the Congress, in spite of the father's persistent efforts to conciliate them, are more blatantly hostile than ever. If the prodigal son, having been received and fêted, had proceeded to extort more money, and the industrious brother's interest had been conspicuously disregarded, then the parable might have had a different moral. This is the position in which the loyal Indian now finds himself, and it is easy to realise why the volume of goodwill towards our Government has been so gravely diminished. Our friends are embittered, our enemies exultant.

In the comments that follow upon the course of events which have led up to the present dangerous situation, no one can claim to penetrate the curtain and discriminate in each case whether the responsibility lies with Whitehall, Simla, the Viceroy or his Council for the action of Government from time to time. Lord Irwin is, however, not the man to shelter behind any authority, whether above him or below him; still, it is better to speak impersonally of the Government, except when it is manifest that the action taken was the Viceroy's own.

In the earlier period of Lord Irwin's term of office a dress rehearsal for civil disobedience took place in the Bardoli Taluq of Gujerat. The agitation was engineered ostensibly for the benefit of the peasantry; in reality for grasping middlemen. There followed non-payment of revenue, resignation of village officers, boycotting of Government servants—the same programme of intimidation as has characterised the year 1930. It resulted in a compromise so near complete surrender as to give the greatest encouragement to Gandhi and the Patel brothers. One of these, at that time President of the Legislative Assembly, ostentatiously subscribed his official salary to the funds of the agitation, without the slightest sign of disapproval from the Assembly or the Government. The authority of the Government was gravely impaired in the Bombay Presidency, and even outside it, by the result of this contest.

Again, when the factory hands and railway workers were

being inoculated with Moscow doctrine by trained agitators, including British Communists, the action taken was tardy and dilatory. Here was a case in which, if the Legislature were hostile, it was plain perversity, and the Bill to deal with the trouble required immediate certification, the case being also one which demanded a special tribunal. Great delay took place before the Bill became law, and the Meerut conspiracy case has been dragging on for years. What has been the result? The 'Red Flag' and the 'Red Shirts' among the most ignorant, excitable, and violent members of the community. The danger has still to be reckoned with, and the menace is growing every day.

A most vital factor in the present state of disloyalty was the practical suspension of the Sedition Law during the critical period that preceded the events of 1930. The Press Act, wisely enacted by Lord Minto's Government, had been most unwisely repealed, against the advice of many local Governments, to celebrate the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The only excuse made for the repeal was that the ordinary criminal law would suffice, but if resort to that law even was severely restricted, if not actually prohibited, the only possible check on the spread of the most virulent lies among ignorant and excitable people was taken from the hands of local Governments. This virtual suspension of the law of the land by executive authority constituted a most dangerous invasion of the powers of local Governments, for it brought the British Raj into hatred and contempt, and it absolutely destroyed all the influence for good that genuine moderates (such as Mr. Gokhale or Dr. Nair were in their day) could exercise. What was the good of police reporting this huge volume of calumny, or of the collection on a vast scale of Press cuttings of seditious articles, if action was prohibited? It is only too common for speeches to be made which just fall short of instigating violence, although they must inevitably lead to it. A policy like this has most deadening effects. Laxity grows. Local authorities keen to check sedition are first disgusted, then wearied, and finally become apathetic. In the meantime poisonous invocations and foul calumnies, the pabulum on which anarchists are bred and fed, inflamed the callow youth of the country. Thus did the prestige of a great Government dwindle day by day, and incalculable mischief resulted. The advent of the Statutory Commission gave the opportunity for a concerted campaign to boycott and insult the chosen delegates of a sovereign Parliament. These ugly demonstrations were treated by the Government with apathy and indifference, only such police measures being taken as were necessary to prevent actual violence. The Government was being further baited and bullied in the Legislative Assembly, but

in reply to all these pinpricks and petty persecutions it remained patient, passive, and even apologetic, expressing its belief in the complete impartiality of the President, a declaration which most certainly failed in its objective to win his gratitude. Every effort was made to coax the Congress leaders and induce them to give up the boycott, whereas they should have been left severely alone to repent at their leisure, or stay out in the cold.

Thus it was in an atmosphere of complete defiance that the Congress of 1928 met at Calcutta, and, breathing treason from every pore, threw down the gauntlet, and declared that unless the Government granted full Dominion Status by January 1, 1930, they would paralyse the Government and force it to give them complete independence. Here was a definite ultimatum, and the Government was given a year of grace in which to make up its mind. The Statutory Commission was thus completely pushed aside, and a threat of direct action flung in the face of the Government, which had two alternative courses before it. It could treat the Congress as a criminal conspiracy and suppress it, or it could make its contempt plain. Silent contempt would not have been enough; silent contempt had been tried in the years 1906–1908 and in 1917–1922, and had completely failed. A manifesto by the Governor-General calling upon all loyal Indians to resist the overtures of this arrogant and unconstitutional body, and proclaiming its intention to deal with sedition according to law, would have had a profound psychological effect over the whole sub-continent. It adopted neither course. Sedition continued rampant, and the Government bethought itself of a calamitous move to stave off the threat of the ultimatum by further conciliation. It was indeed said from time to time that if the law were broken it would have to be enforced, but inasmuch as it was already being broken every day by the sedition-mongers, who continued to organise their future campaign, this threat was never taken seriously. The Statutory Commission were being told *ad nauseam* that if they would only utter the words 'Dominion Status' the effect over the country would be magical. But the Commission were too wise to be taken in by this subtle suggestion. The Government fell into the trap, and two months before the Congress ultimatum would expire the famous Dominion Status announcement was made, coupled with the promise of the Round Table Conference.

Sir John Simon's letter suggesting such a Conference, in the hope of settling the vexed question of the position of the Princes, was enlarged in the Prime Minister's reply to an invitation to discuss the whole question *de novo*. The better time for announcing the Round Table Conference would have been *after*, and *not before*, the publication of the Simon Report. The Dominion

Status announcement should never have been made at all. Hailed as a mastership of statesmanship, it was just one more surrender, which was received with consternation by all loyal Indians, although they did not dare give public expression to their views. As a revised definition of a distant goal it appealed to nobody, and if it did not mean an early attainment of this status it was not worth the congratulations cabled by members of the Labour Government to declared enemies of the British Raj. Its effect was merely to convert the maximum demand of an Extremist into becoming the minimum demand of the Hindu so-called Moderate, and to encourage the Congress in the belief that its ultimatum had really frightened the Government. It made the Commission's Report a back number before it issued—a mere exhibit in the case which could be disregarded at will. Every generous concession that the Commissioners had recommended would be taken as agreed, and as a starting-point for further demands. The hope was still cherished by the Government that the Congress might be won over and condescend to attend the Round Table Conference. A week before the ultimatum expired they informed the Viceroy that the object of the Conference must be, not to discuss whether Dominion Status should be granted, but how it should be put into effect. The Government could give no such pledge, for it could not bind Parliament to surrender its authority in advance. This rash effort to conciliate the implacable had therefore failed. The Lahore Congress followed immediately, and the melancholy year 1930 was ushered in with the grossest possible insults to the Union Jack.

The events of 1930 are still fresh in the public mind, although their significance has never fully been grasped by the nation at large. The obvious course for the Government was to deal with the revolutionary leaders as such, but they were given full opportunity to complete the preparations for their campaign, to enlarge the network of their propaganda, and to collect their funds, partly by an appeal to greed and partly by blackmail. The big cities were made into local centres and the Congress itself became a Soviet, with lesser Soviets established all over the country. Moslem papers kept warning the Government of what was going on, but their warnings were unheeded, so far as any overt action was concerned. Then Gandhi made his theatrical march unmolested, and the spirit of lawlessness surged over the land. At last Government was forced to take some action, and the Ordinances followed with halting feet and apologetic explanations. Disastrous events on the frontier, in Peshawar, Sholapur, and Chittagong, and in many other places too numerous to mention, marked the contempt for the Raj spreading over the

country, and the condition of the city of Bombay became a disgrace to a civilised Government. Large numbers of people were sent to prison, who would never have committed the offences for which they were punished if the revolutionary leaders had been proceeded against as such immediately after the Lahore Congress. When 'everybody's doing it,' police, magistrates, and gaols lose their deterrent influence. Nevertheless, where courageous magistrates and police officers did their duty and local Governments were not afraid to support them, the law gradually began to reassert itself, and in many large rural tracts conditions began to approximate to the normal. In August, however, one more move was made by the Viceroy, in the form of negotiations to ascertain the conditions upon which the imprisoned leaders would be kind enough to attend the Round Table Conference. No matter how these originated, the whole country considered that the Viceroy was suing for peace, and Nationalist politicians, who were the intermediaries in these prison discussions, had presented to them a splendid opportunity of taking counsel with Congress leaders as to the course which they themselves should pursue when they attended the approaching Round Table Conference. The Congress leaders persisted in their insolent demands, and Government prestige was lowered by a further rebuff. In the meantime, the Commission's Report had issued, and was received with contempt and ridicule, not only by the Congress, but by those so-called Liberals who professed their willingness to co-operate with Government. It was then left to the Viceroy to select delegates as best he could to meet the delegates of the British Parliament in London. From the British delegates Sir John Simon was deliberately excluded, an act at once cynical and sinister.

The proceedings of the Round Table Conference are still comparatively fresh in memory. Selected extracts of them were published in the Press at the time, and the full proceedings have since been produced in Blue-books, which probably very few people in the United Kingdom have studied with any care.

In January 1930 Lord Irwin had definitely stated that the Conference was in no sense of the word to be a constitution-making body, but merely a meeting-place for the exchange of views. This definite statement was completely set aside, and after an exchange of oratory, forensic and poetical, the Conference settled down to frame a Federal Constitution, namely, to the very task which the Viceroy had expressly disclaimed. The Simon Commission had adumbrated a Federal State as the probable far-off development of the Reforms which they recommended. The Government of India, in a dispatch written only two months before the Conference, had relegated federation to

a still more dim future. But here, almost in the twinkling of an eye, the federation of States and Provinces, utterly heterogeneous elements, was converted into a settled fact. We now know, through certain filial indiscretions, that this wonderful scheme was carefully planned to stampede the Liberal and Conservative delegates into approving a scheme of disguised Dominion Status with a few *transitory* ' safeguards.' The effect of this manœuvre was that with the introduction of the Princes the other delegates of Parliament found themselves in the position of giving a blessing—tepid, but still a blessing—to ' responsibility in the Central Government '—a development which the Simon Commission had declared impossible, which Lord Irwin himself could not approve, and which the European Association in Calcutta had instructed their own delegates not to concede.

The Conference ended on a note of complete indecision. The opening speeches appeared to indicate a measure of harmony which surprised many who were unused to the Oriental habit of acquiescing in asking for something which few of them really desire. Some of them wanted a great deal more than they openly demanded, notably the Hindus, and especially the Brahmins. Others, swimming with the tide, really wanted a great deal less than they appeared from their speeches to desire, and there were some also who joined in the chorus who really wanted the exact opposite of the general demand. The concluding speeches came a little nearer representing real opinion, and disclosed as many rifts within the lute as there were interests involved. An undiscerning British public swallowed the lot. The one thing that they all agreed upon is that none of them want to be governed by any of the others. Even the things which they all want they do not want for the same reason. In the background each section tries to visualise its own gains and losses under any scheme that is put forward. That is human nature, but it is not concord. Why do Princes disclaim a position of great strength to them—namely, federation with the Government which has protected them and secured their rights all these years—and express a preference in terms almost identical for linking their fortunes with an oligarchy of Brahmins and Banias? The answer is, because, not being able to get a clear assurance from the Government as to their future, they were thrown into the arms of Brahmins and Banias. Why should Brahmins and Banias clap their hands for democracy? Because they know that it will not be Demos that will rule them, but that they will rule Demos, and that with a rod of iron. Why did the Mahommedans make what seemed to the minds of Socialists a ridiculous clamour about communal electorates instead of settling down to a life of comfortable amity with their brethren the Hindus,

following the dictates of their own democratic religion? Because it was life and death to them, to secure their safety and their creed against any Constitution which placed both at the mercy of a Hindu majority. They had not forgotten the speeches three years back of the Hindu Maha Sabha, which had declared that Hindus would not be satisfied until every mosque had been converted into a temple. The representative of the 'depressed classes' stated that he had no use for these 'nationalists and patriots,' whose nationalism and patriotism were limited to gaining power for their own class. If that was nationalism and patriotism, he did not want to be a nationalist or a patriot. And so, after compliments, the delegates parted—the Brahmins delighted at their victory over the British Government, and the rest halting between two opinions.

The theory had been put forward that the proceedings of the Conference would defeat the Congress by showing how much more moderate people could secure in the way of concessions than the Congress had gained by its open and unlawful defiance. This advantage was not worth very much, but any value there was in it was entirely thrown away by the action of the Government after the delegates had returned to India. The very men who had stirred up revolution and were undergoing richly deserved punishment for their misdeeds were released from their imprisonment *unconditionally*. They were given front seats, and those who had attended the Conference were relegated to the back. It was a most astounding blunder on the part of the Government. There followed the Irwin-Gandhi conversations, culminating in the Irwin-Gandhi Pact: Gandhi the prisoner had become Gandhi the dictator. Certain emotional people in this country called it a miracle. The whole of India, loyal and seditious alike, saw in it a victory for Gandhi. Hasty, if well-meaning, clergymen thanked God for Gandhi, as if he were one of the blessings that flow from the Almighty. There have even been ministers of religion so fatuous that they compare Gandhi with Christ. To compare this schemer and dreamer, this master of quibble, this utterer of calumnies which he knows to be false, with the Founder of Christianity is nothing but the rankest blasphemy. If Gandhi the showman-saint has become, as he has, a megalomaniac, it is the Government that has made him one. Gandhi himself, having posed before the world as a saint, has of necessity to make some show of complying with his promises to the Viceroy, but he mingles his instructions to his impatient followers with praises of the patriotism of the murderer Bhagat Singh. After expressing his approval of the Sermon on the Mount, he bans Christianity as being a surplus and unwanted religion in India. He openly suggests that the Minority question may be settled by the elimi-

nation physically of these troublesome minorities. It cannot be very long before one of two courses will be forced upon him. He will either have to retire into the obscurity of the ascetic, or else throw off the mask and abjure his non-violent professions. In the meantime the Ordinances which were restraining the seditious have been repealed. The products of the mass hysteria which he set in motion and the hirelings drawn from the riff-raff of the population are free once more to resume their campaign when the word is given. A Sikh Association, affiliated to the Congress, has acclaimed the murderer of an innocent English lady and the maimer of her two small children as a patriot and a martyr. The picketing of cloth shops may go on merrily under the name of an economic boycott. The liquor shops which the Government itself licenses on payment of large sums are to be obstructed and customers annoyed by those who have been given a free licence to picket them. The licence has been taken advantage of and shopkeepers have had their shops burnt, and in some cases have themselves been murdered. The campaign of cutting down toddy palms, the property of poor people, has been resumed. The 'sweeter atmosphere' which Lord Irwin sensed has been tainted by the pogroms of Cawnpore.

'Quo Vadimus?' Whither, indeed! The released leaders are going about the country breathing threatenings and slaughter. Never since the Mutiny has the country been in so dangerous a condition, and still the admirers of Lord Irwin the man go about praising the superlative success of Lord Irwin the Viceroy. The architects of the Federation scheme produced a sketch of a constitutional Tower of Babel. India has once more to send her delegates, chosen no one knows how, to complete the crude sketch with Gandhi and his satellites added to their number. When a material building is planned, the strains and the stresses to which it will be subject can be calculated with mathematical certainty. But the strains and the stresses to which this new constitutional edifice will be subjected are incalculable. And the Government that has to decide upon them is quite incompetent to calculate them. Will it work? Will it evolve? These are the questions which the Prime Minister himself put but never answered. The Government has flown in the face of all warnings; it has disregarded every object-lesson in Europe, Asia or America. Drawing up federation schemes is easy enough to a constitutional lawyer. Such an one could prepare a paper scheme for all the States which once belonged to the Ottoman Empire, or for the *Disjecta Membra* of the Austrian Empire. It is not the preparation of schemes, but their working by the human material to which they are to apply, that is the critical task. The policy that has been followed in India has alienated the loyalty of many

millions and shattered their faith in the British Empire. It has endangered the lives of the scattered British population; it has disturbed the peace of mind of many millions of previously obedient and well-conducted people. Yet it is optimistically persisted in, as though it were certain to introduce a millennium of peace and prosperity in a self-governing India.

In Carlyle's *Miscellaneous Essays* there is one called 'Shooting Niagara and After.' A passage may be of interest to those who applaud the policy in India:

> All the Millenniums I ever heard of heretofore were to be preceded by a 'chaining of the Devil for a thousand year,'—laying *him* up, tied neck and heels, and put beyond stirring, as the preliminary. You too have been taking preliminary steps, with more and more ardour, for a thirty years back; but they seem to be all in the opposite direction: a cutting asunder of straps and ties, wherever you might find them; pretty indiscriminate of choice in the matter: a general repeal of old regulations, fetters and restrictions (restrictions on the Devil originally I believe, for most part, but now fallen slack and ineffectual), which had become unpleasant to many of you—with loud shouting from the multitude, as strap after strap was cut, 'Glory, glory, another strap is gone!'—this, I think, has mainly been the sublime legislative industry of Parliament since it became 'Reform Parliament,' victoriously successful, and thought sublime and beneficent by some. So that now hardly any limb of the Devil has a thrum or tatter of rope or leather left upon it.

It is impossible to shorten the past of India, and it is equally impossible to foreshorten her future. The facts will defeat all the pious formulas. The Devil of Anarchy in India has been kept chained for the last seventy years, and he is now being released, while good Christians in England, Hindu schemers in India, and Bolshevists in Russia are uniting in the chorus 'Glory, glory, another strap is gone!' The 'safeguards' so lately proclaimed are merely 'thrums and tatters of rope'—which use will snap.

What a tragedy! What a destination!

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

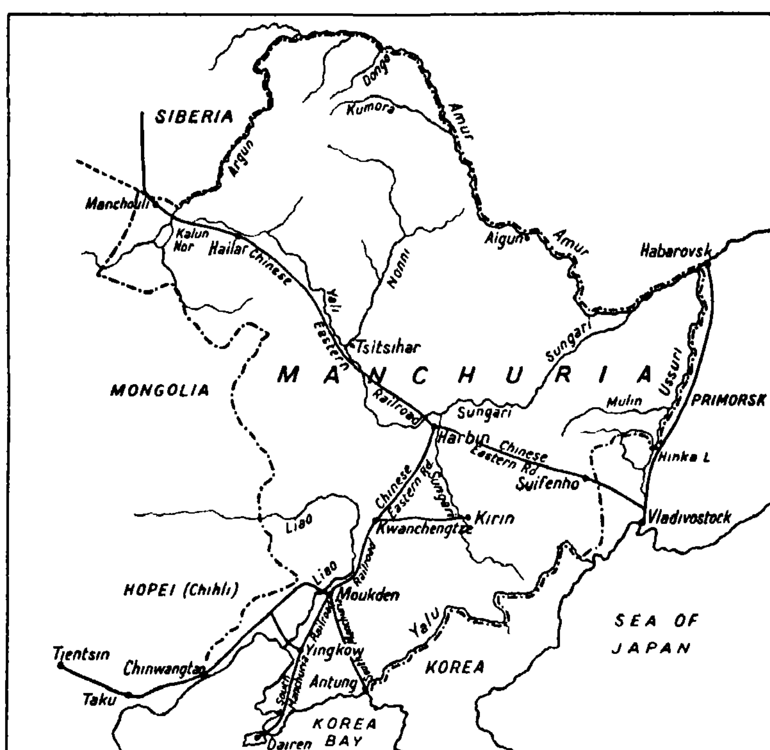
MANCHURIA: A TRIANGLE

FROM the viewpoints of both strategy and economics the area of greatest tension in the contemporary Far East is Manchuria. Here the conflicting aims of China, Japan, and Soviet Russia continue to converge, as they have, potentially since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and specifically since the dawn of the twentieth century. As far as Japan and Russia are concerned, the past twenty-five years have shown that the Treaty of Portsmouth was merely a sign of truce, while the rise of Nationalist China constitutes an additional factor of real significance in the Manchurian question.

The opening up of the agricultural and mineral riches of the three Eastern Provinces, with the causative and consequent building of railroads, has served to intensify the struggles of the three nations for control of the area. The significance of the Chinese Eastern, the South Manchuria, and the Peking–Mukden Railroads is well known to all students of the Far Eastern Question. Since 1926 the lead in railroad construction has been taken by China—at times with the aid of Japan, at times independently. The need for Chinese-controlled lines between Mukden and Kirin, and Mukden and Tsitsihar, was demonstrated during the revolt of Kuo Sung-ling against Chang Tso-lin in 1925. The Russian manager, Ivanoff, closed the Chinese Eastern Railroad between Harbin and Changchun, thereby forcing the troops of the governor of Heilungkiang, who were advancing to Chang's aid, to march overland to a point on the Nonni River, where they could travel over the Anganchi–Taonan–Chengchiatung–Ssupingkai (with branch to Paiyantala) lines then being built for China by Japan.

From Tahushan, on the Peking–Mukden line, to Paiyantala the Chinese have independently constructed, and they now control, a line. Pepiao and Yingkow have similarly been connected with the Peking–Mukden line at Chincho and Kowpangtze respectively. From Anganchi, on the Chinese Eastern, northward to Tsitsihar, to Ningnien, to Koshan another Chinese constructed and controlled railroad has been opened. Accordingly China now has lines in western Manchuria roughly paralleling the South

Manchuria, and crossing the Chinese Eastern Railroad into the old Russian sphere of northern Manchuria. East of the Changchun–Dairen South Manchuria Railroad the Chinese have built a road to join Kirin with Mukden by way of Chaoyang and Fushun ; from Meihoko on this line a spur pointing toward Ssupingkai has been laid to Sian. In addition, a Japanese-built, Chinese-controlled line runs from Changchun eastward to Kirin and Tunhua. When this is completed to Yenki, which the Japanese have linked up by light railway lines in north-eastern Korea, the Japanese will be able to tap the resources of Kirin province and, in case of need, cut the Chinese Eastern Railroad with comparative ease and isolate Vladivostok and Harbin.



The general objective of the Chinese appears to be to continue railroad construction (1) in a north-easterly direction from Kirin to Lahasusu (Suiyuan) near Habarovsk ; (2) north from Ningnien or Koshan—possibly both—to Taheiho on the right bank of the Amur River opposite Blagovyeshchensk ; and (3) to open the Jehol area and eastern Inner Mongolia in the same manner. If the scheme is carried out, the Chinese will have two trunk lines running in a generally north-south direction to the east and to the west of the north-south South Manchuria Railroad, cutting the Chinese Eastern Railroad at two or more points, thereby tapping

the wealth of both the Russian and Japanese spheres in Manchuria, and diverting traffic from Vladivostok and Dairen to the port of Hulutao on the Gulf of Liaotung opposite Yingkow. A contract for the development of this port was let in 1930 to a Dutch company, the payments to be made from the income of the Peking–Mukden line.

Sino-Japanese railway development in Manchuria has been accompanied by one of the great migrations of history. Accurate statistics for the Chinese are non-existent, but it is probable that the population has more than doubled during the past two decades. During the period 1923–29 the Chinese entering Manchurian ports were estimated at 4,710,662; those returning to China numbered 2,360,154. This left as settlers more than 2,340,000. Many women and children were among the immigrants, indicating that the newcomers were homeseekers rather than transients. The present population of Manchuria is estimated to be about 26,000,000, of whom approximately 95 per cent. are Chinese and 3 per cent. Manchu. In 1928 the Japanese were estimated at 203,169, of whom 96 per cent. were in the Japanese-administered areas.

From the viewpoint of population it is clear that Manchuria is Chinese. But population is not the only factor to be considered. Japan's economic and strategic grip is strong, and Soviet Russia is no less to be reckoned with than was Tsarist Russia. To a degree China and Japan have been partners in opposition to Russia. Contemporaneously Russia is more to be feared by Japan and China than either of these is to be feared by the other. Part of China's railway expansion is in reality Japanese, since the funds were lent by Japan and the management is in her hands. The Japanese no longer claim the right of railway construction in Manchuria, but they wish railroads built so that their finished products can be distributed, raw materials collected, and troops thrown in expeditiously in an emergency. With respect to the Tahushan–Paiyantala and the Kirin–Hailungcheng lines, Japan protested to China, on the basis of the Komura Treaty of 1905, that these were parallel to the South Manchuria Railroad. Inasmuch as she did not follow up this protest, it is apparent that she was merely safeguarding her right of protest should the construction of railways by China of which she really disapproves be undertaken at some future date.

Whatever may be the hopes and plans of Nationalist China with respect to the possibility of Hulutao's diverting traffic from Dairen, it is clear that Japan has no fears at present. Her object and determination to keep the peace in Manchuria and to maintain economic control of as great an area as possible have been made clear by her 'advice' on occasion to the young Marshal

Chang, and earlier to his father, by her occasional movements of troops, by her railway policy, and by her steadfast refusal to discuss with China the validity of the treaties of 1915 which ensued upon the presentation of the Twenty-One Demands.

The expansion of railways in Manchuria was accompanied by two struggles international in nature: one between Japan and Russia; the other between China and Russia. With reference to the first, the period of revolution in Russia and intervention in Siberia witnessed the growth of Japanese influence, amounting at times almost to control of the Chinese Eastern Railroad. By 1924, however, the Russians were again in control and desirous of developing traffic over their lines to Vladivostok and the carriage of goods thence in their own ships. This conflicted with Japan's aim to divert traffic to the South Manchuria Railroad and Dairen, and renewed the old Russo-Japanese struggle for power in Manchuria. The dispute has been compromised by an annually-renewed traffic agreement to the effect that a certain percentage of the east-bound consignments over the Chinese Eastern Railroad shall be dispatched southward from Harbin over the Japanese line. But the settlement of this dispute did not permanently smooth the relations between the two nations. Not unconnected with this rivalry were the problems relating to anti-Japanese propaganda which the Soviets were accused of conducting in Manchuria, Korea, and Japan proper, despite the treaty of 1925. Numerous arrests and charges in connexion with these allegations were made by the Japanese. Nor were the arrangements connected with the Japanese fishing rights in Siberian waters to be carried out without difficulty. Hardly had the ratifications of the Fisheries Convention of January 23, 1928, been exchanged on May 23, than Japanese protests were reported against Russian infringements, as was the case in the following March. An additional complication ensued when, on December 17, 1930, the Soviet authorities of Vladivostok closed the branch of the Japanese semi-official Bank of Chosen, and sealed all books, documents, and other valuables, it being declared that the existence in Russian territory of such a capitalistic institution was contrary to Soviet policy. The Japanese suspected that this was an indirect attack upon their fishing rights, and immediately protested to Moscow. They declared that the Soviet officials had committed an unfriendly act and demanded a reversal. Such incidents as these make it clear that the relations between the two countries are not altogether happy.

While the Soviets and Japan have thus far been able to settle their differences through diplomatic channels, it has not been entirely so in the case of the Sino-Soviet disputes. During the summer of 1929 the strained relations between Nanking and

Mukden on the one side and Moscow on the other resulted in an outbreak of military activities in, and on the borders of, Manchuria. A dispute in January 1926 between Marshal Chang Tso-lin and Moscow had resulted in an immediate restoration of the *status quo ante* extremely galling to the Chinese. Following a course of action begun in 1925, when he seized the Russians' river fleet and closed the Sungari River to their navigation, Marshal Chang in 1926 closed the Chinese Eastern Railroad land offices and school department. This in part accounted for the incident of 1926. In the following year Chang demanded that half the Chinese Eastern Railroad revenues should be placed in Chinese banks. An additional cause of ill-feeling on the part of the Chinese was the policy pursued by Russia after 1924 of blocking the functioning of the joint board of ten directors of the Chinese Eastern Railroad by causing the absence of the five Russian members, thereby preventing a quorum and permitting the actual control of the railroad by the Russian manager, who took orders only, and directly, from Moscow.

During the summer of 1928, shortly after the assassination of Chang Tso-lin, another incident occurred which further strained the relations between Manchuria and the Soviets. This was the attempt made by a group of Outer Mongolian raiders—'Young Mongols'—to cut off Barga from Manchurian control. This area, on the north-western frontier, had in 1912 declared its independence of China. On November 6, 1915, China and Russia had agreed that it should be autonomous under the nominal sovereignty of China; actually this meant Russian control. Since 1920 Barga had been under Manchurian control, while Outer Mongolia, of which it had been a part, had fallen under Soviet influence. Although communications over the Chinese Eastern Railroad were temporarily broken, the movement appeared to collapse with the refusal of the Buriat prince of the district to give it his support, and Manchurian soldiers dispersed the raiders.[1]

While the strain between the Soviets and the Chinese rulers of Manchuria was becoming increasingly tense, China south of the Great Wall had been taking measures to rid herself of Russian influence and ideology. By the spring of 1929, following the adherence of Chang Hsueh-liang to Nanking, the Nationalist Government was ready to apply north of the Wall its policy of recovering what it conceived to be its rights and breaking the grip of Moscow on the Chinese Eastern Railroad and North Manchuria. As earlier at various points in China proper, so at

[1] The question was reopened in the following year, when, on the fall of Hailar to the Russians, the 'Young Mongols' again attempted to bring about an autonomous rule for Barga.

Harbin, Tsitsihar, Manchouli, and Suifenho, Chinese police raided the Russian consulates on May 27.

At the Harbin consulate more than eighty Soviet subjects were discovered holding a meeting; forty of these, accused of having gathered from various points in North Manchuria and Siberia to plot a revolution in Manchuria, were arrested. Various incriminating documents were declared to have been seized by the police. Four days later Moscow protested, and declared the diplomatic immunities of Chinese representatives in Russia to be withdrawn until China should render redress. On June 2 two Soviet consular officials and a director of the Chinese Eastern Railroad were arrested at Manchouli as they were leaving for Russia. China's next steps, on July 10–11, were the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railroad telephone and telegraph systems, the closing of Russian official and non-official organisations in Harbin and the Chinese Eastern Railroad zone, the taking over of the administration of the railway, and the arrest of more than 200 Russian employees of the road. Of these sixty were deported, including Messrs. Yemshanov and Eismond, the manager and the assistant manager of the railway respectively. The Chinese president and director-general of the railway justified these actions on the ground that the Russians had violated the Soviet-Mukden agreement of 1924.

To the charges made by Mukden and Nanking, Moscow replied on July 13 that the Chinese had broken both the 1924 agreements, and that they had failed to avail themselves of opportunities offered by Moscow for a settlement of the outstanding points of dispute. Three demands were now made: (1) the immediate convening of a conference to settle disputes relative to the Chinese Eastern Railroad; (2) the cancelling of arbitrary orders regarding the railway; (3) the release of those arrested and a cessation of the persecution of Soviet citizens and institutions. Three days were given for an answer, failing which the U.S.S.R. would 'be compelled to resort to other measures for the protection of the lawful rights of the U.S.S.R.' Nanking replied on the 16th denying Moscow's charges, defending Chinese actions, and requesting the release from arrest and detention of some 1000 Chinese merchants in Russian territory and the granting to such of adequate protection and facilities for trade. Following such action China would be ready at an 'appropriate time to take similar measures towards the arrested Soviet agents and the closed office buildings,' and order an investigation of the Harbin case preparatory to an amicable settlement. This answer Moscow considered unsatisfactory, and announced its determination to (1) recall from China its diplomatic, consular, commercial, and railway representatives and employees; (2) suspend railway

communications with China; and (3) order all Chinese diplomatic and consular representatives to leave the territories of the U.S.S.R. Three days later China withdrew her representatives from Russia, and the tenuous relations which had existed between the two countries since the end of 1927 were formally broken. The German Government, at the request of the disputants, took over the interests of each in the territories of the other. An attempt on the part of the German Government during July and August to use its good offices in the dispute failed.

Meanwhile two other series of actions were taking place: the one military, on the borders of Manchuria; the other diplomatic, in the capitals of the Powers. From August 13 until well into December a state of military activity existed, differing from war mainly in the lack of a declaration of such. On occasion White Russian raiders invaded Soviet territories. The Soviet troops—about 3000, according to report—under the supreme command of General Blücher, engaged in 'punitive expeditions' into Manchuria. The Chinese combatants were more numerous—some 60,000 being in the western zone of the Chinese Eastern Railroad—but were badly armed and poorly disciplined.

There were several reasons why the Governments of nations other than those immediately concerned should be interested in the Manchurian struggle. The practical compression of the earth which has resulted from the development of speedy means of communication and transportation has rendered any dispute between nations a matter of universal concern. This was clearly demonstrated by the course of the terrible struggle begun in Europe in 1914. One result of this had been the trusteeship of the Chinese Eastern Railroad exercised by the Allied and Associated Powers from 1919 to 1922. The closing in 1929 of the only rail route between Europe and the Far East was a matter of immediate concern. The leading Powers, especially the United States, are interested in the continued functioning of the 'open door,' and four of them are bound by the Treaty of Washington of December 13, 1921, to 'communicate with one another fully and frankly' if the rights of any of them in connexion with 'any Pacific question' shall be threatened. Japan had particular reason for watching developments in Manchuria with care. While she could not be expected to regret the weakening of Russian power in Chinese territory, if that should be the outcome, she had no intention of allowing it to be materially strengthened—or of having China attack her position in Manchuria, if the latter were successful in the attack on the Russian position in that area. Finally there was the question of the application of the international Treaty for the Renunciation of War, commonly known as the Briand-Kellogg Pact. This had been signed at Paris in

August 1928, and was to go into effect on July 24, 1929. The Sino-Russian dispute offered the first opportunity to test the value of that instrument. Both China and Russia had signed the Pact; China, moreover, is a member of the League of Nations.

On July 18—two days before Nanking broke its relations with Moscow, and three and a half weeks before military hostilities began—the Governments of the four Powers, doubly linked by the Washington Treaty of December 1921 and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, took the Sino-Russian dispute under advisement. The American Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Briand, reminded China and Russia, respectively, of the war renunciation agreement. Both parties to the dispute agreed to uphold the Treaty, and not to resort to hostilities unless attacked. Throughout the crisis, however, Russia stood firm on the declarations in both the agreements of 1924 with China that 'the future of the Chinese Eastern Railroad shall be determined by the Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. to the exclusion of any third party or parties.' At first, although anxious to win the sympathy of the Powers, China took somewhat the same attitude; but when it became evident that Manchuria could not withstand Russian pressure she became as anxious as she had been in earlier periods of stress to profit from the divergent interests of the Powers. This she was unable to do because of the neutral position taken by the Powers, largely due to the methods used by China in attempting a solution of her problems. An appeal by Nanking on November 26 for intervention against Russia proved fruitless.

With the fall of Lahasusu on October 14, of Manchouli and Dalainor on November 17, of Hailar ten days later, and the disarming of some 8000 to 10,000 Chinese troops, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang was ready to agree on November 26 to Russia's demand for a restoration of the *status quo ante*, although Nanking's approval was lacking. The latter suggested to Moscow, through the German Embassy in that capital, that both Governments should remove their troops 30 miles from the Manchurian boundary, and that the settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railroad question should be left to arbitration. This Moscow refused. Simultaneously Nanking contemplated an appeal to the League of Nations, but was discouraged by London on the ground of Russia's non-membership. In the meantime Manchuria and Russia were reaching an agreement. After a preliminary meeting (December 1–3) of representatives at Nikolsk-Ussuriski, a protocol was signed at Khabarovsk on December 22.

While these negotiations were in process a second invocation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact was taking place On receipt of the

news of the successful Russian advances into Manchuria of November 17–27, Secretary Stimson consulted with the representatives at Washington of Great Britain, France, Japan, Germany, and Italy. The American Government then approached China directly and Russia indirectly by way of Paris, again reminding them of their duties in the light of their relationship to the Pact of 1928. Individual communications were made also by forty-one of the fifty-five other signatories of the Pact, including Italy, France, and Great Britain, but not Germany and Japan. Germany's earlier actions had brought no favourable results, and she was the agent for the disputants. Japan held aloof throughout, partly, it may be, to signify her unique position in the Far East and her ofttimes intimated desire to take the lead in diplomatic actions in that area, and partly because she believed there was little danger of an actual outbreak of war, for which she knew China was unprepared, and believed that interference by third parties would be met by rebuff—in which assumption she was correct.

The reply of Russia to the United States constituted a snub reminiscent of that administered to Secretary Knox at the time of his neutralisation scheme for Manchuria in 1909–10. After declaring that Russia's actions were 'counter measures' which had been compelled 'in the interests of defence, protection of the frontier and the peaceful population,' and were 'in no wise violations of any obligations of the Paris Pact,' the Soviet Government declared that the United States had 'addressed its declaration at a moment when the Soviet and Mukden Governments already had agreed to several conditions and were proceeding with direct negotiations. . . . In view of this fact the above declaration can not but be considered unjustifiable pressure on the negotiations, and can not therefore be taken as a friendly act.' Giving vent to its irritation at the failure of the United States to grant it recognition, the Soviet Government concluded that it could not 'forbear expressing amazement that the Government of the United States, which by its own will has no official relations with the Soviet, deems it possible to apply to it with advice and counsel.'

In addition to the irritation of Moscow over the matter of non-recognition, there was the question of the financial interests of the United States and Japan in the Chinese Eastern Railroad during the years 1919–22 and that of French interest in the reorganised Russo-Asiatic Bank, 60 per cent. of the shares of which were declared in 1929 to be French-owned. Russia had no intention of recognising non-Russian and non-Chinese interests in the road. It does not appear, however, that the American Government in 1929 was influenced by interests of such a nature.

Rather it is apparent that the policies and actions of Secretary Stimson were based on the eagerness of Washington to put into force the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Had the Pact been ignored at the moment of its going into effect, it is clear that a serious blow at its effectiveness would have been struck.

The Khabarovsk protocol of December 22 provided for a restoration of the situation, based on the provisional agreements of 1924, which had prevailed in Manchuria prior to the outbreak of difficulties. The consulates and commercial houses of both countries were to be reopened; nationals detained by both parties were to be released; armed units of White Russians were to be disarmed and their leaders deported; Soviet executives and employees of the Chinese Eastern Railroad were to be restored, and a conference, to be held in Moscow in January 1930, was to settle all causes of dispute and to restore diplomatic relations between China and the Soviets. By this agreement it was clear that Russia had again won a victory over China and that the latter had once more been humiliated by its northern neighbour. The manager and the assistant manager who had controlled the Chinese Eastern Railroad prior to the break were only formally restored to office and were immediately supplanted by new appointees from Moscow, but the Chinese president of the railroad was also succeeded by a new Chinese appointee, Mr. Mo Teh-hui.

Mr. Mo was shortly ordered by Nanking to represent his country at the conference in Moscow, which did not open until October 1930—a postponement reminiscent of that which took place after the signing of the provisional agreements of 1924. At the end of December Mr. Mo returned to China, whether because the conference had broken down or to receive new instructions was not clear. In any case, the renewal of diplomatic relations between Russia and China—on which question Nanking failed to instruct its representative—had not taken place.

The Sino-Soviet imbroglio of 1929 resulted in the loss of many millions of dollars to the participants, and had little result apart from demonstrating the tension which exists in Manchuria. The success of the application to the problem of the Pact of 1928 is problematical. That China should have resorted to aggression in an attempt to solve the problem of the Chinese Eastern is to be explained by the peculiar relation of the Soviets to the rest of the world. Having been encouraged by the Russians to take direct action for the settlement of her foreign and domestic problems, China turned on her instructors to test the efficacy of their methods, only to find one of them—General Blücher—in command against her. This general was as competent in defending his Government's interests against Nationalist China as he had

been in aiding the Nationalists three years earlier to attack the interests of the 'imperialist' Governments in China. The outcome made it additionally clear that Soviet and Tsarist policies were similar. It also constituted a setback to China in her attempt to solve problems of an external type by unilateral action and force.

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR.

THE FRENCH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

VERSAILLES on this Wednesday [1] in May is astoundingly beautiful. The soldiers of the Republic are massed in front of the Palais des Rois. On this spot, still echoing with legends and with triumphs, the eternal history of France is alive. Motor cars arrive from Paris and glide towards the home of Louis XIV. Now that parliamentary life has become so very provincial, the Assembly is an elegant display.

The election of the President of the Republic is something more than a national event; it is essentially Parisian. The Assembly of Versailles marshals the elegance of the Parisian society. After luncheon at the *Reservoirs* or the *Trianon* we go to watch the ballot as we might go to watch the *Prix de Diane.*

So it is that this year the summer—that is to say, the short season—opens with an election which, owing to the circumstances in which it is held, cannot fail to be rather dramatic. At the *Reservoir* tables are taken by assault: duchesses eat ham off a stool. '*Bon jour, cher ami*'; '*Bon jour, mon cher Ministre*' —greetings quickly and joyfully exchanged. Society is holding a field-day. Each table marks a rung in the social ladder. No one has the right to sit *anywhere* or next to *anybody.* During the coming year you will be judged by the company you kept, as host or guest, at Versailles. If you are with impossible people, you go down a step or two. Versailles classes you; it is a solemn game played according to the rules of an etiquette that is not forgotten—even in seven years. All the great ladies of Paris are there. They are not all of them very young, but all of them are very beautiful. It would be an exaggeration to say that they talk much of the President. No; their talk is of present company. The Assembly is one of those rare days during which it is the present company, and not absent friends, who are put in the wrong.[2] Frenzied head-waiters jostle the great ones of the theatre, the politicians and the aristocrats. Look at them!

[1] The French Presidential election was held at Versailles on Wednesday, May 13.—EDITOR.

[2] Plainly an exception to the proverb 'Les absents ont toujours tort.'—EDITOR.

One might say that the electoral campaign opened with the last long recess. It was then that public opinion nominated the candidates even before they nominated themselves. The first candidate was evidently M. Doumergue. The head of the State had acquired a popularity which in no way surprised those who for a long time have had access to him. He won the public, in the first place, the great public, by his smile. No one has ever seen M. Doumergue when he was not pleased with life. And the public, which is good-natured, has appreciated his cordiality, which attains almost to hilarity and responds to the demand for optimism so dear to the Parisian crowd. The severity of a Poincaré and the gravity of a Millerand had certainly succeeded in lending a kind of majesty to the Presidential function. But at exhibitions and the motor show people like to see a President distributing smiles—the only *largesse* which the Republic, rightly sparing of the public wealth, can still afford. M. Doumergue soothed a public opinion wearied by the nervous tension which the war demanded.

But above all, the ex-President of the Senate had given proof of exactly those qualities which we require in a head of the State. The President of the Republic ought to reign without appearing to do so. Although he ought to leave his Prime Minister a wide liberty of action, he nevertheless presides over the Cabinet, and by his interventions orients its discussions, combats this or that tendency, and even restrains enthusiasms. Now M. Doumergue, on the testimony of all those who have held Ministerial office, knew perfectly how to assign to each Minister the *rôle* that was due to him.

But above all things the President plays a decisive part in his choice of the Prime Minister during every Cabinet crisis. While in England the function of the Crown has been simplified by a traditional usage, which requires that the Opposition should always have a leader and that the Leader of the Opposition should succeed automatically to the party chief who has just been defeated before the bar of universal suffrage, in France, where parties are as unsubstantial as dust or cloud, there is no one particular person whose selection for the Premiership obtrudes itself as indisputably necessary. I know perfectly well that custom requires that the reins of power be intrusted to the majority in the last vote of the Chamber, but this majority is difficult to analyse. The majority does not fall definitely to the right or to the left. It is always made up of right and left elements cunningly proportioned. How, then, is it possible to decide between them. It is quite possible that M. Marin and M. Herriot have mixed their voting papers and joined hands beneath the Centre. It is not merely a question of giving the one or

the other the task of forming a Government which shall include their parliamentary flock. It is necessary then to appoint a member of the Right Centre or of the Left Centre. And even if the Government falls definitely to the right or to the left, political circumstances do not often warrant the formation of a purely Right or Left Government. The individual chosen must not frighten the public.

M. Doumergue has beaten all records in the number of Ministerial crises he has had to face. During his seven years of office thirteen Governments have fallen. What diplomacy he must have employed! The head of the State must begin with a ritual of conversations with the Presidents of the two Chambers and the leaders of the different groups. If he has any aim of his own in view, he must never let it be guessed. Although the person of the President is sacrosanct, public opinion is so jealous of his prerogative that it keeps so close a watch on the chief of the Executive as to prevent him taking any executive action. A recent example has shown that the President has no right to speak of a revision of the Constitution, and that a spirit of authority is never relished. Though the powers of the President are very limited, there could be no question of their being exceeded. The traditional prudence from which M. Poincaré never departed during his seven-year term of office has been much spoken of. The great Lorrainer whose recovery everyone earnestly desires was right. He gave a great example by working indefatigably with an unfailing instinct for common sense. M. Doumergue's skill lay in having an idea and making it triumph, without ever employing any other means except those dictated by the facts. He made his will prevail without imposing it. He let events persuade rather than attempt to persuade himself. He waited for solutions which he considered bad to eliminate themselves; he never combated them directly. The present and the future always fought for him. This divination is his special gift, and it was matched by a profound knowledge of parliamentary assemblies. He had real *flair* for the votes of the Chamber. He let the parliamentary game develop. The experiments of Chautemps and Steeg lasted just a sufficient time to let combinations which were not viable crash. But each time the Left had their chance. They had only themselves to blame for their failure to unite, but they had no possibility of placing the smallest part of the responsibility for their failure on the shoulders of the head of the State. M. Doumergue governed by the agency of two men, M. Poincaré and M. Tardieu, and more recently by that of M. Pierre Laval. His success was such that public opinion wanted him to stay. But the President thought it his duty to give an example of modesty. For the retiring President is a wise man. He has an instinct for the realities of life. This

empirical sense inspires him with motives which are the characteristic of great men. He said good-bye to us at Nice. We had to bow to his choice, but at the time we wanted him to change his resolve or to let events impose upon him a decision which would have been so salutary for the country. We all nourish the hope of seeing him once more take the place in public life for which the great services he has rendered have marked him out.

During the last recess two candidates were descried upon the horizon, M. Raoul Péret and M. Lebrun—both senators, and both men of principle, belonging to the Centre, but with a certain eclecticism in their views. M. Lebrun, my compatriot from Lorraine, has always displayed in his handling of the public revenues a prudence which arouses admiration. He was Minister for the Colonies. He has always kept himself away from any compromising influences and he stands at the head of all the big committees of general interest. A keen and zealous worker, a man of method devoted to logic, he is a favourite *rapporteur* in the Senate. His reports are monuments of precise information. As president of the Caisse d'Amortissement [3] he manages in silence an organisation which came into being at the time of our monetary reconstruction, with a wisdom that accords well with the French taste for economy. M. Raoul Péret, president of the *Mutualité* and former President of the Chamber, who counts among his friends members of all the parties, was considered in himself a very powerful candidate. He was perhaps marked out for the attention of the nation too early, and was the victim of attacks which go to prove that one should not reveal one's intentions to the committees and the parties too soon. One may observe that the candidate for the Presidency is spied on in the least of his actions, in his letters as well as in his speeches, and that everyone conspires to watch over his existence.

At this moment M. Briand's candidature appeared on the scene. A prodigious past—eleven times Prime Minister, Cabinet offices which cannot any longer be counted, unique eloquence, and a love of peace which is known in the most out-of-the-way hamlets in Europe. M. Briand has become a historical figure: to such a degree that one may well ask oneself why our Foreign Minister meditated leaving the Quai d'Orsay, where he has only one rival—Talleyrand. Moreover, M. Briand never stopped declaring that he had no intention of going to the Elysée. He issued denial after denial. Indeed, one could not really envisage the champion of peace displaying his fame in opening exhibitions. Would he have been able, as head of the State, to go to Geneva?

[3] The department of the Sinking Fund of the Public Debt.—EDITOR.

None the less, his candidature had some fervent advocates. One may suppose that his followers were inclined to favour this consolidation of his position. The candidates for the post of Foreign Minister made no secret of the fact that M. Briand at the Elysée would be a symbol, the symbol of our pacific intentions; and they even congratulated themselves on this symbol for our foreign policy.

Some diplomatic successes in the Ministry of Commerce, a direct intervention in the Chamber, and a reputation as the favourite for the post of Finance Minister led people to believe that M. Flandin would be a candidate. Former Vice-Presidents of the Chamber always have a chance of election; such were M. Bouilloux Laffont and M. Henry Paté. M. Paté has the figure of a President of the Republic. A good appearance at the tribune impresses itself on the memory of parliamentarians, so that they are even apt to let themselves say, 'This one would be good; that one would not be bad.'

At the last moment the candidature of M. Léon Bérard came up. The Senator for the *Basses Pyrénées* is the finest man of letters not only in Navarre but in France. He was Minister for Education, and all the more notable because he has not ceased to carry on a campaign in favour of the humanities, to which our Latin nation is so devoted. M. Léon Bérard flatters our taste for letters. He has a wit which draws its nourishment from the purest springs. His smallest interventions in Parliament are supported by quotations and apt remarks. His repartees are clever as the devil, but always courteous. He took over the Ministry of Justice under the most difficult conditions and conducted its affairs with a rare dexterity. He is independent and loyal. M. Doumergue commended him to the suffrages of the country by taking him with him to Tunis. M. Poincaré returned to public life to say that he would vote for him. M. Bérard is therefore in the running. And beside him are the Presidents of the two Houses. M. Bouisson [the President of the Chamber] is the greatest technician of the Speaker's chair. A man of taste as well as of sense, coldly energetic yet at the same time a discreet friend, M. Bouisson is destined for a long time to act as arbitrator over the public life of the Republic. M. Doumer [the President of the Senate] is also one of the symbols of the *régime*. Formerly a Socialist, a great colonial governor, he gives to the debates of the Senate a sense of security—I should say even a kind of awe—which almost turn its sittings into a new religion.

In this election there could not be any very clear issue. Some of the Foreign Minister's friends declared that 'to vote for M. Briand is to vote for peace.' The implications of the same

argument, the 'foreigner' argument, had already been pointed out at the time of M. Paul Valéry's election to the Academy. The 'blackmail' cry of 'foreigner' is always an easy card to play in a country whose people pride themselves on the little they travel. M. Doumer, moreover, has always been throughout his career an apostle of peace and of goodness. French policy therefore remains simple and continuous. Did M. Briand really want to stand? It seems as if he did not. Two days before the ballot, on the day after a sitting in the Chamber which was wrongly expected to eliminate him, the day after the finest speech of his career, he had his hand more or less forced by circumstances and by his friends. M. Briand was induced to stand without wanting to; consequently he had against him the votes of those who were really opposed to M. Blum, who had championed his election to the Presidency of the Republic. It is always difficult to understand from the outside the movements of internal politics and to perceive the main currents. The fear of the cartel and the fear of the depreciation of our national currency, the franc—these are the great themes of our political life. Is it easy to descry from France the currents of internal politics in England or in the United States? Even if it is easy to understand a capital, it is less easy to gauge the feeling of a province, last of all that of 'the provinces.' How, then, can it be easy to understand the voice of the country? But it is the echoes of the provinces and of the country which meet in conflict at the Palais du Luxembourg and the Palais Bourbon.

No one really wished to set these two personalities, M. Briand and M. Doumer, in opposition to each other, since both of them are incarnations of the French genius. The past of M. Doumer is a record of integrity and devotion. He was a very great Governor-General of Indo-China. He was, indeed, one of the greatest organisers of our oversea empire. He laid the foundations of an administrative scheme on financial and economic lines which has served as a model for his successors. It was he, too, who stopped the expensive programme of public works. M. Paul Doumer has throughout his career been the apostle of democracy and peace. He has always fought for these two causes, which are, indeed, indistinguishable. He has given his country his sons, his life, and his talent. At the Elysée he will be a symbol of hard work, probity, right and justice. He will continue to pursue a life consecrated to the public good. M. Doumergue was President of the Senate before he became President of the Republic. M. Doumer likewise will bring to the seat of supreme power the experience of the highest office. Our friends may rest assured that through him France will always speak with the voice of generosity and peace.

PIERRE LYAUTEY.

TYPE IN THE HISTORY OF DAIRY CATTLE

ONE of the most remarkable situations in the dairy world to-day is created by the insistence of the dairy breed associations upon show points described in their various score-cards, and upon the general form, or 'type,' which an animal having these points presents. Of course, if type—or any particular points described in a score-card—and production necessarily go together, we can get type, or the points described, by getting production. On the other hand, if type—or any particular points described in a score-card—do not necessarily go with production, the conclusion is inevitable that type or the particular elements of type under consideration either have no relation to the productive value of dairy cattle, or they are inconsistent with, and injurious to, productive value.

Now it is not necessary to demonstrate the fact that dairying is a highly competitive industry. We all know that the margin of profit is small, and that no dairyman can secure a fair return for his labour unless his herd makes a high average production of milk and butter-fat. It is clear, then, that men whose livelihood is at stake cannot afford to misdirect their energies or to spend time and money developing in their cattle qualities which have no relation to their great work of earning a living. It takes but little study of a score-card to see that some of the points upon which breed associations insist have no relation whatever to productive value—such, for instance, as the requirement that horns of a Guernsey cow shall be 'slightly incurved inwards' and that she shall have a 'long thin tail with good switch,' or, as the rule once read, a 'tail reaching down to her hocks.' These and other rules of the same sort complicate the work of the breeder and add difficulties where difficulties should not exist.

Other points in the score-card are open to more serious criticism. There is a statement in one of the Guernsey score-cards that the yellow colour in a cow's ear, on the tail-bone, udder, teats, and body indicates the colour of her milk. It is not too much to say that this statement was never justified by any adequate observations, and that it is not now generally believed. What, then, shall be the judgment on the further statement of the score-

card that yellow colour in the ear and on the tail and body of a bull indicates the colour of milk to be given by his daughters! This, however, is not the worst of the situation. Of the rule calling for a nose of a 'buff colour' Mr. Charles L. Hill, the historian of the breed, says that

> The color of the nose in no way denotes intrinsic merit. . . . The buff nose is fashionable in the show ring . . . but this fashion has not been helpful to the Guernsey breed, as in the past many of the brindles and dark cows have been among the very best animals.[1]

The mischief of this rule neither begins nor ends in the show-ring, where discreet judges will minimise its influence as far as they can. The real mischief is of daily effect in cow barns throughout the country wherever farmers and dairymen trusting to official guidance underrate good animals because of dark noses and judge their stock by a fancy point instead of looking to productive value.

If official announcements defining 'type' have in the past contained some irrelevant matter, some statements which are not true, and some provisions which have been positively injurious, or, in Mr. Hill's milder phrase, have 'not been helpful to the breed,' it becomes important for dairymen, before trusting too much to the definition of type, to discover where the score-card came from, what the course of its history has been, and what its practical value is to-day. Mr. Froude, in his *History of the Reign of Elizabeth*, says that opinions may hold their ground because they exist, although their logical defences may have long crumbled to pieces. In such cases there is much illumination in Lord Acton's remark, that few discoveries are more irritating than those which expose the pedigree of ideas. It is not pleasant to find that the logical defences of opinions still strongly held in fact crumbled long ago, and nevertheless opinions which claim present authority cannot escape examination. So with the matter of type; if it be asserted that there is a type which should guide the breeding of dairy cattle, a type by which, as a standard, judges in the show-ring, looking at the external appearance of animals brought before them, can correctly appraise their inner dairy qualities and breeding value, we should know whence the knowledge of this type comes, how it was discovered, and exactly what its authority really is. Effort spent in learning the pedigree of ideas upon such an important subject may result in knowledge of great value.

In commencing this study, taking as a starting-point the score-card adopted in 1882 by the Royal Guernsey Agricultural Society

[1] *The Guernsey Breed* (Kimball Co., Waterloo, Iowa, 1917), p. 58.

and the revised score-card of 1883, we meet a strange provision reading:

> **Arms full, and swelling above the knee . . .**[1]

What are the 'arms' of a cow? The *Century Dictionary* says that in comparative anatomy and zoology it is permitted to speak of the fore-limb of any vertebrate animal as an arm, especially when terminating in a prehensile extremity. The *Oxford Dictionary* says that the word 'arm' is popularly used to describe the fore-limbs of apes, bears, and other animals that rise on their hind-legs, but, the subjects discussed by the Guernsey score-card being remote from comparative anatomy, the hoofs of a cow being in no sense prehensile, and bovine manners presenting none of the appearances which have led popular speech to refer to fore-legs of apes and bears as 'arms,' the problem of correctly interpreting the score-card seems unexpectedly difficult. No help is found in the suggestion that use of the perplexing word was without significance, for in the original score-card of 1842 there was a provision relating to bulls:

> . . . The fore-legs . . . large above the knees . . .

and relating to cows:

> . . . Fore-legs straight and well-shaped.

The word 'fore-legs,' then, has been intentionally dropped and 'arms' has been substituted. An explanation can be found in the fact that 'arms' is the English derivative of the Latin word used in the ancient descriptions of cattle, the prototypes of modern score-cards.

There is a considerable body of Latin literature on the subject of cattle, their proper form, type, colour, their care in health and disease, and the remedies which should be employed for their cure when ill. All this literature was known to the Middle Ages, when men faced, for the most part, the same difficulties which we face to-day, but with none of the knowledge of proper methods of feeding and management in health and disease which help us to solve so many problems. It is not surprising, then, since Roman writers had collected the folk-lore of the ages from Greece and Carthage, that men of later times, who in many ways were inferior to the ancients in knowledge and culture, translated into their own languages and copied from one another the writings of Latin authors.

The trouble with all this ancient writing on disease, as Vegetius himself complains, is that there is an element of magic in it, or,

[1] *The Guernsey Breed*, by Charles L. Hill, p. 56.

in his phrase, that it is in the style of charms or magic by old women [3]—a complaint, however, which it would be necessary to modify in the case of the sacred cake, in regard to which Cato says that its preparation must be managed entirely without the presence of women who can neither make it nor see it made.[4] All remedies, of course, at that time were empirical. Much was done that caused endless suffering and very little was done that could by any possibility be helpful. Human and animal excretions, for example, were used as curative agents, sometimes mixed with herbs and honey and poured into nostrils, ear or throat of suffering beasts or applied externally in the spirit of speculation, known so well to gamblers who believe that they can find the successful combination, and to breeders confident of their ability to make a successful 'nick.' It would not be pleasant to repeat many of the prescriptions that were passed down through the ages, but we can read with interest the statement of Columella that if an animal troubled with colic can be led where it will see an object swimming—best of all a duck—the colic will be relieved. This statement was copied by Vegetius with the added assertion that geese are as effective for this trouble as ducks, and so the remedy came down from one to another, until in 1662 it was repeated in Leonard Mascall's treatise on *Cattel*, with the prudent addition, however, 'and yet sometimes they can find no medicine that can help.' [5] The root of lungwort is a valuable medicine, Vegetius says, if gathered with the left hand before dawn,[6] and this, too, Mascall repeats in his book.[7] For another trouble the remedy is burning the forehead through the bone with a hot iron, slitting the ears and washing the wounds with urine.[8] Barnaby Googe, a celebrated poet and translator, born in 1540, who is supposed to have been a relation and retainer of Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's great Minister, repeats this in his book on *Husbandry*, advising, however, that the ears be cut off.[9] This also is accepted by Mascall and passed on as a 'very good and perfect remedy.' [10]

It is in the midst of such material as this that we find the ancient descriptions of cattle, chief among which are the description given by Mago the Carthaginian in the second century before Christ, the descriptions by Varro and Virgil in the first century

[3] Vegetius, lib. i., cap. xxxix., p. 267.
[4] Cato, *De Re Rustica*, cap. l., xxxiii.
[5] Columella, lib. vi., cap. vli. Vegetius, lib. iii., cap. iii. See Barnaby Googe, *Arte of Husbandry*, bk. iii., p. 125. Mascall on *Cattel*, p. 9.
[6] Vegetius, lib. iii., cap. ii.
[7] Mascall on *Cattel*, p. 7.
[8] Vegetius, lib. iii., cap. iii., p. 350.
[9] The *Arte of Husbandry*, bk. iii., p. 125.
[10] Mascall, bk. i., p. 11.

before Christ, the treatise of Columella in the first century after Christ, and that of Palladius about 300 years later. All the descriptions given by these various writers bear a strong family resemblance one to the other, and it is quite evident that modern score-cards owe much to them. Compare, for example, the various Scales of Points printed in Mr. Hill's book on *The Guernsey Breed* with the points mentioned by Varro, Virgil, Columella, and Palladius, and take the bull first. Many similarities can be found, of which a few are here selected. Other examples could be found in the score-cards of other breeds.

THE BULL

Wide open nostrils, p. 55 (*patulis naribus et resimis* [11]).

Forehead broad, p. 55 (*latæ frontis et crispæ* [11]).

Arms full, etc., p. 55 (*armis vastis* [12]).

Back straight . . . rump level, p. 55 (*dorso recto et plano* [11]).

Barrel round, deep and well ribbed-up, p. 55 (*ventre non parvo, porrectis lateribus latis lumbis* [11]) ; *capaci et tamquam implente utero* [12]).

Chest broad and deep, p. 55 (*pectore grandi* [11]).

Hide mellow and flexible to the touch, p. 57 (*tactu corporis mollissimo* [12]).

Colour fawn or red (or others), p. 57 (*colore rubeo vel fusco* [12]).

THE COW

Horns slightly incurved, p. 57 (*camuris cornibus* [13]).

Forehead long, p. 57 (*alta fronte* [14]).

Long thin tail with good switch, p. 57 (*caudis maximis* [15] ; *caudis longissimis et setosis pilosisque* [16] ; *et gradiens ima verrit vestigia cauda* [17] ; *caudam profusam usque ad calces* [18]).

Barrel round and deep at flank well-ribbed, p. 56 (*corpore amplo, bene costatos* [18] ; *uteri capaci et magno* [16]).

Full bright eye, p. 57 (*oculis . . . grandibus* [15] ; *oculis magnis* [18]).

Legs short, hoofs small, p. 57 (*ungulis brevibus et cruribus parvis* [15]).

Cheeks small, p. 56 (*compressis malis* [18]).

It would be possible to carry this examination of details much farther, but enough has been said to show that man has for many centuries looked closely at the form of his cattle and that many features emphasised long ago are features to which importance is attached to-day. It is also clear that some of these features have no obvious relation to practical qualities, and that some are

[11] Palladius, lib. iv. Martius, cap. xi.
[12] Columella, lib. vi., cap. i. Palladius, lib. iv., cap. xi.
[13] Virgil, *Geor.*, bk. iii., l. 55.
[14] Palladius, lib. iv., cap. xi.
[15] Palladius, lib. iv., cap. xi.
[16] Columella, lib. vi., cap. i.
[17] Virgil, *Geor.*, bk. iii., l. 59.
[18] Varro, lib. ii., cap. v.

fancy points merely, unless they were in some way thought to be associated with qualities desired for divination from entrails, or belong to the class of old women's magic. Barnaby Googe in his book on the *Whole Art and Trade of Husbandry*, after referring to ancient writers on agriculture, including the Latin authors already mentioned, says that it is from them

> . . . if we will confesse the truth, wee have borrowed the best knowledge and skill that our skilfullest husbands have.[19]

Evidently the borrowing has not entirely ceased, and it is important therefore, in order to understand our own score-cards, that we should discover what the ancient writers whom modern score-cards follow meant by what they wrote and the purposes which they sought to accomplish. The problem at all times before breeders has been to find a relationship between form and function, and in order that we may understand the methods by which the Romans attempted to solve this problem we must begin by knowing the functions which cattle performed in the ancient world—functions that are very different from those which they perform in the modern world.

Cicero has been quoted as saying—although I have been unable to find the passage—that in his time cattle were valuable, 'ad laborandum, ad vestiendum et ad stercorandum'—that is, as beasts of burden or of draught, whose skin when they died furnished leather for man's clothing and which while living produced fertilising material to enrich his fields. It will be noticed that this phrase mentions neither milk nor meat. It may be inferred, therefore, that the labour of cattle was so valuable and necessary that beef would be too expensive a luxury for frequent use. Barnaby Googe speaks of the ox as 'a good ploughman and faithful servant,' so essential to human welfare that Hesiod, 'the gravest author of our profession, saith that the family doth consist of the Husband, the Wife and the Oxe.'[20] Varro speaks of the ox as—

> Socius hominum in rustico opere, et Cereris minister. Ab hoc antiqu manus ita abstineri voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, si quis occidisset.[21]

In other words, the ox, like farm horses of the days before tractors, was necessary in order to raise crops, and to such an extent was the companion of mankind that there had been a time when the wilful slaughter of an ox was a capital offence. Vegetius tells the whole story when he says that without the ox the ground could not have been cultivated nor the human race fed. The crops which kept the Roman world alive were produced

[19] 'Epistle to the Reader.'
[20] *The Whole Art and Trade of Husbandry* (1610), p. 120.
[21] Lib. ii., cap. v. See Pliny, *N.H.*, lib. viii., cap. xlv.

by the ox and the plough. All other animals, including poultry, derived their food from the labour of cattle.

Whence [says Vegetius] could the genius of the master provide barley for horses, food for dogs or nourishment for swine unless it had all been raised by the labour of the ox? Among some peoples mules, among others, camels, among a few, elephants, have been used to a small extent, but no nation could exist without cattle.[22]

Ultimately cattle were used as food, when their labouring days were past; the females, too, furnished milk in excess of the requirements of their calves, but both meat and milk were entirely secondary matters. The breeding and rearing of cattle for the primary purpose of furnishing meat or milk are very modern developments in the Western world. Two thousand years ago cattle first and foremost were draught animals and beasts of burden. We are able, then, with this knowledge of the purposes for which cattle were used, to take up Latin descriptions of the desirable type of Roman cattle.

Our first description of Roman cattle comes from Varro in the first century before Christ, who says:

Whoever wishes to buy draught cattle should see first that they are just coming into breeding age, well-made, sound, long and deep-bodied with dark horns, broad foreheads, large black eyes, hairy ears, close-set jaws, flat noses, with the back gently sloping downwards from broad high shoulders, wide nostrils, black muzzles, thick long necks, dew-laps hanging from the throat, a wide body well-ribbed, good rumps, with tails hanging down to their heels and the lower parts well covered with hair, legs rather short, straight knees, wide apart and large, the feet not broad nor sounding as they go, the two parts of the hoofs not spreading far apart, the different hoofs of the same size and small, the hide not rough nor hard to the touch. In colour the strongest is black, the next red, the third pale red and the fourth white.[23]

It is not easy, Columella says, to tell what qualities are to be sought and what are to be avoided in buying cattle, since these animals vary so much in different countries, and even in different parts of the same country. In the midst of so much diversity the ploughman in buying bullocks should have some common certain precepts, and these Mago the Carthaginian has furnished us, as follows:

Such oxen are to be sought as are young, square with huge limbs, lofty horns, somewhat blackish and strong, with a broad curled forehead, a flat [or, as Mascall translated it, 'a turned-up'] nose, a long brawny neck, large dew-laps hanging down almost to their knees, a great breast, vast shoulders, a capacious belly as though great with young, extended sides, broad loins, a straight even back curved possibly a little,

[22] *Prologus*, lib. iii.
[23] Lib. ii., cap. v.

round buttocks, with compact, well-set and straight legs, rather shorter than longer, not with ill-shaped knees, with great hoofs, long bristly tails and the hair of their body thick and short, of a red or dark colour and a skin very soft to the touch.

Virgil's description of the best type of cow is thus translated by Dryden :

> The generous Youth who studious of the Prize,
> The Race of running Coursers multiplies ;
> Or to the plow the sturdy bullock breeds,
> May know that from the Dam the worth of each proceeds.
> The Mother Cow must wear a low'ring look.
> Sour-headed, strongly-necked, to bear the Yoke,
> Her double Dew-lap from her chin descends,
> And at her thighs the pendent drapery ends.
> Long are her sides and large, her Limbs are great ;
> Rough are her ears, and broad her horny feet.
> Her Colour shining black, but flicked with white.
> She tosses from the Yoke ; provokes the fight ;
> She rises in her gait, is free from fears ;
> And in her Face a Bull's resemblance bears ;
> Her ample forehead with a star is crown'd
> And with her length of tail she sweeps the ground.[34]

Three or four centuries later Palladius follows with a description of proper type of oxen, bulls, and cows which is plainly taken from the earlier writers, and which speaks of cattle which are young, square with huge limbs, the muscles and brawn everywhere standing out, large ears, wide curly forehead, black eyes and muzzle, strong horns not curved, wide turned-up nostrils, a muscular solid neck, a broad dew-lap hanging to the knees, great chest, arms full, belly not small, extended sides, broad loins, a straight even back, massive legs, muscular and short, large hoofs, long bristly tail, and the hair of the body thick and short chiefly of a red or dark colour. Of cows Palladius says that he would choose one which stands high, long of body with a great capacious belly, high forehead, eyes large and black, pretty horns, black preferred, hairy ears, long tail.

It is impossible to read these descriptions of the cattle desired by the ancient world without seeing that ancient breeders were looking for power. Their ploughs were heavy, ungainly, awkward tools, difficult to use, demanding great power for their draught, and to provide this power the ancients were dependent upon the ox. Roman breeders therefore needed heavy animals of great bone and muscle, and upon their ability to raise such stock the food supply of their world and the maintenance of their civilisation depended. Ancient breeders nevertheless had no idea of the qualities which go to make muscular power and endurance. They

[34] See *Geor.*, bk. iii., ll. 49 *et seq.*

were poor anatomists and still poorer physiologists, but they made up a score-card listing the indications which in their observation had seemed to be associated with strength, and let it go at that. The function to be performed was draught. Hairiness seemed to be associated with power, as much later to Guernsey breeders a yellow skin suggested yellow milk. Both notions prove to be mistaken, but the time had not yet come for accurate observation, and so each later writer made such additions to the growing score-card as seemed right to him; and the end we have seen—rather a formidable list of requirements. Of the score-card as thus made up John Lawrence in his book published in 1805 said:

> The 'common and certain precepts' of Mago the Carthaginian, respecting plough cattle, on which so much dependence was placed by Columella, are totally unworthy of transcription. They consist of mere arbitrary marks, bearing no sort of relation to any principle of utility, in point of form, the grand defect in all the ancient descriptions of cattle. For example, what possible connection can subsist between 'lofty horns, broad foreheads, hairy ears, black eyes and lips and turned-up noses' and abilities for draught? And granting that in any particular race such marks were the usual concomitants of the desired qualities, it is a poor theory which depends on adventitious or local and transitory circumstances instead of fundamental and permanent grounds.[25]

Even Pliny, who in many ways was as far as any other Latin writer from a sound judgment on this matter, seems to have had some doubt about the wisdom of trusting too much to 'type,' for he suggests caution in his remark 'nec degeneres existimandi etiam minus laudato aspectu.'[26]

Concerning selection of breeding stock by their looks, George Culley well said in his *Observations on Live Stock*, published in 1801:

> A person who has travelled through the different breeding counties, cannot but remark the great diversity of opinion in the characteristic distinctions of excellence in domestic animals, particularly sheep. A Norfolk sheep-breeder says, sheep should be black-faced and black-legged; that their horns should come out forward, and turn in such a manner as you can see the ears through or behind the circle of the horns.
>
> A Wiltshire sheep-breeder, on the contrary, says, that sheep should have white faces and white legs; and that their horns should come out backwards in such a manner that the ears may be seen before the horns. —But a Sussex breeder insists upon it that they are both wrong; because sheep should be grey-faced and grey-legged, and have no horns.—Thus it appears how widely different these worthy people are in their opinions; and yet they cannot all be right, though they most assuredly think so.
>
> Could any of these people be prevailed upon to make an experiment,

[25] *Treatise on Cattle*, p. 28.

[26] Pliny, *N.H.*, lib. viii., cap. xlv.

they would most probably find, that excellence does not depend on the situation or size of horns or on the colour of faces and legs, but on other more essential properties.

Comment of the same nature can well be made upon the ancient methods of choosing cattle, particularly when with the passage of time countries had come to be inhabited where, having abundant rainfall and long seasons, it had become possible to develop horses for draught purposes and to use cattle for meat Under these conditions the world was no longer dependent upon the ox for power to draw the plough. Horses by this time were draught animals too; oxen had found a new function to perform (that of supplying beef), and it must be noticed that cattle which best perform one of these functions are not necessarily well adapted to perform the other. Good draught cattle develop muscles of the legs and other parts of the body which enable them to draw the plough, while store cattle—as they are called in England, or feeders, as we call them in America—are best when they fatten most quickly, putting their weight into the valuable cuts of their carcases. Later, when cattle became valuable for the dairy, the best milch-cows were those which did not fatten at all, but which put all their nourishment, beyond what was needed for maintenance, into the production of milk.

The desirable properties of animals are different, according to the purposes to which they are applied. The principal productions of live-stock are meat, milk, labour and wool. A breed of cattle equally well adapted to the butcher, the dairymaid, and the plough or cart, is nowhere to be found. So far as experience enables us to judge, these properties appear to be inconsistent with one another, and to belong to animals of different forms and proportions. It must be evident, that a description of a well-formed animal for fattening will not apply to any of the descriptions of horses. And with regard to sheep, there is reason to suspect that very fine wool cannot be produced by such as have the greatest tendency to fatten, and will return the most meat for the food they consume.[27]

Nevertheless, the ancient advice for the selection of draught cattle was applied by early English writers to selection of all cattle. Barnaby Googe applies Varro's description of type equally to cattle bought for labour, for fattening or 'for the paile.'[28] Mago's advice, which Columella quoted, was copied by Leonard Mascall in his book on *Cattel*, without mentioning the plough, but offering the advice merely to all who would buy oxen. And if it be considered that Mascall had draught animals in mind, there is still a subsequent paragraph on the purchase of lean kine to fatten which quotes Fitzherbert to the effect that animals bought to fatten should be young and sound, but suggests

[27] Loudon's *Encyclopædia of Agriculture* (1857), p. 301.
[28] *Arte of Husbandry*, p. 120 (1614).

no alteration in the elaborate table of points with which the book opens. The *Treatise of Oxen, Sheep, Hogs and Dogs*, bound with *The Country-Man's Treasure* of John Lambert and published in 1683, repeats the well-known score-card given by Columella and Mascall, this time printing it in tabulated form and applying it generally to all oxen bought for draught or meat. Bewick's *Treatise on Live Stock*, published in 1810, expands into five and a half pages all that had previously been said on the subject of type, expressly applying it to oxen bought for slaughter and to oxen bought for draught. The difference in function between draught animals and beef cattle then being entirely overlooked, the ancient rules of Roman writers were indiscriminately applied to both kinds of cattle with such additions as nearly 2000 years had brought. Little had been required to complete the confusion, but this little was contributed when Mascall included dairy cattle in the scope of previous rules, and, having repeated for modern use the counsel of earlier writers in regard to oxen, took the further step of adding to the paragraph relating to purchase of cattle for fattening:

> Again, if ye buy kine to the paile ye must see they be young, and having such properties as afore are mentioned, also gentle to milke and likewise to nourish up their calves.[29]

No ground is given for this assertion that all rules of form apply to animals performing different functions—draught, meat, and dairy; but a writer is quoted who puts into one paragraph a number of striking points selected from the ancient authorities presenting the characteristic charm of acknowledged fancy points:

> Also Stephanus saith, the Farmer having good understanding shall alwayes esteem the Cow of meane stature and being but foure or five years old; the brown colour mixt with white Spots is good with the red and the blacke, and to have a large deep belly, broade forehead, blacke eyes, and great cleane Hornes and blacke, her Eares rough, her jawes narrow set, her Muzzle great, her hayre somewhat crumpled, her hoofes little and smally cloven, her legs short, her chings thick and round. . . .

And then to this selection of phrases, quoted direct and almost unchanged from Latin writers, he adds:

> her Udderen large and deepe, having but four teats, her neck long and thick, her breast large and deep hanging, [a late reappearance of the famous dew-lap] her feet broad and thick.[30]

The Compleat Body of Husbandry of Thomas Hale, published in 1757, comes back to Mascall and Stephanus with the statement that

[29] Mascall, bk. i., p. 65 (' How to buy leane Kine or Cattell ').
[30] Mascall, bk. i., p. 63 (' The Forme and quality of a faire Cow ').

The marks by which a cow may be judged to be formed for plenty of milk, are a large and handsome udder, with a proper number of teats, which is four, with no additional or ill-shaped ones; but these four all long, thick, and small at the ends. After the udder, let the neck be examined, this should be thin, and should have a large and hairy dew-lap.[31]

Loudon's *Encyclopædia*, p. 1020, quotes Wilkinson as saying that the criteria of a beautiful cow are:

She's long in her face, she's fine in her horn,
She'll quickly get fat, without cake or corn,
She's clean in her jaws, and full in her chine,
She's heavy in flank, and wide in her loin.

She's broad in her ribs, and long in her rump,
A straight and flat back, with never a hump;
She's wide in her hips, and calm in her eyes,
She's fine in her shoulders, and thin in her thighs.

She's light in her neck, and small in her tail,
She's wide in her breast, and good at the pail,
She's fine in her bone, and silky of skin,
She's a grazier's without, and a butcher's within.

On the subject of these dual-purpose standards Bewick says:

Beasts which yield great quantities of milk, never feed quickly; and it is from repeated unsuccessful efforts to unite these two irreconcilable properties, that the different breeds of neat cattle have hitherto been brought to so little perfection.[32]

We have seen, then, the rules of Roman writers carried and quoted through the centuries and applied without critical analysis to draught, beef cattle, and to dual-purpose dairy cattle. Only one step remained to be taken—the final application of these standards to dairy cattle of the sort described by Bewick, animals which yield great quantities of milk and, being unable to lay on fat well, are worthless as feeders, and of course useless for draught. This step, as has been seen, was taken when the ancient descriptions were applied to the dairy breeds—arms full, broad forehead, wide nostrils, body round, deep and well ribbed, long tail with good switch, full bright eye, cheeks small, etc. Upon all of which the very sensible comment of John Lawrence seems applicable that

The common minute descriptions, ancient or modern, of the milch cow, have much more of the whimsical and irrelevant, than of the pointed and useful in them.[33]

The foregoing review of the use of cattle by mankind during the last 2,000 years shows:

[31] Bk. x., chap. v., p. 243.
[32] *Treatise on Live Stock* (1810), p. 37.
[33] *Treatise on Cattle*, p. 24.

(1) That during all this period there has been a general opinion that form and function were so associated that skilful persons could distinguish good animals from poor ones by their looks.
(2) That when animals were primarily valuable for draught, this association of form and function was correct, for size, weight and muscle are evident to the eye.
(3) That form and function are properly associated in the case of beef cattle.
(4) That the best draught cattle are those which best develop muscles, speed, weight, and endurance needed to draw heavy weights, while the best beef cattle are those which most quickly and cheaply develop the valuable cuts of the carcase. The form of cattle used for one of these purposes is therefore different from the form of cattle used for the other purpose, and application of identical standards to draught animals and beef cattle was a mistake.
(5) That the application of these standards to dairy cattle on the ground that they can be 'good at the pail' at the same time that they are 'a grazier's without and a butcher's within' is a fundamentally unsound method of judging cattle.
(6) That at all times in the history of human use of cattle during this period the accepted description of useful form has been overlaid with fanciful requirements, such as those relating to length of tail, size of dew-lap, hairiness of ears, and colour of muzzle, to such a degree that it has been impossible to distinguish on the score-card or in the descriptions the features which were actually to be regarded as essential.
(7) That the present score-card of dairy breeds is a late survival into modern times of unscientific methods of the past.
(8) That the only sound method by which we can learn the desirable form for dairy animals is by developing high production, keeping careful, accurate records, and, by study of these records, discovering whether there is a correlation between form and the function of milk production, and, if so, just what the correlation is, its extent and limitations.

It may well be that a correlation which will furnish to breeders of dairy cattle a complete guide for their operations will never be found. It may always be true in this, as in other matters, that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and, if so, herd sires must in the future be selected by the progeny test—that is,

by comparing the average production of a bull's daughters with the average production of their dams, using for continued breeding purposes only those bulls which in this way demonstrate their ability to transmit the quality of high production.

On March 20, 1931, the breed association of the island of Guernsey—first of all dairy cattle registry associations in the English-speaking world, and perhaps the first of such associations in the entire world, to take this great step—made modern genetic science the basis of its breeding operations, adopting the Mount Hope index as the method of applying the progeny test, setting an example which sooner or later all other dairy breed associations must follow, and introducing a new era into an old industry, where, so far as inherited qualities of cattle are concerned, improvement had been unknown for centuries. The success of future breeding on the island, and the result of the inevitable competition with other breeds and with unregistered cattle, will depend upon the thoroughness with which island breeders carry out the work which they have undertaken. This one fact, however, the action of the island association shows—that the days of tradition as a guide to breeding have gone and the days of scientific methods have come. Ideas of type, whose pedigree has been traced from the days of Mago the Carthaginian, have for many years offered a remarkable instance of Mr. Froude's statement that opinions may hold their ground after their logical defences have crumbled, but in the practical dairy industry the days of type, as it has been known, are rapidly coming to an end.

E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

NATIONAL PARKS

THE suggestion to conserve areas of land in this island to be utilised as national parks, a term applied to schemes of a far more grandiose nature in larger countries, at once arrested the attention and caught the fancy of the public. It cannot be termed a new idea, for Epping Forest was long since saved from disappearance by the City of London and has been treated as a place of public resort on holidays. The same applies to the New Forest, though the latter was by no means so well known to the general public as it has become since the introduction of the cheap motor car and the motor coach and charabanc. During the past few years the work of the Forestry Commission has brought the New Forest into the public eye and has shown how deficient in a 'forestry sense' we are at present in this country.

But from the use of Epping Forest, the New Forest, Windsor Forest, etc., as public resorts on holidays, to which might be added Box Hill and Leith Hill, in Surrey (the latter now under the National Trust), and numerous other privately owned beauty spots throughout the country, it is a far cry to the actual setting apart of considerable areas of country to form national parks. The idea was perhaps first publicly mooted by Lord Bledisloe after a visit paid to Canada and the United States. Lord Bledisloe lives close to Lydney, in the vicinity of the Forest of Dean, that great area of oak in Gloucestershire which forms one of the few still extant forests of England owning a true forest population. Filled with the idea of the great national parks of the New World and their wonderful utility and value both to the people, the fauna and the flora of the country, Lord Bledisloe suggested that the Forest of Dean should be formed into a national park to be open to the public for every purpose, including camping. The idea received some lukewarm attention at the time and was then dropped. Latterly it has been revived, owing, to some extent, to the public interest aroused by certain acts of the Forestry Commissioners and by the action of the National Trust. The latter body has been very active during the last few years, probably chiefly owing to the break-up of great estates, the new arterial roads policy, with its appallingly rapid ribbon develop-

ment, which threatened beauty spots, and for other reasons. This national park idea has therefore been simmering in the minds of many in the country. It was given further publicity by the formation of an Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland; this association appointed a committee in June 1929 to consider the question of a national park for Scotland. A few Ministers of the Conservative Cabinet had given some support to Lord Bledisloe's idea with reference to the Forest of Dean. The present Government went further, and in September 1929 appointed a Select Committee to consider the idea, the report of which, published at the beginning of last month, contains certain recommendations which are summarised below.

It appears to be commonly held in this country that the British Empire is far behind the United States and Europe (save in the well-known instance of Canada) in the formation of reserves for the preservation of the local fauna and flora and the use of the public. This is not, however, strictly true. For many years India has had large forest tracts set aside for the preservation of the fauna in which all shooting is prohibited. The first reserve of this nature was formed in the nineties of last century in part of the great forest belt in the north-west of Assam. The sanctuary was formed to preserve rhinoceros, bison, and so forth. Elsewhere in the forest areas shooting is now limited to so many head of different species per year, each rifle being limited to the number shown on the permit. Game sanctuaries were also formed in the United Provinces during the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir John Hewett, an enthusiastic sportsman, who evinced the greatest interest in the preservation of the game—an interest which he still maintains. Some of the Colonies in Africa have followed suit. The object here, however, has been chiefly the preservation of the fauna. In these countries the pressure of the general public and its desire for large open spaces in which to amuse itself, or secure the relaxation so necessary to residents in great towns, has not been a factor.

The new idea, which is exercising the minds of many in this country, is chiefly connected with the urban population and its desire to have areas in which it may enjoy pure air, fine scenery, and obtain, according to temperament, the relaxation or the vivifying feeling which 'wide spaces' engender. It has also been suggested that certain sections of the public should carry with them, or be afforded, the amenities of the town; and, in addition to camping places, be provided with recreation halls, games, cinemas, parking places for coaches and cars, roads, and all the rest of it. It has become apparent, therefore, that the broad idea of the national park, originally based on the examples existing in the New World, has, even were it applicable in its

widest sense to the comparatively small areas likely to be available in the greater proportion of this small island, become entangled with suggestions which doubtless were not in the minds of many of its progenitors. Some of these later ideas may owe their origin to suggestions of a Labour Minister for enlivening the public parks of London. It is proposed, therefore, to deal with the matter in the widest sense, its fundamentals being the provision of open spaces for the public.

As a starting point it may be mentioned that in some of the best managed forests covering extensive tracts in certain European States the public are allowed free access to the State forests for picnicking and so forth. But in these States the public is possessed of the forestry sense. The careful management of the forest is not interfered with, wanton destruction is not committed, nor, away from great cities, are the areas after a holiday left covered with a litter of paper, tins, bottles, etc., which is so common a sight in this country. It was not so very long ago that *The Times* published correspondence relating to the damage committed at Burnham Beeches. It was in the weeks before Christmas, and parties arrived in motor cars and, unchecked, despoiled the trees, carrying off great bundles of beech and holly. A few guardians cannot stop this kind of thing, even on an area of 500 acres only. And what will happen to larger areas ?

Until a forestry sense has been developed in the British public it would appear necessary, therefore, to endeavour to unravel the rather loose ideas which at present centre upon the idea of forming national parks. Since open spaces in cities and towns have become involved in the larger question, it may perhaps prove of interest to include such areas in the consideration of this fascinating subject which it is proposed to attempt. The question would appear to resolve itself into several distinct objects :

I. Open Spaces in Towns : (*a*) Squares ; (*b*) Parks.

II. Open Spaces on the Countryside. These would appear to be capable of sub-division into : (*a*) forests proper managed from the commercial point of view ; (*b*) areas under the management of the National Trust ; (*c*) beauty spots in private ownership ; (*d*) areas set apart for the preservation of the fauna or flora, or both ; (*e*) the proposed national parks.

I. Open Spaces in Towns

(*a*) *Squares.*—London affords us plenty of examples of the beneficent advantage of squares situated amongst the congested blocks of streets. It also presents a striking illustration of the small use to which they have been put in the past. Few would dispute the contention that, were the squares open to the

general public, they would form welcome oases for rest to a public who, amidst the hurry and noisy life of the modern city, have all too little opportunity to obtain a few minutes' restful peace, such as are provided by the sight of verdure, greensward, the scent of flowering shrubs or banks of flowers. It is not always possible, in fact frequently impossible, in the daily round of a busy life to journey to one of the parks to enjoy these. Yet there must be thousands who could pass a few minutes daily in such surroundings, were the square made available. There may have been good reasons—doubtless there were in the added value of house property—in the spacious days of last century for laying out a square and reserving its amenity for the use of the householders. But such reasons have for the most part passed away. Nowadays the houses surrounding many squares have been converted into hotels, flats, business offices or lodging-houses, as, for example, in Russell Square. London's squares are admittedly objects of beauty if merely seen from the outside. But how much more useful they would be if one could penetrate inside to enjoy them!

It will be remembered that a year or two ago the Royal Commission on the London Squares issued its well-known Report in which it expressly recommended that early legislation should be introduced to ensure the preservation of the squares as permanent open spaces on the terms it laid down. This Report has not been forgotten. It was the subject of representations made by a deputation of the London County Council to the Minister of Health in the latter part of 1929. The Government, it was understood, was sympathetic and wished to introduce the necessary Bill and to secure its passage during the present Parliament if time could be found. The importance of legislation to this end is undeniable. The danger to many of the squares comes from the builder, who has already destroyed two of London's well-known open spaces. A great many of the squares cannot be regarded as safe from such a contingency, and the Bill, if passed, would remove such a catastrophe forever. This obviously is the first and most urgent need. But it is to be devoutly hoped that some way will ultimately be found of making the squares free to the general public. It is held by some that to try to do so now would be proceeding too fast. It may be so. Nevertheless there are certainly squares in London whose former *raison d'être* of being kept for the occupants of the neighbouring houses would appear to have disappeared, and the compensation payable in such cases might not prove a formidable matter. In any event, few would dispute that State interference to prevent building on these lungs of London, in the interests of the common welfare, is not justifiable.

(*b*) *Parks.*—The controversy in connexion with a Labour Minister's ideas for improving Hyde Park by the erection of recreation halls, restaurants and so forth is well known. The value of the London parks and those in other cities of the country is beyond dispute, and much has been done of recent years to improve both their beauty and usefulness. But whilst one of the present ideas of the 'park' laid out in a city is to make available for games such parts of it as are suitable for the use of the children, its most beneficial utility to the public must always remain in the open space, the 'wide space' feeling which it engenders—the feeling that one has got away from the streets and houses, from the office and the shops, from the cinemas and dancing halls and the perpetual din. Anything that takes away from that feeling will by so much diminish the value of the park for the majority of the public. Having seen many of the parks in most of the capitals of Europe, it still seems to me that the London parks can challenge comparison with any that Europe can show.

II. Open Spaces on the Countryside

(*a*) *Forests proper managed from the Commercial Point of View.*—Before the appointment of the Forestry Commission and the inauguration of a forest policy for this country the only areas in the country which could come under the denomination of 'forest' were the remains of the old Crown forests, as exemplified by the Forest of Dean, the New Forest, Windsor Forest, and a few other units. In the past these areas had provided timber for national requirements. But their importance in this respect had dwindled during the past century and a quarter, owing to the increasing use of conifers for national purposes, till it had reached a more or less vanishing point at the close of last century.

Under the work of the Forestry Commission a national asset is being created in the commercial forest proper; and with the progress of the work the nation will acquire an increasing area of open, wild stretches of countryside, in the sense that a great stretch of forest is an area which provides rest and freedom from the rush of cities, and a place where one can stroll and enjoy a peace which the city and crowded life of to-day render impossible. The great area in Norfolk and Suffolk, which when completed will cover some 40,000 odd acres, represented by the Thetford Chase Forest, is a case in point of what the future will provide for coming generations. Thetford Chase was once a favourite hunting ground of James I., but for generations has lain a neglected area. By the time that the trees in these national forests of the future are approaching maturity it may be regarded almost as a certainty that the public will have acquired the

forestry sense and will know how to make use of these forests, whilst safeguarding the management in force from acts of wanton destruction. From this point of view the public may regard the work of the Forestry Commissioners as actually bringing into being a number of areas which, in the widest interpretation of the term, will in effect be great national parks. For in certain parts of Europe this would be the designation given to, and the use that is actually made of, the great national forests; whilst at the same time it should be borne in mind that this type of national park brings in a revenue which should result in diminishing taxation.

(*b*) *Areas under the National Trust.*—Perhaps the chief idea which lies at the back of the mind of the general public on the subject of 'national parks' and 'open spaces' is best represented at the present time by the work of the National Trust. The work of this body has been mainly influenced by the broad-minded and far-seeing desire to preserve for the public famous beauty spots throughout the country. The importance of this work has been multiplied since the war by the break-up of the large estates, the building of arterial roads, with their hideous concomitant of ribbon development, the threatened erection of lines of great electric pylons which would ruin for ever some of the prettiest parts of the English countryside, and other acts of present-day vandalism which are only too well known. The National Trust have done well in the past and are accomplishing magnificent work at the present time, and the Trust know that they have a large body of cultured opinion behind them. For the future the suggestion may be permitted that their policy should be slightly re-orientated so as to move with the times, and in cases where the ideas of the public, unavoidably immature at the present day, and their own policy appear to conflict with the work of the Forestry Commission, that full consideration should be given to the policy of the latter. For the two bodies are working for the same end, the provision of wide spaces for the public enjoyment. Moreover, the post-war conditions of this country are far different from those existing at the close of last century; and at long last there must be a limit to the areas which this country can afford to preserve in 'a state of nature' regardless of a return from them and regardless of the sums involved in their upkeep. For there is no stabilisation in Nature: degeneration or improvement is Nature's law.

(*c*) *Beauty Spots in Private Ownership.*—Perhaps at no period in the history of this island has the question of the ownership of famous beauty spots by private persons involved such difficult conditions as have become apparent to-day. The Press affords almost daily examples. Where once a handful of persons visited

and took advantage of the permission of the owner to enjoy them, motor coaches and charabancs pour down their thousands to-day. Not only is the owner continually harassed, but the places themselves, through wanton or ignorant damage and the piles of *débris* left behind, threaten soon to lose many of the characteristics for which they have become rightly famous in the past. For even if the spot is famous only for some magnificent view it affords, the enjoyment of even the finest view is materially diminished if one reaches it by wading through masses of litter and refuse, like the outpourings of a giant dustbin. At the present time, in the absence of special legislation, the owner's only hope would seem to be the National Trust, should he wish to sell and should they be able to purchase. But here again the country is faced with a direct loss in revenue from the estate or part of it, and in some form or other a direct expenditure to maintain the beauty spot. In any consideration of the question of forming national parks it would appear that some quite definite conclusions should be come to on the subject of the future of well-known beauty spots, at present in private ownership, and their possible management and protection.

(*d*) *Areas set apart for the Preservation of the Fauna or Flora, or both.*—The setting apart of areas for the preservation of the fauna or flora has quite a definite object in view, and has many supporters, quite apart from the zoologist and botanist. Such areas are sanctuaries from which the public, save with explicit safeguards, must of necessity be excluded if the objects aimed at are to be fulfilled. It may be that the provision of such sanctuaries may be well left to that portion of the public interested in such provision aided by such bodies as the National Trust, local natural history societies, and other bodies interested. It is difficult to envisage the Government granting any but moral support in this praiseworthy aim. Such sanctuaries will be more easily provided in the wilder tracts of the island than in the more densely populated or cultivated areas. And to such it appears obvious that they must be chiefly confined.

(*e*) *The proposed National Parks.*—The idea underlying the formation of national parks, apart from their unrestricted enjoyment by the public, is the innate desire to maintain rural England in its present-day conditions. The idea is perfectly legitimate and equally natural. But if the amenity in question is a block of exquisite old trees, such as the New Forest affords examples of, a little consideration must render it obvious that these old trees, which have come down to us, cannot live forever; and that if not replaced they must eventually disappear, and that particular beauty spot be lost. Again, if the well-known object is some great stretch of heather or a bold landscape, its maintenance

in the condition we have inherited it is demanded. These latter cases are easier to safeguard if we can afford it. And the National Trust have already safeguarded areas in the south and south-west of England and elsewhere. Concurrent with this almost universal desire that no unnecessary material changes should be made in the accustomed beauties of England, to which we all ascribe, is the popular demand that the old woodland areas of the Crown shall be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the public. Since a forestry opinion or 'sense' is almost non-existent at present in England, it is not difficult to obtain support for such a movement. The Forest of Dean covers some 15,000 acres, and is probably one of the best, if not the best, oak-producing area of its size in the island. That the present stock on the ground has been badly grown and thinned does not alter the contention. Expert opinion considers that much of the area could produce as fine oaks as those to be seen in properly managed Continental forests. The New Forest has a still larger area, and much of it could produce timber of various kinds of which we annually import such large amounts. These two areas may be taken as examples of the old Crown forests.

Suggestions have been put forward that these areas should be designated national parks in which presumably any and every act, short of cutting and removing the trees, could be committed; and that such enjoyment of the areas should be accompanied by the minimum interference, if any interference at all is contemplated, on the part of the Forestry Commissioners and their staff, under whom the old Crown forests have been rightly placed.

Apart from the loss of a considerable revenue (and the provision of a certain supply of England's finest timber, oak, and certain other hardwoods) which, with proper management, parts of these areas will certainly yield to the National Exchequer, it may be asked, If converted into national parks to be enjoyed, as, *e.g.*, the public enjoy Burnham Beeches, what will be the condition of these two forest areas in fifty years' time ? The greater number of the trees will have disappeared ; no young ones will have been able to survive to take their places. The present-day forests, with all their picturesque beauty, which with efficient management can surely be maintained, will have gone, to be replaced by a dreary scrub of gnarled and twisted and stunted growth, interspersed in the Dean, with its heavy clay, by areas of bog and marshy swamp. Any forester of experience will tell you that such must be the outcome of registering these areas as national parks for the unrestricted enjoyment of the public, with the additional so-called amenities brought from the town.

It is not intended here to rule out the use of these and other of the old Crown forests as national parks. Far from it. With a

proper understanding by the public, and those bodies representing public opinion, of the paramount necessity of providing for an efficient management of such areas in the interest of future generations and the strict observance by the public of such rules and restrictions as this management must of necessity lay down, these areas will form as fine examples of the national park as are likely to be found elsewhere in England. But if they are to be maintained as forests (such open spaces as may be deemed necessary, as, *e.g.*, in the New Forest, being left unplanted), if their present beauty is to be handed down to our successors, they must be under the highest skilled management possible.

There are several areas whose claims are being warmly backed by their advocates. The first is the Snowdon region in North Wales. The area suggested here is some 150 square miles, bounded roughly by Conway, Bettws-y-Coed, Beddgelert, and Caernarvon. It is enclosed by main motoring roads, whilst two others cross it. This, as many know, is a region of great and wild natural beauty and is easily accessible from the great towns of the north and Midlands, and therefore would provide a considerable industrial population with a magnificent national park—safeguarded, if properly looked after, for all time. Other areas which are to be also studied, and whose suitability is being strongly urged, are the Dovedale district of Derbyshire, and, of course, the Lake District.

The Scottish proposal to form one or more national parks in the north presents perhaps less difficulties than in England. Great areas of poor land exist in that part of the island containing famous beauty spots which, with a certain amount of negotiation, should be capable of being registered for all time as national parks, whilst they would at the same time act as sanctuaries for the fauna and flora of the locality. But from the point of view of the southerner these will be national parks for the enjoyment of the northerner and the richer and more leisured classes from the south. Even in these days of easy motor traffic the expenses of a visit to a Scottish national park would be a deterrent to the bulk of the southern population.

Lastly, a further possibility in the creation of national parks has been put forward by the Forestry Commissioners. In their purchase of land for afforestation purposes they have often had to buy, when acquiring estates, both plantable and unplantable land. It is suggested that suitable areas of this unplantable land might be made available for the recreation of the public by being maintained as national parks.

The Report of the National Park Committee,[1] which consisted of Dr. Addison (chairman), Mr. H. L. French, Mr. A. S.

[1] H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 3851.

Gaye, Mr. I. G. Gibbon, Sir Robert Greig, Sir Ernest Holderness, Mr. F. J. E. Raby, and Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, makes no specific suggestions as regards the particular areas to be selected, on the ground that it would be premature to select areas at this stage. Nevertheless, it contains a number of useful recommendations, including the constitution of a National Reserve Authority. The Committee suggest that in many cases preservation could be ensured by a planning scheme regulating the future development of selected areas under the control of a National Reserve Authority, which should have powers to make by-laws regulating the use of national reserves; to co-operate with the National Trust and other societies; and to take such other steps as may tend to foster an enlightened public sentiment. It is recommended, on the assumption that money is available, that two executive authorities be set up, one for England and Wales and one for Scotland, with powers to select national reserve areas and to carry out other functions. The Committee consider—and all will agree—that the attitude of landowners *vis-à-vis* the public is generally liberal, and that a generous measure of access is provided to the large areas in the occupation of the Crown and to the properties of the National Trust. Special attention is drawn to the 1,600,000 acres of common lands safe from building development and capable of regulation for the benefit of the general public. Common lands in England and Wales, the Committee consider, might make a valuable contribution to a scheme of national reserves, and they recommend that Parliament should be invited—

(*a*) To empower the national authority to acquire, compulsorily if necessary, the interest of the owner of the soil of a common in the neighbourhood of a national or regional reserve in cases where a regulation scheme is vetoed by the owner, compensation being determined by the official arbitrator;

(*b*) To empower a district council to delegate the whole or any part of its powers of management (in so far as they affect the preservation of, and access to, a common) to the national authority.

These are concrete suggestions with reference to one type of open space. But a certain part of the 1,600,000 acres of common land could be made productive by afforestation. Doubtless some of it would have become naturally afforested had no commoners' rights existed and fire been kept out.

It may be suggested for the consideration of the national authority, should it be embodied, that, viewing this problem of open spaces from its widest angle, the chief desiderata to be borne in mind are—the total area to be set aside as more or less unproductive in this small island, the cost of upkeep, and the

objects to be realised, whether rest and quiet and the amenity provided by beautiful scenery and open spaces, or the riot of the city as comprised in vociferous and noisy camping grounds, restaurants, bathing pools, cinemas, dancing halls, and so forth. For the two existing opinions, or sets of ideas, underlying the formation of national parks at present put forward are the antithesis the one of the other.

E. P. STEBBING.

ABOUT GREENLAND

THE fantastic exuberance of the Press over the trivial hitch in the arrangements for relieving Mr. Courtauld at the icecap station of the British Arctic Air Route Expedition has brought Greenland lately into a prominence which has taxed the resources of most of those who have tried to exploit it. The real tragedy of the loss of Professor Wegener, a bold and resolute leader both of scientific theory and of exploration, has almost been ignored. The disaster which did not happen, and never seriously looked like happening, to anyone with a knowledge of Greenland, has utterly eclipsed an actual and irreparable one which coincided with the false alarm. It is, however, futile to complain of what passes for a sense of values in Fleet Street, and premature to scrutinise the work of expeditions whose results are not yet known even in a fragmentary form. What concerns this article is simply the background of these efforts and all that has been written about them.

In theory Greenland is attached to the North American continent and the European political system : in practice its connexions with either are slight. It is the largest island in the world and one of the least known. Three words from a familiar hymn exhaust the information about it which most English people seem to possess : a reputable London newspaper lately quoted its extent as 46,740 square miles, or 'nearly the size of England.' It covers in fact roughly 827,275 square miles, or about as much as France, Germany, Spain, Poland, England, and Hungary put together : the newspaper comparison is therefore only approximately true. Such indications suggest that any attempt to deal with the present situation ought to take nothing for granted.

Cape Farewell, the southern point of Greenland, lies near the 60th parallel—that is, in the same latitude as the Shetlands. Northward, above 80 degrees, Greenland forms the nearest substantial block of land to the Pole. Neither the shape nor the size of it is represented truly on Mercator's projection, nor even its location on the direct route from London to Winnipeg. Its name has the distinction of being purposely misleading. Eric the Red, who colonised it from Iceland at the end of the tenth

century, forestalled the promoters of Peacehaven in choosing an attractive name to persuade people to settle where he wanted them. So far as is known, almost 86 per cent. of the area is covered with a shield of ice whose depth is problematical—probably 3000 feet or more in the interior. The rest forms a narrow strip of littoral, never as much as 200 miles across, and normally much less. This strip is broken into small fragments by a series of fiords, the largest in the world, making deep channels down which icebergs 'calved' from the edge of the inland ice at their head can drift towards the sea. At intervals the icecap sends a glacier tongue directly to the sea, forming a much more decisive barrier: the Humboldt Glacier in the north-west limits the range of musk-ox and lemming, which come no farther south along the west coast. These glaciers have not only a rapid flow of their own; they advance at one point and retreat at another. Jakobshavn Glacier is said to have receded nearly seven miles during the second half of last century. Skirting the coast is an impressive series of islands and skerries. Almost the whole country is enfolded in the cold current which finds its outlet from the polar sea between Spitsbergen and Greenland, flows down the entire east coast bearing a burden of pack-ice which sometimes bars navigation even in summer, and doubles round Cape Farewell, carrying the same ice and its accompanying fog far up Davis Strait. The icecap and this current together make the characteristic Greenland weather, which has lately been investigated by the Michigan University Expedition and is now being studied by two others. So far as is understood, the centre of the icecap is a region of calm air. It is, in fact, a reversing-point for the winds, which blow inwards at a high altitude, and then settling to the surface begin to move along it towards its fringe, where they reach high velocities in the form of a pressure-heated *föhn*. This partly accounts for the fact that the heads of the fiords, the districts immediately adjoining the icecap, are much the warmest. They also have a conspicuous immunity from fog, a low rainfall, and (in summer) sunshine continuing with favourable conditions day after day. In sheltered pockets in the south-west their vegetation has almost temperate luxuriance: willow-scrub grows more than head-high; harebells, juniper, bilberries, and frequent butterflies dispel preconceived ideas. Towards the coast, where all the main settlements are placed, this warmth gives way to a general bleakness. Fog becomes as frequent as foreigners imagine it to be in London. Within perhaps fifty miles the climate has changed from perpetual frost to a heat often comparable to an English summer day and back again to a forbidding severity.

Humanly this large icecap and the succession of fiords or

glaciers breaching the littoral belt have the effect of preventing land communications of any kind. The inland ice has been crossed on several occasions since Nansen's achievement in 1888, but as an isolated feat, not as a feasible route for transport. There are in Greenland neither railways nor roads, unless one or two made paths within the larger settlements are counted. At Godthaab, the capital so called, the dwellings are on one side of a narrow peninsula and the ships' harbour on the other: transport between the two is entirely by boat round the point, which is almost twice the overland distance. There is nothing against a road, but the idea does not arise. Except during reindeer hunting or where sledging is feasible, the Greenlander travels by water: his sealskin *kamiks* or long-boots are admirable for landing on slippery rocks, but unfitted for tramping, which would soon wear them out. His house, hut, or camp is close to the water's edge; he does not penetrate inland. Bare land, in fact, is simply a barrier; water or ice the highway. The term 'Greenlander' has a racial significance. On the west coast, where the great majority of the inhabitants live, pure Eskimo stock is hardly represented now: the people are mixed, with a more or less strong dose of Danish or other European blood. When it is stated that Alaska and Greenland have about equal Eskimo populations, and together hold five-sixths of all the Eskimo surviving, this strong blend must be borne in mind. Of pure Eskimo whose heredity is above suspicion there are probably not much more than 1000, the 709 who made up the east coast population in 1923 and the 251 'arctic highlanders' at Thule being the main elements.

If Greenland were a normal country the density of population might be described as low, since there are altogether just under 15,000 inhabitants—about the figure of Barnstaple or Pudsey—in a territory four times as large as France. But it is impossible to think of the Greenlanders in relation to a land area; extent of coast or of the fiords would make a better correlative.

The Eskimo, who evidently came in by the north-west from the Canadian Arctic, seem to have colonised Greenland earlier than the Norsemen: during the Middle Ages they held the east coast, while the Norse colonies on the south-west remained in contact with Iceland and Rome. Apparently by the beginning of the fifteenth century the advance of the ice past Cape Farewell cut these communications: the Norse colonists dwindled and degenerated; and the Eskimo took their place. By the sixteenth century they had the country to themselves, but were soon disturbed by the surprisingly frequent visits of English and Dutch adventurers. Danish colonisation started with the mission of Hans Egede in 1721: after various experiments the trade was

made a State monopoly by the formation of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, which has held it continuously since 1776. Until recently the company was the sole representative of authority, judicial and ecclesiastical as well as political. Separation of function by which the Greenland Administration (Gronlands Styrelse) takes control has only been carried to a fairly advanced stage during the past few years: even now the relation between the two is very close. Each of the two west-coast provinces in which most of the inhabitants live is under a Danish commissioner (*Landsfoged*), whose multiple function corresponds roughly with those of the early Norman sheriff, and, although there is a certain amount of local self-government, most of the senior officials are Danes.

The extreme simplification of life in Greenland follows from the natural limitations of the country and those artificially added by the monopoly. It is natural that there should be no trees (except willow or birch scrub), no thunderstorms, no summer nights, no reptiles, no ants, no agriculture, no common colds (except epidemics originating from abroad), no important rivers, no hedges, and no domesticated flocks or herds except the experimental sheep station at Julianehaab. It is a result of the monopoly that there is no access except by Government steamer from Copenhagen, no hotel, no alcohol sold, no coinage (except Styrelse tokens), no shop (except the monopoly stores), no prison, no divorce, no postage (except on parcels), no rival religious sects, no measles, no manufacturing industry, no army, navy or police, no felony, no tourist traffic permitted, and no commerce or contracting of the familiar type. Yet this simplification by no means involves all-round primitive equipment, since there are four wireless stations, numbers of motor-boats, an excellent education leading up to ordination, photographers, timber houses with stoves and double glass windows, fish-curing stations, a colliery, a religious revival, and a sophisticated younger generation which is to some extent ceasing to go to church.

It is this arbitrary blend of an intensely primitive organisation and the most modern apparatus and ideas that gives Greenland a peculiar interest. There is, of course, some such blend wherever Western civilisation is impinging on other races, but elsewhere it makes a haphazard and rapidly changing compound, while here the balance is maintained from without under a system which has changed remarkably little since before the French Revolution. Committees have been appointed to report on the possibilities of abolishing the monopoly in 1788, 1835, 1857 and since right down to the present day: some have reported in favour, most against; but the monopoly goes on, and the many secondary modifications effected by the Acts of 1908, 1912, and

1925 have not affected it in fundamentals. It has survived five generations of criticism from all angles between the perfectly disinterested missionary or 'literary' opponents and the highly interested trading groups both in Denmark and abroad. The criticism tends rather to increase than to disappear: on the other hand, the reorganisation of the past few years has helped to consolidate the existing order. In 1917, when the United States bought the Danish West Indies, her claims in northern Greenland were abandoned, and in 1921 the sovereignty of Denmark, previously restricted to the actual settlements, was extended to cover the entire island—a victory over the Monroe Doctrine which has often escaped attention. But the United States were not the only claimants: Norway, eagerly laying hands on Spitsbergen (or Svalbard), Jan Mayen and Bouvet Island, accepted the arrangement with a very bad grace, and, although an agreement covering Norwegian rights of landing and hunting on the east coast was signed in July 1924, frequent Press comments suggest that the Norwegians are by no means reconciled yet. Great Britain and France, by virtue of most-favoured-nation agreements, have equal privileges with Norway on the east coast, but to most countries, including Germany, it is politically closed except by special leave from Copenhagen. The turning back of a French expedition in the summer of 1930 has shown that this supervision is more than a matter of form. The west coast has been closed to Danes and foreigners alike since the eighteenth century. Prohibitions include fishing and hunting, landing, except in such emergencies as shipwreck or exhaustion of water, navigation through territorial waters except with all hunting or fishing gear and boats inboard, and trading, or even giving anything to the inhabitants, without a permit. Watering is now permitted under stringent supervision at six ports on the west coast, one of which is actually uninhabited. The enforcement of these regulations rests with the Royal Danish Navy, there being no sort of military or police force in Greenland. The continuity of policy under different conditions is indicated by the fact that the refusal in 1893 to admit tourists is still maintained.

Tibet and Nepal are equally closed countries, but the peculiarity of Greenland is its status as a colony closed to all persons whose presence is not considered necessary, whether they are subjects of the mother country or not. This despotism, drastic as its methods may seem, is in fact wholly benevolent. In remarking that 'Greenland is one of the few colonial areas where the consideration of what is best for the native population weighs more heavily than the demands of European traders' the official account states an unquestionable fact. No one who has been to Greenland can doubt the untainted idealism of the administration:

debate confines itself to the question whether or not the policy followed is a misguided one.

Only the particular form of the problem is peculiar to Greenland: in essence it exists wherever backward races are governed by Europeans on principles other than that of naked commercial exploitation. The dynamic trend of the Western civilisation imparted to them soon clashes with the maintenance of absolute European control in the interests of efficiency and of protection against aggression. The difficulties of Denmark in Greenland are essentially similar to the difficulties of Great Britain in India or Egypt, and of the United States in the Philippines. Yet there are important differences. Unlike Egypt, Greenland is a place of no strategic value to the paramount Power: unlike India, it is a negligible market. Geographic and political isolation have kept it free of the external entanglements which complicate the solution of other native problems. Above all, there is no vested interest of white settlers or even traders in the country, unless the strictly isolated mines worked under licence by Danes with short-term contracts are included in that category. It is therefore possible to face the question of what is best for the inhabitants practically free from extraneous considerations.

Under the existing system the Greenlander is more isolated than the remotest Pacific islander whose economics link up with the world market. The prices of all articles of trade, whether imported into or produced in Greenland, are arbitrarily fixed from Copenhagen on a scale which not merely diverges from the general price level, but fundamentally conflicts with it. In Denmark the term 'administrative commerce' is applied to this artificial economy, which is only to be compared to the attempted State regulation of prices and wages in Soviet Russia. The price paid to the Greenlanders for the fish, furs, and so on which they bring in is far below their actual value; on the other hand, all imports are sold at a loss by the Trading Company, and for necessities of life this loss is very heavy. The effect of this adjustment is evidently to favour the non-producer by an indirect levy on the producer in order to subsidise cheaper commodities for all. The energetic hunter or fisherman who risks his life constantly in his work is grossly underrewarded for his products, and to anyone unacquainted with Greenland conditions this no doubt seems a lamentable injustice. The policy of the Trading Company has, in fact, the effect of penalising trade. But then it has to be remembered that 'production' in Greenland, perhaps more than in any comparable territory, is sheer exploitation of natural resources in mining, hunting and fishing. These resources, except perhaps the last, are severely limited, which is a principal reason why the closing of the country is so strictly maintained.

Norwegians who descend on the east coast and clear up all the living things they can find honestly consider their conduct unobjectionable, and fail to understand the 'dog-in-the-manger' policy of the Danes. But even when no inhabitants are present at the time of the raid these hunting-grounds are an essential part of their small and fluctuating animal resources. It is perhaps difficult for the advanced European to appreciate the circumstances of a primitive community in a country where the establishment of the pastoral stage is still the subject of Government experiments. The pure Eskimo are still more or less nomadic in search of food, and the large-scale slaughter from outside of wild animals, particularly seals, which are the basis of food and clothing and even transport, is becoming an urgent problem.

Whether the massacre is carried out by visitors or natives the effect is, of course, the same, and the object of Danish policy is to eliminate either blunder. Like most people for whom provident habits have the most obvious advantages, the Greenlanders are thoroughly feckless: they take a childish delight in killing for killing's sake, and the scene of a party of them blazing away wildly at the clouds of birds rising from a cliff colony on the fiords, with uncontrollable maniac laughter and a dangerously erratic aim, is not soon forgotten. By restricting the visits and watering of foreign vessels the Styrelse handicaps exploitation of Greenland's food resources by outsiders for private profit: by protective ordinances and by fixing purchase prices which even the poorly informed Greenlanders know to be absurdly small it deters them from massacring on an excessive scale to the permanent detriment of the stock, and on the other hand from selling a larger proportion of their bag than they can really spare in order to buy European luxuries.

The measures are drastic, but, judging by results, it is still doubtful whether they have been drastic enough. Seal and reindeer, which formed the staples of meat, footwear, warm clothing, and the light *kayaks* in which the Greenlander goes out to fish or hunt on the fiord, have both sunk to the point where their numbers are barely sufficient to save falling back on substitutes. The addition of a meat shortage to the permanent famine of vegetables is evidently a serious matter: no people can live on a fish diet alone, and there are economic limits to the importation of foreign foodstuffs. Sheep farming, which is said to be proving practicable at Julianehaab, in the extreme south, and the introduction of domesticated reindeer may have to be taken up on a large scale to fill the gap. Among birds the eider-duck have been so heavily exploited that stringent protection is being applied in the hope of fostering a recovery. Ptarmigan, which also have a strict close season, and are ridiculously tame, are in

no danger, since the Greenlanders do not reckon them good to eat, razorbill and guillemot being the favoured game-birds. Since there is no timber or other vegetable wealth, the remaining sources of exploitation are the fisheries, chiefly cod and halibut, whales (although the golden age of Greenland whaling is long past through the excessive greed of the whalers), arctic-fox furs, and the mines of an inferior coal and of cryolite at Ivigtut. Excluding the possibility of other valuable mineral deposits, the throwing open of the Greenland trade would probably have no appreciable effect except upon the Greenlanders. The unchecked exploitation of resources would perhaps allow a short period of moderate prosperity followed by a sharp depression after the more attractive plums had been plucked and capitalists had turned their attention elsewhere. No doubt the Greenlanders would co-operate in this stupidity at least as eagerly as anyone; but, since the country has no apparent possibilities at present except as a source of raw material, and that on a scale allowing little exportable surplus, the abandonment of the monopoly would probably leave the country much worse off in the long run. The profits which are now applied for the benefit of the inhabitants would be transferred to the benefit of capitalists abroad: the cost of living, which is already inevitably high, would rise to cover the freight and insurance on small quantities of goods sent over long distances at considerable risk, and the main hope of prosperity would depend on establishing a substantial meat export from reindeer flocks or on the spending of tourists and passengers by the contemplated arctic air route to North America.

From the standpoint of tourist traffic Greenland is no doubt 'ripe for development'—to use the accepted phrase. It is conveniently close to the major breeding areas of tourists on either side of the Atlantic. It has the most magnificent fiord scenery, the largest icecap and perhaps the most picturesque natives in the northern world (Greenland women, who do not wear skirts, use brightly coloured, often scarlet, *kamiks* to the knee, breeches of a sort, and very brilliant pullovers which would dazzle Fair Isle). As the source of icebergs and a difficult region for navigation it has the spice of apparent danger, which is sufficient to attract the enterprising tourist without unduly frightening the enterprising shipping company. The climate is extremely healthy and bracing. It is certainly as a tourist playground that Greenland would find her chief immediate source of gain if the monopoly were removed. But whether this would be a good thing for the Eskimo, or even the Greenlanders and their country, is open to doubt. The pure Eskimo would undoubtedly disappear in a remarkably short time, and the strength of the European strain would be increased all round.

It seems certain that Europeans would come in and reap a large part of the profits, since the country could not supply much of either food or other commodities without importing the equivalent—a trade which Europeans would inevitably dominate. The Greenlanders would not dive for coins in the fiord (the Government medical adviser has stated that ' At the present time the body of a Greenlander—with the exception of his face and hands—after his first childhood only by chance gets in touch with water ') ; but they would do all the other tricks which tourists know how to teach. To anyone who has landed at a Greenland settlement and seen the population, down to women and children, all turn out and help to carry the strangers' belongings to the empty house which has been put temporarily at their disposal, without missing a single article either from dishonesty or carelessness, and without any consideration of money, the prospect of reducing the Greenlanders to the uniform species of tout common to Fiesole and Killarney, Barbados and Port Said naturally makes no appeal.

In the extended trials permitted them tourists have shown themselves incapable of including within their sphere any place which they have not vulgarised and degraded. Their admission to Greenland would undo generations of successful work in the exclusion of European diseases and would undoubtedly be fatal to the interests of the aboriginals : the mixed Greenlanders might benefit financially, but their deterioration to the condition of the pitiful half-breeds in Alaska and elsewhere would be the probable price. Since any explorer or scientist who can show reasonable grounds for wishing to visit Greenland is not only admitted, but is given a welcome and practical help only possible in a country where large private interests do not exist, the only people to gain by the reversal of policy would be the shipping companies arranging the cruises and the type of person who normally goes on such cruises.

The question of an arctic air route across the icecap, now being investigated by a British expedition with a base near Angmagsalik, on the east coast, while the Wegener party is carrying out meteorological research with a similar bearing, is in quite a different category. If the short air route from England to Canada proves practicable there seems no reason to put up political obstacles, and in giving facilities to the expedition the Danish Government seems to imply that it sees no objection in principle to the project. The icecap being uninhabited, an airport there would not necessarily modify the effective isolation of the country, except for the transit of any supplies not brought by air.

Presumably the technical difficulties have not escaped atten-

tion: they look almost insuperable. If it is true that the centre of the icecap rises uniformly to 8000 to 10,000 feet the prospect of sending existing commercial aircraft across it with both a useful load and a margin of safety seems remote. Byrd in flying to the South Pole had to jettison his provisions in order to clear the highest ice with no margin of safety whatever. The crossing of Denmark Strait, blocked with pack-ice, between Iceland and Greenland and the crevassed fringes of the icecap, with winds which even in summer can blow up to 120 miles per hour or more, has unpleasant possibilities: Davis Strait, on the other side, is foggy, and the long stretch over Baffin Island and Hudson's Bay more remote from civilised aid than any air route yet operated. Without frequent delays which would destroy the advantage in time on which the scheme is based it is difficult to understand how flying in unsuitable or dangerous conditions could be avoided. While the survey of the interior must make a valuable contribution to geography and meteorology, it is advisable to await further information before counting on the probability of a regular air route across the icecap.

When the educated Greenlander, with the support of Danish critics, complains against the rigid system within which he is forced to live, we cannot therefore assume that there is either any reason to suppose that it is coming to an end or that Greenland would on balance be better off if it did. A barren country with some of the worst communications in the world, and rather less population than Maidenhead, could hardly hope to emerge into an important position, and without the pooling of resources and elimination of overlapping possible under the present system it seems unlikely that the Greenlanders would get as much for their money as they do. The 'budget' amounts to less than 150,000*l.* annually, of which about 20 per cent. is 'unearned income' in the form of royalties from the cryolite concession: this sum pays not only for the entire overseas trade, but also for shipping services, administration, schools and churches, health, and overhead charges. The wealth is so low, not only in aggregate, but *per capita*, that the free play of economic forces could only benefit a small minority at the expense of the social services, which on a free trade and taxation basis the country could not afford. As an experiment in practical Communism Greenland falls in a class by itself: the tradition of the Eskimo which favoured more or less equal division of the catch in lean times between the successful hunter and the others has been combined with an enlightened despotism to produce a type of society more familiar in theory than in practice. It suffers from the weaknesses which have disrupted so many community experiments in America through the natural inequality of those taking part, but it has the decisive

assets of being maintained from outside (so that it cannot be given up or altered at will) and of a climate which checks sharply the tendency to slackness, often fatal for such communities. The 'ruling class' of Danes is very small (about 2 per cent., nearly half of whom are segregated in the cryolite mines), but it is sufficient to raise the problem of attainment of self-government common to all progress of backward races. Recent reforms have made an important step forward, and the local councils now send representatives to a 'Parliament,' presided over by the *Landsfoged* in both the eastern provinces, consisting almost entirely of Greenlanders. In the State Church the catechists and several of the higher clergy are Greenlanders. Apart from the *kolonibestyrer*, or superintendent, at the larger settlements, and a few younger officials, the Greenlanders occupy most of the posts in the Trading Company and are also skippers of motor-launches and so on. Owing to the fortunate absence of an unofficial European class the relations between Danes and Greenlanders are curiously paternal and intimate, in contrast to the emphasised racial gulf characteristic of a small British colony. On the other hand, sanitary arrangements do not exist, and an Englishman would feel bound to deal with the mixture of excrement, offal, and water supply even in a climate where the sanction of disease does not absolutely compel it. The Danes attribute this shortcoming to the hardness of the life, which leaves little time for secondary activities, and recognise it by carrying a sufficient water supply out on the Government ships to take them back to Copenhagen without replenishing. The backwardness of the Greenlanders in all forms of personal hygiene, down to washing and the changing of clothes, contrasts strongly with their often sophisticated behaviour, their delight in cameras, guns and motor-boats, and the substantial well-heated wooden houses in which many of them in the larger settlements now live. At any rate, up to the Arctic Circle it is perfectly possible to bathe in Greenland, and sometimes very pleasant in the fresh-water lakes, heated during June by almost uninterrupted sun so long as fine weather lasts. Like the even more disastrous practice of spending the winter in hermetically sealed huts with double windows, this uncleanliness is no doubt caused by the climate, but not justified by it.

In an absolute sense the Greenlander may have grounds for complaint: Nature and the Styrelse make stern parents for him. Relatively to other primitive races he is extraordinarily well off. The disappearance and demoralisation of the Eskimo race in British North America is the best proof of the excellence of the Danish policy, which has not only steadily increased the population, keeping it, where it remains pure, to the traditional way of

life, but can show a rate of about six criminal cases a year and a murder every ten or twelve, in contrast to the murder rate of over 90 per cent. recorded for an Eskimo tribe elsewhere. The administration of Greenland in the interests of its inhabitants is particularly creditable, because the region is a typical field for exploitation, and was, in fact, exploited on a grand scale at the beginning of the modern commercial expansion ; 975 ships called during the decade 1729–1738 at the beginning of Danish rule. Many native races have small, often valueless, territorial reserves set aside for them, but to maintain a large country for the benefit of its aboriginals against all commercial or colonising interests at home or abroad represents a conception of trusteeship which the League of Nations has not yet reached. The return which Denmark receives for this surprising generosity is meagre. The Commission for the Direction of the Geological and Geographical Investigations in Greenland publishes a series of scientific accounts which have given Greenland a richer reference literature than almost any comparable area : many of these are published in English, as being a better-known language than Danish, but they seem to have done little to mitigate the English ignorance of their subject. The Danish experiment in Greenland has an important bearing for any colonial Power : the small recognition it has received here is discreditable to a country which has certainly something to learn from it.

E. M. NICHOLSON.

COLERIDGE AS A CAVALRYMAN

I

I see the youth, in my mind's eye I see him
Leap his black warhorse . . .

ON January 21, 1793, Citizen Capet's last drive through the streets of Paris came to an end amid the rolling of Santerre's drums on the Place de la Révolution, at the spot where the Luxor obelisk now stands—then occupied by the guillotine. And eleven days later the National Convention declared war on Great Britain and Holland.

Pitt accepted the challenge, and the walls in English towns and villages were soon gay with recruiting posters—each corps, as in the much later circumstances of Kitchener's Armies, devising and disseminating its own.

The distinguished regiment which is now the 15th Hussars, but which was then the King's 15th Light Dragoons (or, as it was more popularly known, 'Eliott's Light Dragoons'[1]), at that time lay at Reading, where its commanding officer had been warned in April to prepare four troops of seasoned soldiers and picked recruits for service in Flanders. These embarked in May and were attached to Dundas's 3rd Cavalry Brigade at Tournai; and later, in August, a squadron under a Captain Pocklington was under fire between Le Cateau and Landrecies, on the same ground that, exactly 121 years afterwards, was to be hallowed by the sacrifice of its successors. Meanwhile, these troops at the front had got to be fed with reinforcements, and recruits to be intensively trained as drafts. And so it came about at Reading one bright September morning that Colonel Gwyn, the commanding officer of the 15th, accompanied by his adjutant and the more awful presence of a squadron-sergeant-major, left his quarters to inspect a batch of newly-enlisted recruits which had come in the previous evening.

[1] General George Augustus Eliott, K.B., the father of the 15th, was an Eliott of Stobs. A veteran of Fontenoy and Dettingen and of the capitulation of Havana—where his share of the loot amounted to £24,500—George III. created him first Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar as a reward for his successful defence of the Rock against its four years' siege by the French and Spanish armies (1779–1783). He died in 1790.

Called to attention, the two ranks of 'rookies' did their trembling best to stiffen into soldierly semblance, and so to present an earnest of their martial ambitions. But a yokel here and there forgot to spit the straw from his mouth, and some candidates from counting-house or counter shuffled their as yet undisciplined feet as the colonel clanked slowly down the lines, asking an occasional question and examining each man's face and proportions like a fat-stock dealer at a cattle sale.

The men paraded had already been passed by the medical officer and had given their particulars and been attested in the orderly-room; so that the colonel knew that each of them might now be regarded as an Eliott in embryo, and he rather welcomed their unpromising exteriors. 'A good draft,' he heard himself boasting later; 'but gad, sir! you should have seen them six weeks ago, before we'd begun to handle them!'

He came to a sudden halt, however, before the flank man of the front rank, a plumpish youth of some 5 feet 9 inches, who, with his peachy West Country complexion, unruly black hair, and large eyes of a mild but bewildered grey, looked younger than his one and twenty years. He was plainly, even a little shabbily, dressed, and his head hung down, so that the gallant ribbons tied round his hat by the sergeant yesterday drooped limply to his shoulders.

'What's your name, my lad?' The head was raised, but the grey eyes blinked and the girlish skin blushed crimson. It was one thing to invent a false name on the spur of the moment and give it to a shirt-sleeved quartermaster in a noisy office, but quite another to repeat the lie convincingly and in a listening silence to this tremendous inquisitor in full regimentals. Swallowing hard, and straining his mind to ensure an accurate recollection, the recruit replied, 'Silas Tomkin Cumberback, sir.' Neither the Oxford nor the Cambridge accent as yet had been invented, but the intonation of his voice, its precise and halting tenor and slightly precious evaluation of vowels and consonants, betrayed scholarship, bookishness, and all the unsoldierly qualities of a university runaway. The names were inventions. The surname he had noticed somewhere over a shop door, though it also implied a jibe against himself, born of consciousness of his deficiencies as a horseman. The two christian names he had selected at random, and of all three together the initials only were those of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, scholar of Jesus, Cambridge, Browne Medallist, winner of the University Greek Ode prize, and runner-up for the Craven to Butler of St. John's.[2]

[2] Samuel Butler, headmaster of Shrewsbury 1798–1836, and afterwards Bishop of Lichfield. Grandfather of Samuel Butler, of Shrewsbury and St. John's, author of *Erewhon* and *The Way of all Flesh*.

A titter whinnied down the ranks of the recruits, either at the incongruous tone of the reply or at the faintly ridiculous sound of each of the three names; and the colonel grinned sardonically as he went on to ask, 'And what have you come here for?' A baleful flash from the sergeant-major's eye elicited the answer, 'For the same reason as most people come, sir; to be made into a soldier.' The colonel grunted, and after a practised and rather sneering scrutiny inquired again, 'D'you think you can run a Frenchman through the body?' The head jerked up, and with a little fire the answer came, 'That I don't know, because I've never tried, sir; but I'll let a Frenchman run *me* through before I'll run away!' Colonel Gwyn laughed: he was plainly pleased. 'That'll do,' he said, and, turning, stalked down the rear rank with an order to the adjutant to march the party over to the quartermaster's to be fitted with uniforms.

II

Turbulent, with an outcry in the heart
And Fears self-willed that shunn'd the eye of Hope
And Hope that scarce would know itself from Fear;
Sense of past Youth, and Manhood come in vain.

Outside, the trumpets were blowing 'Last Post.' Sunk in a heavy humour, Trooper Cumberback lay on his palliasse, and the buzz of broad barrack-room talk from the men around him allayed a little the vehemence of his vibrating nerves and somehow deadened his sense of immitigable misery. For his reflections on what he had done during the past two days tinged the dull monochrome of his emotions with a still deeper grey. His crushing disappointment at not winning the Craven, the bar presented to his university ambitions by his total incapacity for mathematics, and the continued harassing by creditors, had focussed the whirl of his bitter thoughts into one dominant idea—release by flight from Cambridge and all it stood for. Poor lad, his mathematical incapacity extended to any comprehension of practical finance, and his chief creditor was a furniture dealer whose tout, two years ago, had been mistaken by the casual and improvident young freshman for some underling of the bursar's; with the result that the insidious query, 'How may I furnish your rooms, sir?' had merely met with the answer, 'O, just as you please!' And the hundred pounds or so which stood at the foot of the bill, many times rendered, and now, at last with threats, had come to destroy the sleep and peace of mind of the simple son of the vicar of Ottery St. Mary. As to ambition, Butler and Keate[3]

[3] John Keate, Fellow of King's and afterwards Canon of Windsor, and the famous 'Swishing headmaster' of Eton.

had been above him for the Craven, and of what use was ambition to him, the ninth son of a country parson ? Moreover, there was, of course, a girl in Cambridge who had proved unkind. So followed the stealthy anabasis to London, the few reckless hours of dissipation in stews and taverns, the largesse of his last coins to other poor wretches tramping the midnight streets, and the chance sight of a recruiting-poster under a flickering wall-lamp :

G. R.

WANTED
A FEW SMART LADS
FOR
THE 15TH (ELIOTT'S) LIGHT DRAGOONS.
GOD SAVE THE KING!

Unlike his friend and fellow 'blue' Charles Lamb, Coleridge had learnt at Christ's Hospital under the *régime* of Bowyer to loathe and fear discipline, and all his life he had hated horses and soldiers. But the ills of a mind like his, he thought, might be cured of all such prejudices by self-immolation. Souls greater than his had sought salvation in the stress of battle ; and, after all, routine, the relief from material anxieties as to food and clothes, a bed, and pocket-money, the healthy fatigue of a round of daily duty, might all prove anodynes, harsh but effective, of such suffering as his. And so, as he read the poster with eyes that were hollow with traces of the struggle within him between the force of circumstance and the force of inclination, he grasped the nettle and went to the recruiting office, where he received King George's shilling from a kindly sergeant, who lent him, in addition, half a guinea and sent him to some lodgings for the night. And then had followed the march through cheering villages to Reading, and his initiation as a Light Dragoon. Contrary to Coleridge's expectation, the doctor had failed to detect any trace of the chronic rheumatism which was his lifelong affliction, or of the neuralgia which accompanied it, and which was now splitting his head in two and was later to drive him to 'the Kendal black drop'—the deadly lenitive of opium. And now the poet-scholar of Jesus was turned into a trooper ; it was good-bye to his hopes and ambitions of a few days since—good-bye to the books, the prose, the poetry, philosophy, and metaphysics, which had meant life to him since first he had learnt to read. He looked up at the sword and helmet, the belt and coatee and breeches, folded together neatly on the shelf above him with the spurred boots beneath, and he thought of the scholar's gown and college cap hanging behind the door of his rooms in Jesus. He did not know much about soldiering, but he

thought he would know how to die. He remembered Blandford's epitaph in King's chapel—' JACTAT GENUS ET NOMEN INUTILE.'

The men had ceased to talk and the place seemed suddenly quiet and still. Relaxed by the extreme of mental and physical exhaustion, he sank back on the mattress. And over at the quarter-guard the trumpeter blew ' Lights out.'

III

> There was a time when, though my path was rough,
> The Joy within me dallied with Distress,
> And all misfortunes were but as the stuff
> Whence Fancy made me dreams of Happiness.

For all his bookishness and neurasthenic moods of introspection, Coleridge was a ' good mixer.' He possessed a singular personal charm which throughout his life attached to him all whom he met of every class and culture. He had no *mauvaise honte*. He was ingenuous, sincere, and amiable ; talkative, even voluble, ' a whirlwind in conversation,' he loved the company of his fellow-men and was devoid of the slightest trace of snobbery. A day-dreamer, he was never aloof ; an intellectual, he never obtruded his scholarship ; unsophisticated, he yet could hold his own with witty *ripostes* which would turn the laugh, however disparaging, to his side. Though sensitive, he never bore resentment, and the rough, hearty banter of the barrack-room passed him by. Lacking such qualities, he might have become a butt ; possessing them, ' Silas,' as the men came to call him, grew into an established favourite. His awkward hopelessness at drill and in the riding-school, which to another would have made life a hell at the hands of instructors and jeering comrades, was looked on indulgently as part of a chaffing legend. Even roughrider and riding-master diluted their customary vitriol with a good-humoured playfulness. ' Take care of that there Cumberback, he'll ride over you ! ' was the fiercest diatribe that would assail him as he was being bolted with through the files on some old rogue of a troop-horse with a mouth like iron, only to be scraped off against the top of the stable door to an ecstatic chorus of ' Silas is off again ! ' Pegasus, not a troop-horse, was his proper mount ; and he could never sit a charger for long except the sheepiest on the roster. His grooming, too, was execrable—chiefly because of his rheumatism, which made stooping an agony. (On the wood of his horse's forage-rack in the stable he carved the words ' EHEU ! QUAM INFORTUNII MISERRIMUM EST FUISSE FELICEM.') It was the same with his arms and kit. ' Whose rusty scabbard is this ? ' asked the orderly officer on his rounds one day, pointing to the offending sheath as it hung on the wall.

'Is it a *very* rusty one, sir?' came in the now familiar tones of Trooper Cumberback. 'Very rusty indeed!' said the officer ominously. 'Then it must be mine, sir,' replied, with a sigh, the incorrigible recruit. He puzzled his comrades. They knew him for a gentleman, and wondered why one so militarily unhandy should ever have enlisted. Some talked of debts and the Fleet, others of a crossing in love or an undiscovered crime, and even of a cheating of the hangman.

The rumour spread that he was a deserter from the infantry 'hiding among the horses'; this lent him a protective interest with the others, for if it could be brought home to him it meant a hideous flogging. In 1793 discipline was brutally enforced, and any dereliction was punishable with lashes which varied in number and severity with the nature of the offence. For the ranks were filled with men from the lowest classes and from the civil prisons. But the other recruits and troopers, while they jeered at his horsemanship, did Coleridge's grooming for him, and cleaned his kit and equipment and masked his numerous and absent-minded delinquencies. And, bruised and aching from his falls, he gratefully repaid them by writing their letters and, to the best of his poor arithmetical capacity, casting up their accounts —for most of his comrades were illiterate. Love-letters were his *forte;* and many a wife or sweetheart of a Light Dragoon must have marvelled at her receipt of some sudden and inexplicable burst of amorous eloquence. That Coleridge managed to win popularity among such men by force of character and personality would by itself attract the attention of his officers, in spite of his naïve efforts at obscurity and disguise. His troop-leader, Captain Nathaniel Ogle, had observed him closely during his earlier period 'on the square' and had marked him down to be his orderly as soon as elementary training should be concluded. He had taken the measure of Trooper Cumberback as being no ordinary recruit; but it was not until an occasion when the colonel and officers gave a ball that he discovered his troop was harbouring a scholar. Owing to the outbreak of war the duration of the regiment's stay at Reading was uncertain, and the officers desired an opportunity of returning the hospitality which, since their arrival, they had received from the townsfolk and neighbouring gentry. A ball was decided on, and selected N.C.O.'s and men were detailed for duty at the scene of the festivity— 'candlestick duty,' they termed it. The superior manners of Trooper Cumberback led to his being posted at the ballroom door, where he stood all night in full-dress uniform: peaked helmet with red and white plume on the left side and horsehair crest from brow to back, a blue coatee with worsted epaulettes and pipe-clayed shoulder-belt, a curved sabre, skin-tight white

breeches, and Hessian boots with spurs that clanked like fetters—a martial figure little in accord with Wordsworth's later portrait of his friend as ' the brooding poet with the heavenly eyes.'

And as rank and fashion whirled and glittered before him, Captain Ogle and an officer of another corps stopped near him for a moment before joining the dancers. They were talking, oddly enough, of the classics and Greek poetry—for in the eighteenth century educated men, even in the Army, would include such subjects in their conversation. The officer misquoted a couple of lines in Greek, which he said were from Euripides. Coleridge could not pass this: the scholar in him rose above the sabreur, deep reading triumphed over discipline. ' If your honour will excuse me,' he blurted out, ' that's not quite accurate. They're from the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, and they run like this . . . .' ; and he gave them correctly. ' Why,' asked the astonished officer, ' who the devil are you ? ' ' The Sentry,' answered Trooper Cumberback, ' and your honour's servant ! ' The officer stared a little, laughed, and then strolled off to dance.

Captain Ogle said nothing, but was more than ever determined to solve this mystery. He took counsel with Surgeon Turner, the regimental doctor, who, during his frequent treatments of Cumberback for sprains and bruises, had also discovered his superior intelligence and had determined to get him ' struck off ' as hospital orderly as soon as the drill-sergeants and the riding-master had done with him. Turner, himself a dilettante of letters, had more than once had a mock-ferocious wrangle with his patient on points of prosody and verse-construction. But the two officers knew each other and were equally interested in this strange recruit, who, they agreed, would be no loss to his troop on parade. So that a compromise was arranged between them, whereby the lad should be ' struck off ' as hospital orderly, but should each day be available at certain times for duty as his troop-leader's servant.

IV

For the Camp's stir and crowd and ceaseless 'larum,
The neighing warhorse, the ear-shattering trumpet,
The unvaried, still returning hour of duty,
Word of command and exercise of arms——
There's nothing here, there's nothing in all this.

The change meant heaven for Coleridge: no guards, no stables, no drill, and, above all, no riding-school. His quarters were shifted to the hospital. Once he had wished to be a doctor like his elder brother Luke, who had been a medical student in a London hospital while Coleridge was at school; and on many a Saturday the little ' blue ' had got leave to walk the wards with

him, helping him with dressings and bandages. He had read books on medicine insatiably, and had devoured whole medical dictionaries. A sufferer himself and frequently 'in sense of pain,' his sympathy with other sufferers and his gift of companionship had now free play. In those days military hygiene in the modern sense did not exist, and medicine and surgery alike were primitive. Even in a single unit in billets the normal sick list was heavy; and in the sick bay medical and surgical casualties, slight and serious, contagious cases and mere 'cuts and bruises,' were huddled together—'sore heads' and smallpox patients groaned side by side. Newspapers were scarce and expensive, and few of the men could read; but through Dr. Turner and Captain Ogle Coleridge procured many books and read to the poor patients by the hour in the intervals of attending to their piteous wants. He became famous, too, as a story-teller; and the great wealth of his reading, adapted and abridged to the capacity of his listeners' understanding, was poured out for their benefit; the sagas of Homer and Virgil, Xenophon's retreat, the battles of Alexander, the feats of Froissart's chivalry, of Purchas's and Marco Polo's captains, the glory of Shakespeare and the fantasy of Spenser, held them enchanted. Long talks he gave them, too, in a colloquial idiom, on elementary ethics and philosophy—forerunners of those heavier monologues of his later days in Gillman's crowded sitting-room at Highgate. And the men soon declared that Silas with his talks did them more good than all the doctor's stuff. Once, for six weeks, the gallant orderly, unhelped, looked after a smallpox case so virulent that even the medical officer agreed to its isolation. Alone with the patient in a stuffy outhouse, he tended him day and night, in delirium and in coma; and during convalescence he read to him untiringly.

The other part of Coleridge's new duties, as personal orderly to Captain Ogle, was equally congenial, and still pleasanter in its incidence. The young troop-leader was his senior in age, a man of good classical education and with leanings towards literature, like so many then of his class and type. His reading was neither as wide nor deep as that of his bâtman, but he was an eager listener and controversialist when, in the seclusion of his quarters or on country rides and walks together, the two were able to talk on an equality. He was the only companion of the same class and intelligence whom Coleridge had encountered during his soldiering; and as their relations grew more intimate, the captain soon extracted much of his true story from the trooper and saw at once the folly of keeping so great a store of intellectual talents hidden beneath this bushel of barrack life. In spite of Coleridge's protestations and refusals to divulge the names of his relatives, Ogle set to work to make inquiries at Cambridge and so to get

into touch with some authority or kinsman who could 'buy him out.'

About this time, too, Coleridge met by chance in the streets of Reading a newly commissioned subaltern who had been his friend at Cambridge and who was then on his way to join his corps 'on first appointment.' With a smart salute the trooper passed him by, hoping that uniform would prove a sufficient disguise. But even a dragoon's peaked helmet did not avail to alter the deep grey eyes beneath it or the pink and white Devonshire skin of a face the officer so well remembered having seen kindle in scholarly debate with mutual friends such as Butler or Bethell.[4] He called the fellow back and asked his name. 'Trooper Cumberback, sir, 15th Light Dragoons,' was the answer, given with hopeless unconvincingness. 'That won't do,' said the subaltern, not unsympathetically. 'You're Coleridge, of Jesus, whom they've been looking for at Cambridge for the last six months. Don't go on with this foolery. I'm on my way to join my regiment, but I shall write to them at once to say I've found you.' So the game was up at last for trooper Silas. He recognised the inevitable and waited for it to happen, and carried on his duties meanwhile with mixed emotions. On the whole he had been happy as a soldier, and quite certainly he was physically fitter. The freedom from material cares, the healthy deadening level of daily routine, had purged him of dejection and ill humours; and he had warmed to the rough kindly comradeship of men who had made a favourite of one with whom they had, excepting courage and a sense of humour, no single quality in common. But, with mental serenity and bodily health, somehow there had returned to him the poet's urge for self-expression, the itch of authorship, the lust for literature and intellectual adventure. He saw the inkpots opening for him again, the paper spread. And in his readings to the men of the rare newspapers he had become aware of wider happenings in the world outside, of the great change developing in France, which, then in its early promise, had begun to fan the embers of his political philosophy. Already the seeds of *Pantisocracy* were sowing themselves in his mind. The soldiering interlude had served its purpose and was drawing to a close. A little impatiently he would await its ending and prepare for the realisation of his returned ambitions. He had not long to wait.

One moring, when he was busy in the hospital, the door was opened to admit Captain Ogle, the adjutant, and Coleridge's eldest brother, James. Without a word they beckoned him; and without a word he left his work and followed them. The men

[4] Christopher Bethell, of King's: theologian. Afterwards Bishop successively of Gloucester, Exeter, and Bangor.

who watched were now quite sure that he was a deserter. Before their hapless Cumberback they saw a court-martial looming, whose sentence of lashes would be carried out in hollow square of the regiment by a relentless provost-sergeant at the triangles. 'Poor Silas,' muttered someone (may it have been the smallpox convalescent ?) 'I hope they'll let him off with a cool five hundred!'

But James had come to buy his brother out.

V

> Homeward I wend my way ; and Lo ! recalled
> From bodings that have well-nigh wearied me,
> I find myself upon the brow, and pause
> Startled . . .

Cedant Arma Togæ.

When, in his shabby mufti now, he passed the sentry at the gate to get into the chaise which was waiting to take him back, the road before Coleridge seemed to broaden and lengthen, almost terrifically. Somewhere, at points along its wide perspective, were posted shapes, vague immaterialities as yet: *Christabel, Alhadra, The Ancient Mariner, Zapolya, Kubla Khan* —awaiting the touch of his creative hand. Expectant, by every milestone, stood some future friend—Southey and Wordsworth, the Wedgwoods, Hazlitt and De Quincy. And, as he drove away, listening to, though scarcely heeding, his brother's shrill reproaches, a trumpet blew 'Boot and saddle.'

Long afterwards, in 'the silent sanctuary,' perhaps, of Stowey or in the hush of some summer night at Keswick, there would return to him from the depths of long-buried memories of his youth the faint re-echo of that trumpet-call.

C. P. HAWKES.

THE STORY OF AN AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION

Some of us can hardly pause before a case of bright butterflies in a museum without our thoughts straying from the well-earned triumph of the indefatigable entomologist to the pathos of gay careers suddenly abridged by the unpitying cruelty of man. And it may well be that even a collection of autographs awakens misgivings in scrupulous souls. The letters were not written for your eye or mine. To collect private letters of the dead, to arrange and exhibit them in an album—does not the collector stand convicted of a certain coarseness of feeling ? And we ourselves—can we altogether escape the charge of sharing his guilt if we betray so much as a passing interest in his show ?

For it must be admitted that the deeper interest of an autograph relic begins when we have got past the mere signature. Some bare signatures—yes, even the single letter ' N,' so long as we can be sure that it stands for Napoleon, and not for Lord Northcliffe, who so characteristically annexed it—are doubtless thrilling. But the interest even of such a signature as this is indefinitely enhanced if the document connects it directly with events of importance whether in public life or in personal history.

The scruple I have mentioned may be alien to the spirit of the twentieth century. A modern biographer is apt to scoff at the hero-worship that seemed natural to his nineteenth-century predecessors, and equally natural to an eighteenth-century Boswell. To-day the biographer thinks of himself as a surgeon laying out the corpse of his subject for dissection upon his laboratory table ; or else, it may be, as a professional artist intent upon gaining an effective impression, whether true or not, which he can transfer to his canvas. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* counselled the ancient proverb ; but the saying is overworn. The dead have no feelings that can be hurt ; the profession of body-snatcher is become respectable. Why make a pother about reticence ?

> The truth is this to me, and that to thee,
> And truth or clothed or naked let it be.

And if it be naked, murmurs our biographer, why, so much the better.

Early in this century I published a little selection from the letters of a friend prematurely lost. 'There are no revelations of the *vie intime,*' ran the disappointed comment of a reviewer. This, I remember, was the first intimation that reached me of what the new century expected letters to contain. A love of nature and of art, descriptive power, sympathy fine and delicate, nimble wit and delightful humour, chivalry and reverence—all these my friend had, but these were not enough. I had found no skeleton in his cupboard. It is true that he had wonderful dreams —historical dreams, like those of Dr. Arnold, in which he found himself a soldier under Hannibal or Napoleon, leading an assault or defending a fortress. Freud we had not yet heard of, but it might have puzzled even Freud to make mischief out of these imaginings; though perhaps observers who scent a dark strain of militarism in boy scouts would have hailed in them a proof of the baleful influence of afternoons spent with the Oxford volunteers.

Will you let me envisage another sort of collection of autograph letters than one which should boast itself rich in 'revelations of the *vie intime*'? Has any millionaire, English or American, thought of making a museum of letters of great men, so exquisitely chosen that each should come as an authentic message to posterity of the best that its writer had to give, just what he stood for in the procession of the ages? Not all the gold of the mines of Golconda could achieve such an end precisely, but it might be possible to come nearer to it than has yet been done. Indeed the purpose of this paper is to recount, as an example to others, the realisation of a dream of this nature—a dream realised without the intervention of any millionaire, but simply wrought by the quick eye and ready hand of a generous son of Clifton, seeking to repay his debt to his 'most kindly nurse' and to leave behind what should be a source of inspiration to uncounted Cliftonians in the years to come. No millionaire was needed for the achievement. Yet it could scarcely have been accomplished so nobly but for a strange contingency, which one could never wish to occur again. This was the earth-shaking crisis of the Great War, moving the hearts of Englishmen and Englishwomen in a thousand 'stately homes' to pour out their treasures upon the Red Cross sales at Christie's year after year. Priceless relics that otherwise would never have left the custody of their owners were offered ungrudgingly, and among them were most of the autographs now to be described.

The beginning of all was Lady Elgar's gift to the first Red Cross sale in 1915 of a letter written in Jamaica by the youthful Nelson as he was recovering from an attack of fever:

PORT ROYAL
Sep^r. 1st. 1780

DEAR SIR,

I have just received the Admirals reply to my request to be sent home it is granted The report of the Surgeons was sufficient and but confirmed his opinion I will ride over tomorrow and have a chat Now assured I return to England hope revives within me I shall recover and my dream of Glory be fulfilled Nelson will yet be an Admiral It is the climate that has destroyed my health and crushed my spirits Home and dear friends will restore me

Yours sincerely
HORATIO NELSON

Hercules Ross Esq.

This letter, or the description of it in the sale catalogue, caught the eye of an old Cliftonian, Alfred Paton,[1] a Liverpool cotton-broker. He had the imagination to see what the possession of such a relic might mean to the boys of his old school; and so he secured it for 60*l*., and sent it to his old college friend, the school librarian.

The announcement of this gift was speedily followed by another of hardly less interest. Mr. J. E. Pearson, who had spent much of his life at Clifton as boy and master, had inherited from an aunt, who had received them as a gift in her girlhood from Addison's daughter, two letters written in 1709 by Addison to his future stepson, the young Earl of Warwick, and the original bill of expenses for Addison's burial in Westminster Abbey. These three documents, which had been carefully treasured for 200 years, were now also handed over to Clifton College library. The first letter runs:

MY DEAREST LORD,

I cannot forbear wishing your Lordship many happy Birthdays, and desire your acceptance of a silver pen some of who's fruits I hope to receive hereafter. I do assure you, my Dear Lord, this is not a Complement in form but the Hearty and Affectionate desire of one who hopes to see you yearly encrease in Vertue, Knowlege, and Happiness and who is, my Dearest Lord,

Yo^r Lordship's
most entirely Devoted
Humble servant
J. ADDISON.

Jan. 20, 1708–9.

The second letter is too long to reproduce in full, but here are some sentences from it:

DUBLIN CASTLE, *May* 19, 1709.

. . . Pray, my Dear Lord, let me know what pretty story you read last in Ovid, or whether you begin to compose Themes yet. I remember your Lordship discovered an early Talent for English Verse. If you will send

[1] Sir Alfred Vaughan Paton, K.B.E., President of Liverpool Cotton Association, 1917–18, and Chairman of Cotton Mission to U.S.A. for Board of Trade. Died September 25, 1930.

me over any of your Composition I will make you a present in Return of the Best that this Country produces. We are here very much pleased with a paper called the Tatler, and I should be very glad to hear your Lordship's opinion of it.

Perhaps this is as near to a secret as we come in our blameless collection. In referring to *The Tatler* as if he had no connexion with Steele's venture, Addison does not go beyond the right of any author who desires to preserve anonymity; but he also illustrates a tendency of which every literary Sherlock Holmes must be aware—the temptation to make gratuitous references to his own book to which the anonymous author almost invariably succumbs.

My mention of Addison's daughter recalls to me a story of the late W. P. Ker which I once heard from the lips of that unforgettable raconteur, the late Master of Balliol. I have never seen it in print, and it is too good to be lost. Just after the end of the war, Ker was dining with some literary friends at 'The Green Man' at Greenwich, and the subject was broached of the approaching bicentenary of Addison's death (1719–1919). Into the dining-room burst a festive party of young men, who overheard fragments of the lettered conversation. One of this party, a little elated by the wines of 'The Green Man,' thought Ker's gravity of demeanour fair game for a merry invention. He took a seat near the professor and addressed him: 'Excuse me, sir, but I could not help being interested in your conversation just now, for it happens that I am a direct lineal descendant of Addison.' 'Really, sir,' replied Ker, slowly and gravely weighing the value of this information, 'what you say is very interesting. Addison left one child, a daughter. The fact that she was a congenital idiot lends some colour to your story; but as she died unmarried, I am reluctantly compelled to conclude that you are lying.' 'Congenital idiot' was a somewhat severe description for the blameless old lady who was the friend of Mr. Pearson's aunt, but as an *argumentum ad hominem* it was doubtless justified. Addison's marriage has somehow never quite satisfied the literary critics. Thackeray calls it 'that splendid but dismal union.' Andrew Lang points out that it was not such an unequal alliance, since Addison was a Secretary of State, and not merely a man of letters. There is no reason, he avers, to call the union 'dismal,' but he goes out of his way to remark further that dowager duchesses are 'not usually splendid.' Well, that may have been why the late Oscar Browning wrote in that egregious autobiography of his: 'If a duchess came to stay with me [at Eton], she had to dine with the boys.'

To return to the Addison letters, I may add that this gift also had an honourable connexion with the Red Cross Fund. Finding

that neither letters nor bill of expenses had (apparently) been published hitherto, the librarian offered to allow *The Times Literary Supplement* to publish them on condition that a liberal payment for the privilege should be made to the Red Cross Fund; and his offer was promptly accepted.

Another treasure that came to us about the same time was one of the early *Spectators*—No. 109, July 5, 1711—a single leaf of about foolscap size, printed on both sides in double columns. Cliftonians cherish this not merely as an authentic relic of Addison and Steele, but because of another connexion with the English Essay. They know that it hung for many years by the study fireplace of S. T. Irwin, himself a genial practitioner of the art in the pages of the *Quarterly*, the *Literary Supplement* and elsewhere, and the trainer in the same art of many generations of Clifton sixth-form boys.

In the three years that followed (1916–18) Alfred Paton either went up himself to the Red Cross sales, or asked the Clifton librarian to attend and bid on his behalf. In this way was obtained the bulk of the collection now to be described, though there have been supplementary gifts from other sources.

The collection (if we set aside three cases of French state-papers which cannot well be described on the present occasion) falls naturally into two groups of nearly equal size, 'Men of Action' and 'Men of Letters.' I proceed to mention some of the more important items in each group.

First, then, let me take the 'Men of Action.' One of the most interesting documents is a Latin letter of the Protector (unfortunately not Milton's composition—its date, February 1655, is just subsequent to Milton's retirement from the Latin secretaryship), commending one of the regicides who was travelling on the Continent to the protection of Leopold, Archduke of Austria. Captain Harbord, a descendant of the regicide in question, was one of the 'runners-up' at the auction. Failing to secure the letter, he asked the school librarian to have it photographed for him. The signature is in Oliver's own hand.

The first Duke of Marlborough is represented by a holograph letter written from Flanders in the War of the Spanish Succession, August 24, 1702. Of Napoleon there is a most exciting relic—the order for the invasion of England given to Admiral Villeneuve, August 1805:

> Monsieur le vice-amiral Villeneuve, j'espére que vous êtes arrivé à Brest. Partez, ne perdez pas un moment, et avec une escadre réunie entrez dans la Manche. L'Angleterre est à nous: nous sommes tous prêts: tout est embarqué; Paraissez [*i.e.* Paressez] vingt-quatre heures et tout est terminé. Sur ce je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde. De mon Camp Impérial de Boulogne le quatre fructidor an XIII. NAPOLEON.

The despatch was sent to Brest, but Villeneuve had already turned back in the direction of Cadiz.

Napoleon's great adversary, Wellington, is here also in a series of letters—none, however, of notable interest. Of later commanders there are, it is needless to say, Clifton's own two distinguished sons, Earl Haig and Sir W. R. Birdwood. A brief note from Lord Kitchener, though merely a reply to an invitation, is of interest as recalling the alliance between Kitchener and Asquith in the early part of the Great War. Lord Roberts is shown in a characteristic light by his letter to the Lord Mayor of London declining to be fêted on his return from South Africa, on the ground that the war was not yet ended (January 11, 1901). Equally characteristic is a letter from General Gordon written to a small nephew at the beginning of school life :

> Do you remember I spoke to you of God living in you, keep that always in thought, it is the pearl of great price, and the great comfort is you cannot lose it. . . . You may have some poor little chaps at school with you. Mind and try, and Bill also, to be kind to them, as God has been to you (February 7, 1880).

There are two other letters of Gordon's, both dated 1877, dealing with his hope to extirpate the slave trade in Africa. The longer of the two is addressed to Sir Richard Burton.

The great explorers of the nineteenth century are represented by Sir John Franklin, David Livingstone and H. M. Stanley. Sir John Franklin's letter of February 1845 is a model of courtesy in declining a petition for patronage. The person on whose behalf the application is made is ' the very kind of young officer whom I should be desirous of assisting. But I regret to say that neither the Erebus nor Terror will have any situation to offer similar to that Miss Garnett seeks for Mr. Robins.' Fortunate Mr. Robins, that Miss Garnett failed in her quest on his behalf!

The Franco-German War of 1870 has two striking memorials —a letter sent to London by balloon-post from Paris during the siege and a letter brought to *The Times* by carrier-pigeon from Versailles. This second letter is written in a very minute script on thirteen narrow strips of parchment. It is curious that the Great War, in which so many Cliftonians sacrificed their lives, is not up to the present time commemorated in the school collection by any items of similar interest.

Of Scott's 1910 expedition to the Antarctic there is a touching relic. It is a receipt for a subscription sent from Berlin by Rolf Tapken, a little schoolboy, son of a captain in the German navy, fired with enthusiasm for Britain's heroic enterprise. To the official printed acknowledgment Scott has added the words, ' Thank you very much, R. S.' There was a piteous sequel to this. The German schoolboy was subsequently sent to Clifton,

and was caught in England by the outbreak of war. He stayed in Clifton, though the age-limit presently required his removal from school, and was treated with much respect and kindness, till the last year of the war, when a miserable newspaper stunt for the rounding-up of aliens led to his internment in the Isle of Man. There he died of pneumonia in camp in April 1919, just as arrangements for his return home were being completed.

Statesmen are less well represented than generals in this collection. Yet there are four political letters of Edmund Burke. One, undated, concerns the preparations for the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Another, bearing the date December 16, 1796, refers scornfully to a speech of Sheridan in the House, which 'had a great deal more of smoak than fire in it.' There are two letters of Charles James Fox. The second is a confidential letter of instructions written to his brother, Lieutenant-General Fox, during his brief period of office as Foreign Secretary in the Ministry of All the Talents, June 9, 1806. It has a pathetic interest both as written so shortly before Fox's own death and from the intimation that the bearer is to be Sir John Moore.

A letter of Lord Liverpool's summoning Huskisson to a meeting of the Cabinet in December 1825 gives as a reason that 'the situation of affairs in the City and indeed throughout the Country is become so alarming.' It may be a reassuring thought in the midst of our present discontents to remember that the date of this summons was ten years and a half after Waterloo.

Disraeli writes to Colburn on October 18, 1849, to describe his last interview with Metternich. 'When I called on the Prince, he had quitted his hotel for the Austrian Embassy where he lunched, and his carriages were at the door. I had the satisfaction of embracing him ten minutes before he left London. He was much affected, for one so dignified and serene.' As if to suggest a humorous contrast with this ceremonial stateliness, there is a letter from Louis Blanc, the French historian and statesman, inviting Admiral Maxse to an informal dinner in Paris (February 1880): 'Diner de vrais amis, sans cérimonie—L'habit noir et la cravate blanche sévèrement défendus.' Clémenceau was one of the expected guests.

I pass to some of the more noteworthy items among the 'Men of Letters.' Addison has already been mentioned. Pope is here in a carefully written letter from his villa at Twickenham, dated January 5 ('in this holy time' [2]) asking for assistance on behalf of a poor girl in whom he is interested. 'I almost hope you know me enough, to be assured I would rather Do this than Ask it. But I am become, like many other Too Covetuous people, one of

[2] The year is not given on the letter, nor in Elwin & Courthope's edition, vol. iv., p. 490.

yᵉ Poor of my Parish, who have learn'd very much on yᵉ sudden, and very much agˢᵗ my Will (wch is just contrary at this time to the Lord's Will) that Charity begins at home.'

There are two letters of Dr. Johnson, both of which are to be found in Dr. Birkbeck Hill's edition. One is to Mrs. Thrale, May 12, 1775; the other to his kinsman, Thomas Johnson, December 16, 1777: 'Neither you nor I have any time to spare for quarrels or grudges. I desire you to think no more of what you may have done wrong with respect to me, and to consider me as your affectionate Kinsman and Friend.' There speaks the magnanimity which has endeared Samuel Johnson, almost beyond any other man of letters, to the memory of his fellow countrymen. Gibbon is represented, less exaltedly but not ignobly—for the place is Paris, and the historian's hours of relaxation in society are recalled—by an 'I.O.U.' signature on the back of a playing-card; David Garrick by a memorandum of a payment. Horace Walpole is here in a thoroughly characteristic letter to William Roscoe, thanking him for the present of his still-remembered book on Lorenzo de Medici. Walpole finds this so good, that 'I shall not wonder, Sir, if your Readers should suspect that your Materials were collected and the Work composed at Livorno, not at Liverpool.' Unfortunately only the signature of the letter, 'Orford' (April 4, 1795), is Walpole's own, for 'my poor fingers are still Raw and made so many blots that I have been forced to have it transcribed by my Secretary.' One point of interest in this letter is Walpole's hostility to the Sonnet, a form of composition 'almost intolerable in any language but Italian, which furnishes such a profusion of rhimes. To our tongue a Sonnet is mortal and the parent of insipidity.' Alas, for the fallibility of literary criticism! How long after this was it when Wordsworth wrote his immortal sonnets? The best of them date from 1802.

Three of the Wesleys are in our collection—John, in a pious letter to a Bristol correspondent; Charles, in a commemoration ode set to music; S. S., in the manuscript of his Commemoration-Anthem, 'Let us now praise famous men.'

Sir W. Scott is here in two letters. One of them, to Miss Pringle, undated, accompanied the present of a black wolf-hound puppy, 'the handsomest of three of Maida's family by a Liddesdale female of the old fox-greyhound caste.'

Of Samuel Coleridge there is an autograph fragment of light occasional verse. An accompanying letter from Alfred Ainger, the biographer of Charles Lamb, notes that Coleridge cannot write even a few couplets of friendly doggerel without soaring into poetry in 'the lovely lines—

> But below and above
> Pain and sorrow lives Love.'

Hartley Coleridge, whose own radiant infancy had been immortalised in Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality in Childhood*, is here in the original script of two of his poems on children. Wordsworth himself is here in a long letter written to Coleridge in 1815 and given to the Red Cross sale of 1916 by Princess Louise. He asks Coleridge not to publish the poem which he wrote after hearing *The Excursion* read from manuscript, as *The Excursion* on publication would be likely to suffer from such a precursorship of praise.' (Parenthetically one may remark that it has been the singular good fortune of *The Excursion* to profit by 'a precursorship' of blame. Nothing has in the end helped its reputation more than the famous opening sentence of Jeffrey's critique, 'This will never do'.) The letter concludes: 'Believe me, my dear Coleridge, in spite of your silence, most affectionately yours.' Wordsworthians will recall the charming little poem, *There is a Change and I am Poor*, written a few years earlier, when Wordsworth was puzzled and hurt by a similar silence on his friend's part.

Lamb is present in a letter despatched to his friend Morgan at Hammersmith by the 'twopenny post unpaid,' postponing for a week the acceptance of an invitation to dinner. There is a reference in the letter to Coleridge's habit of failing to keep his lecture engagements: 'Where is the Lecturer quasi lecturus? He has not been heard of at his own abode this fortnight. . . . Meantime where are my Books?' A letter of De Quincey's to the editor of the *London Magazine* speaks with sorrow of Ricardo's death and expresses great admiration for his work in political economy.

There are letters of Dickens and Thomas Hood, but they need not detain us. A letter of Thackeray's, however, expressing gratitude to Forster for *The Life of Goldsmith*, cannot be passed over:

I was in his chambers in Back Court the other day. Davidson has them now, they were Sergt. Murphy's. The bedroom is a closet without any light in it. It quite pains me to think of the kind old fellow dying off there. There is some good carved work in the room; and one can fancy him with General Oglethorpe and the other, Topham Beauclerc wasn't it?, and the fellow coming in with the screw of tea and sugar. What a fine picture Leslie wd make of it. That crowd of hangers on and lazy good humour, how thoroughly Irish it is. Maginn used always to have a half dozen of tipsy fellows in his train to whom he gave money and clothes (by credit at the tailor's) wh they used to pawn. . . . I passed 2 rainy days at Glengariff in Ireland reading the Animated Nature with delight and surprise. What a charming simplicity and sweetness: what a dear old humourist! I have just come to his death. The fact is—and I give you my word I am quite affected by it—He is our personal friend. I am sure I have a perfect notion of his individuality—his eyes, the quiver of his

mouth, and his voice and brogue. I'm certain he had a plaintive look, not the heroic one wh Reynolds tried to give him. How delightful is the love they all bore him, and what pleasant courteous stately figures they are in the picture. . . .

We must not linger over the letters of Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, Morris, D. G. Rossetti; but it is interesting to remark a very early letter of Matthew Arnold written from 'Lower Continent Room' at Winchester, April 1837, to 'My dear Mamma and Papa' at the School House, Rugby. There are two letters of Carlyle. The first is from Craigenputtock in 1833, acknowledging with warm commendations Hayward's gift of his translation of *Faust*. The other is brief and enigmatic:

CHELSEA, 30 *Novr* 1846.

DEAR SIR,—You must come to me directly,—this evening any time after 5, for a few minutes. I hope I have a little bit of good news to tell you.

Yours truly, T. CARLYLE.

What was the good news? I have failed, in spite of diligent research, to discover with any certitude. But 1846 was the year in which Carlyle completed his labours on Cromwell's speeches and letters, and Mrs. Carlyle thanked God that she need hear no more of him.

A letter of Newman's from the Oratory, Birmingham, is chiefly of interest because it is addressed to Coventry Patmore, and expresses regret at having missed a visit from the poet. Darwin is represented by a leaf of the manuscript of *The Origin of Species;* Ruskin by a letter written in 1879 to Darwin's son-in-law, Mr. Litchfield, speaking with much admiration and affection of the great naturalist's work and character. The library possesses also the original holograph manuscript of an address by Ruskin to the Arundel Society, 1878 (undelivered but printed in vol. xxxiv. of the library edition of Ruskin). This was the property of Mrs. Arthur Severn, and given by her to the Red Cross sale of 1916.

Of Meredith there is a charming letter to Sidney Colvin from Box Hill, welcoming a projected visit of the Colvins. To Colvin also was addressed the letter from R. L. Stevenson which begins abruptly with 'When next I lend a clothes-brush, it shall be to one of a stricter honesty.' But more important is the letter from Vailima, May 1892, in which R. L. S. analyses curiously his own character:

4 parts adventurer + 3 parts artist + 2 parts sensualist + 1 part Scotch clergyman.

O. W. Holmes and H. W. Longfellow are both here in courteous and agreeable letters; but a deeper interest attaches to the single

specimen of Walt Whitman. It was written from Washington during the American Civil War, and it announces his intention to remain as ' a missionary ' among ' the wounded and sick soldiers.'

The Clifton poet, T. E. Brown, whose centenary fell last year, is represented by the manuscript of his lyric, *Mater Dolorosa*. Is it too much to hope that the manuscript of his finest poem, the *Epistola ad Dakyns*, addressed to a Clifton colleague, may find its resting-place here also ? It is still extant, for a facsimile page of it was a feature of the Brown memorial volume. Another Clifton poet, Sir H. Newbolt, is here in some holograph verses, *A Letter from the Front*, and in the manuscript of Sir Hubert Parry's setting for *The Best School of All ;* but one would like to see him more fully represented.

Here my survey may end ; for I must not quote from letters of living writers. But I am sure that Mr. Masefield will forgive me if I make one exception. From the charming ' Collins ' which the Poet Laureate once sent from Boar's Hill to the headmaster of the Clifton preparatory school, let me borrow an anecdote :

> There is a school for very little boys here. One of them, aged 6½, was heard to say the other day, ' One of our men in the lower fourth comes to school in a pram every day.'

Behold a parable !

> Did not a pang of more than pity take
> Your heart thereat, not for the youngling's sake,
> But for your own, for man that passes by,
> So like to God, so like the beasts that die ?

What more appropriate reflection could be ours as we turn from contemplating these tokens of mortality ' dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings ' ? Great and small alike, do we not often to the end of our days resemble the fussy self-important little creatures who call themselves ' men ' and ' come to school in a pram ' ?

> Hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
> Pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescunt.

J. H. Fowler.

TENNYSON'S UNPUBLISHED POEMS

IV. TENNYSON AND 'THE NEW TIMON'

THE poetic duel between Tennyson and Sir Edward Bulwer (afterwards Lord) Lytton has been described more than once, but the discovery of a new poem by Tennyson, written, though not published, during the controversy, seems sufficient justification for retelling the story—which has never, I think, been fully dealt with in any British publication—and for printing both the attack and counter-attacks together.

In 1846, when this controversy took place, Bulwer Lytton was forty-three years old. He was already a commanding personality in contemporary literature, having published *Pelham* in 1828, *Eugene Aram* in 1832, *The Last Days of Pompeii* in 1834, *Rienzi* in 1835, and *The Last of the Barons* in 1843, while the *Lady of Lyons* and *Money* had been acted with great success in 1838 and 1840 respectively. Moreover, he had sat in the House of Commons from 1831 to 1842, and was a considerable social figure, whose rather dandified and precious manners were reflected in the strained and artificial character of much of his very remarkable literary output. Indeed, *Pelham* is said to have made dandyism fashionable. He was a strong supporter of the old school of poetry, to whom the so-called 'Cockney' school of Keats and Shelley was abominable. The *New Monthly Magazine* had, under his editorship, reviewed Tennyson's 1832 volume not altogether unfavourably, but with much severe reprobation, as the work of a scion of the Cockneys, and to the end of his life he remained an unfavourable critic of Tennyson's verse. In 1851, for example, he refers to the Duke of Wellington ode as 'Mr. Tennyson's long-winded howl,' and there are a good many slighting references to the poet's works in his published correspondence.

But his attack in 1846 was principally evoked by the granting of a Civil List pension of 200*l*. a year to Tennyson by Peel in September 1845. The grant of this pension had been strongly urged by Carlyle, Rogers, Henry Hallam, and Monkton Milnes, but there was a rival candidate in Sheridan Knowles, whose cause Bulwer Lytton and others strongly favoured, but whose

name is now practically unknown, except in connexion with this famous controversy. At the time, however, there was certainly something to be said for Knowles' claims; indeed, his case was definitely a strong one. He had been active as a poet and dramatist for more than thirty years. His tragedy *Caius Gracchus* had been written as long before as 1815, though it was not till 1820 that Macready performed it, with signal success. Macready also produced, again most successfully, his *Virginius*, which was put on at Covent Garden in 1820. This play had been written at the suggestion of Kean, at the time when the author was working for thirteen hours a day as a schoolmaster in Belfast. It was completed in three months. In 1825 Hazlitt wrote of him in his *Spirit of the Age* as ' the first tragic writer of the time,' and his work as a lecturer (begun in 1823) was praised by Tennyson's old enemy Wilson in *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. This, however, did not interrupt his stage work, for his *Alfred the Great* was played at Drury Lane in 1831, and his comedy *The Hunchback* by Charles Kemble and his sister at Covent Garden in 1833, where it was enthusiastically received. Charles Lamb wrote both prologue and epilogue to *The Wife*, which was produced in 1833, and in an article referred to Knowles as ' the most successful dramatist of the day.' The *Love Chase*, which he brought out in 1833, also won popular favour. In addition he wrote novels, tales and poems, political and otherwise, and a popular selection of pieces for recitation called *The Elocutionist*. All this, however, had not left him a rich man, and he had been embarrassed by his own too warm-hearted charity and by a most praiseworthy attempt to pay off his deceased father's debts. He had as a young man stood aside from an important scholastic appointment in his father's favour and afterwards been content to act as his assistant. As a result he found himself in 1845, at the age of sixty, with a long record of honourable activity behind him, but little in the way of financial resources to show for it.

Tennyson, on the other hand, was only thirty-six and had published but three volumes of verse, the first of the two volumes of 1842 being practically confined to a revised reprint of those of 1830 and 1832. These latter (especially the second) had met with much ridicule and little sale, while the last publication, that of 1842, had not been received with any enthusiasm by the critics as a whole, and had made its way with the public slowly and almost in spite of professional criticism, the first edition of 800 copies having taken more than a year to dispose of, and only three editions having been called for by the end of 1845. The choice of Tennyson for the pension was due to the strong adherence which his poetry had begun to win from lovers and students

of literature; to the great impression which his personality had made upon a number of influential friends; and to the very serious misfortune which had befallen him in 1842, when he had lost practically the whole of his small private property and savings by a rash investment in the woodworking scheme of Dr. Allen. Indeed, his friends had come to the conclusion, actually recorded in the words of Rogers, that the poet, who in the next forty years amassed a considerable fortune by his writings, was 'utterly incapable of supporting himself.' The pension was granted to Tennyson in September 1845, and in January 1846 Bulwer Lytton included in a poem, which he was at that time issuing anonymously in serial form, a violent attack on Tennyson. The verses were undoubtedly skilful and spirited, and struck effectively enough at the weak points of Tennyson's early verse. But both they and the notes by which they were accompanied, showed a strange inability to distinguish between weakness and strength, the two poems selected for condemnation being *O Darling Room* and *Mariana*, while not only Tennyson but also Keats and Wordsworth, were mentioned with disparagement. It is true that with them, as with Tennyson, Lytton in his brief reference struck at qualities which are acknowledged weaknesses, but none the less the object of the attack was not so much criticism as to wreak on the successful candidate Lytton's resentment that Sheridan Knowles had been passed over for the pension, a resentment which it must be admitted was not ungenerous on his part.

The verses in *The New Timon* are as follows:

Me Life had skill'd!—to me, from woe and wrong,
By Passion's tomb leapt forth the source of Song.
The *Quicquid agunt Homines*,—whate'er
Our actions teach us, and our natures share,
Life and the World, our City and our Age,
Have tried my spirit to inform my page;
I seek no purfled prettiness of phrase,—
A soul in earnest scorns the tricks for praise.
If to my verse denied the Poet's fame,
This merit, rare to verse that wins, I claim;
No tawdry grace shall womanize my pen!
Ev'n in a love-song, man should write for men!
Not mine, not mine, (O Muse forbid!) the boon
Of borrowed notes, the mock-bird's modish tune,
The jingling medley of purloin'd conceits,
Outbabying Wordsworth, and outglittering Keates, [*sic*]
Where all the airs of patchwork-pastoral chime
To drowsy ears in Tennysonian rhyme!

Am I enthrall'd but by the sterile rule,
The formal pupil of a frigid school,
If to old laws my Spartan taste adhere,
If the old vigorous music charms my ear,
Where sense with sound, and ease with weight combine,
In the pure silver of Pope's ringing line;
Or where the pulse of man beats loud and strong
In the frank flow of Dryden's lusty song?
Let School-Miss Alfred vent her chaste delight
On 'darling little rooms so warm and bright!'
Chaunt 'I'm aweary,' in infectious strain,
And catch her 'blue fly singing i' the pane.'
Tho' praised by Critics, tho' adored by Blues,
Tho' Peel with pudding plump the puling Muse,
Tho' Theban taste the Saxon's purse controuls,
And pensions Tennyson, while starves a Knowles,
Rather, be thou, my poor Pierian Maid,
Decent at least, in Hayley's weeds array'd,
Then patch with frippery every tinsel line,
And flaunt, admired, the Rag Fair of the Nine!

To these lines the author added two footnotes. The first quoted in full the lines *O Darling Room*, which had been included in the 1832 volume, but not in that of 1842, appending the comment, 'The whole of this poem (!!!) is worth reading, in order to see to what depth of silliness the human intellect can descend.' The second note was as follows:

I have no blind enthusiasm for Mr. Knowles, and I allow the grave faults of his diction and the somewhat narrow limits within which he has contracted his knowledge of character and life, but no one can deny that he nobly supported the British Drama, that he has moved the laughter and tears of thousands, that he forms an actual living and imperishable feature in the loftier life of the time, that the History of the English stage can never be written without long and honourable mention of *Virginius* and *The Hunchback*. The most that can be said of Mr. Tennyson is that he is the favourite of a small circle; to the mass of the public little more than his name is known. He has moved no thousands, he has created no world of characters, he has laboured out no deathless truths, nor enlarged our knowledge of the human heart by the delineation of various and elevating passions, he has lent a stout shoulder to no sinking but manly cause, dear to the Nation and to Art: yet if the uncontradicted statement in the journals be true, this gentleman has been quartered on the Public Purse, he in the prime of life, belonging to a wealthy family, without, I believe, wife or children, at the very time that Mr. Knowles was lecturing for bread in foreign lands, verging towards old age, unfriended even by the Public he has charmed: such is the justice of our Ministers, such the national gratitude to those whom we thank and—starve.

You talk of tinsel! why, we see
The old mark of rouge upon your cheeks.
You prate of Nature! you are he
That spilt his life about the cliques.

A Timon you! Nay, nay, for shame:
It looks too arrogant a jest—
The fierce old man—to take *his* name,
You bandbox. Off, and let him rest.

At about the same time Tennyson evidently composed another reply to Lytton which, though bitter enough in its early stanzas, showed in its concluding lines a more genial and characteristic spirit. This poem has never been published before, though the last eight lines were printed in the *Memoir* (one vol. edition, p. 555). These lines gain very much in effectiveness by being read in their context, making an admirable conclusion to the whole. The poem is as follows:

'THE NEW TIMON AND THE POETS' (Part II.)

Will no one make this man secure
That all his paper boats will swim?
Fair Countess,[1] keep him always sure
That all men always talk of him!

O tell him of his own great name,
That is to stare when mine shall die,
Thro' every market place of Fame
In every butterwoman's eye—

If that would keep his bile in bounds,
And help him not to rail and carp
At one poor poet's hundred pounds,[2]
His bit of laurel and his harp—

[1] The 'Fair Countess' was almost certainly Marguerite Lady Blessington, whose literary salon at Gore House was then still in full swing. She and Lytton had been friends for many years and were in close correspondence about this time. She died aged about sixty, in 1849.—C. B. L. T.

[2] The 'hundred pounds' is no doubt 'poetic licence,' the pension having in fact been 200*l*. a year. This, and the reference to the 'laurel' made me think at one time that the poem referred to some attack on Tennyson's selection for the Laureateship, but the MSS. evidence seems conclusive, since there exist versions of the published and unpublished *New Timon* poems, written in Tennyson's hand on the same sheet and numbered I. and II. respectively. Moreover, a pencil note on another version shows that Hallam Tennyson attributed the lines to the Timon episode.—C. B. L. T.

Who hates the byways of Disdain,
Where one must trample things unsweet,
And would much rather of the twain
Chaff some broad porter of the street,

And bandy slang, and heat his blood,
And make him long to bruise and mall,
And if he thresh'd me well and good,
And if he couldn't good and well.

And then we two would make regale,
And smoke the pipe of peace again
By some deep quart of stalwart ale,
And call each other honest men.

For as to Fame who strides the earth
With that long horn she loves to blow,
I know a little of her worth,
And I will tell you what I know.

This London once was middle sea,
Those hills were plains within the past,
They will be plains again—and we,
Poor devils, babble, we shall last.

To the next number of *Punch* Tennyson contributed—again over the signature of ' Alcibiades '—a poem in the nature of an expression of regret for the publication of his fierce reply to the attack which had been made upon him. The poem was entitled *Afterthoughts* and is now included in the authorised edition as *Literary Squabbles*. There exists another version of this poem, hitherto unpublished, which is probably an earlier draft and represents the poet's first violent reaction to the feeling of regret. This draft, which, judging from paper, ink and handwriting, seems to be contemporary with the events described above, runs as follows :

' THE NEXT MORNING '

Too harsh ! I loathe it and retract,
  Yet see, sir, spite of spite is born,
And men turn vermin in the fact
  Of paying ought of scorn with scorn.

Ah God, we petty fools of rhyme
  That shriek and sweat in pigmy wars
Before the stony face of Time,
  And look'd at by the silent stars !

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